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# FAMILY WELFARE WORK IN A METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY: SELECTED CASE RECORDS

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# FAMILY WELFARE WORK IN A METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY

## SELECTED CASE RECORDS

By

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*in the University of Chicago*

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## THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO SOCIAL SERVICE SERIES

## PREFATORY NOTE

The present volume is one of a series of source books in the social-service field. The series has been planned primarily to provide adequate scientific material heretofore not available for the use of students in the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago and other institutions of the same kind. In a recent report on the work of such schools (James H. Tufts, *Education and Training for Social Work*, 1923), attention was called to the "general complaint of the lack of sufficient source material in form which is most desirable for critical teaching and which can be placed in the hands of all students." The report went further and expressed confidence that ultimately the schools themselves would meet this need and added: "Publication of such material is an illustration of what has been previously referred to as one of the two great functions of the professional school; namely, raising the standard of the profession through research and publication."

These volumes represent an attempt on the part of the members of the Faculty of one of these schools to help to meet this need. It is believed, however, that the different volumes in the series will be useful, not only to those interested in social service, but to others whose interests lie in other departments of the wide field of the social sciences.

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# PREFACE

The publication of a "case book" in the social service field calls for certain explanatory comments. During the past three-quarters of a century there has been formulated in the field of social work a very considerable body of principles on which is now based a generally accepted practice in treatment. That these principles and this practice are or should be "educationally communicable," to quote Mr. Abraham Flexner, is evidenced by the fact that many institutions, colleges, universities, and independent institutions have organized courses of study or professional curricula, in order that the more economical education in the classroom may replace the earlier apprenticeship methods of training for this calling. While there are, however, many such courses of study, there has been, and there is at the present moment, a very great lack of teaching material. That and a deficiency in teaching experience greatly retard efforts at professional education.

The reasons for this are obvious. First, perhaps, among these reasons is the confidential character of the social case record. The relationship of the social worker with the person receiving aid is perhaps no more confidential and privileged than that of the lawyer with the client or of the doctor with the patient; but the possibilities of using the record of work done are very different. The final report of the legal decision in a controversy is a public record; and in the case of medical practice, the statement of symptoms and of treatment may generally be made without risking the violation of any confidence. With the social case record, however, the situation is different: the record as well as the relationship is confidential and to remove from the records all facts identifying the family or the individual receiving aid is a task of no little difficulty and often requires such mutilation of the record as greatly to reduce its teaching value.

The second difficulty is a justifiable reluctance on the part of social agencies to make public the record of service, which is inevitably often performed under very great pressure. Social agencies do their work under great difficulties. They have rarely in the past been equipped with adequate clerical service and the records have not fully represented their work. Moreover, standards during recent years have improved rapidly and to publish today the work of yesterday

seems both unfair to the excellent work of today, which may be thought still to possess the weaknesses of yesterday's work, and unfair to the workers of yesterday, who may be judged by the standards of today.

In the third place, the work of selecting and editing records is an arduous, tedious, and time-consuming task. Many records must be read for every record published.

For these reasons it is believed that the following series of forty-four records should prove of use to teachers of case work in the field of family welfare work everywhere, and it is with very deep appreciation that I acknowledge the debt under which I lie to the family welfare agencies of Chicago, who have allowed me first to use their records in mimeographed form in classes in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago and now to publish them and make them more conveniently available for classes there and elsewhere.

The forty-four records presented in this volume are selected from a much larger number that have been used during the last four years. Some of those which were admirable for classroom purposes did not sufficiently lend themselves to the process of editing to make their publication entirely safe.

Something should be said with reference to the methods employed in the preparation of these records for publication. Besides assuring the confidential character of the record, it is well to have the material objective and impersonal. It is, however, desirable to change the record as little as possible and secure these objects. In this volume, therefore, in all references to the persons receiving aid or assistance, fictitious names have been used. In the case of the workers, too, and of employers, public officials, and other persons referred to, names have been changed. The names of agencies have often been generalized, as it were, but in certain instances where there was only one organization of the kind in the city the name has been retained. Addresses have, of course, been altered and it is believed that the interests of all parties in the situation have been carefully and adequately safeguarded.

It should, perhaps, be explained that, while the compilation is intended for classroom use, few references are made to the generally accepted principles of case work. The instructor will extract those principles from the records; but the records must, of course, be supplemented by reference to certain other materials.

It is assumed, for example, that use will be made of the "Standard Forms and Blanks" which can be obtained from the American Associa-

tion for Organizing Family Social Work, 130 East Twenty-second Street, New York City, and that the subject of case-recording will be discussed in its proper place.

It is also assumed that access can be had to such standard discussions as those found in the treatises of Warner, Devine, Mrs. Bosanquet, Loch, Richmond, Colcord, Sheffield, and Sears, in the important periodicals, in the annual reports of selected family welfare agencies, and in the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work.

In the third place, it is assumed that the introductory course in social case work or family welfare is one of a number of courses together making up a well-balanced curriculum and that light will be thrown on the problems of family treatment by material supplied in such other courses, for example, as child welfare, immigration, and standards of living.

More specifically, with reference to the form in which the record has been thrown, it should be said that the only radical change from the original record is in the abandonment of the so-called "face card" form. The attempt has been made to introduce the student to the problem as nearly as possible in the way in which it came to the worker on the case. Facts ordinarily recorded on the face card are presented either in the brief statement of application or reference by which the record is opened, or in the so-called "first interview," in which the situation is developed.

These initial stages of the record have been prepared with the thought of placing them in the hands of the student and having a plan for further investigation worked out by the student before disclosing to him the remaining portions of the record. Such a plan was developed in the earlier use of these records in the University of Chicago classes and has been carried out in the important case records published by the Judge Baker Foundation and by the Child Welfare League of America.

Such devices are, however, probably not necessary when the students are of graduate university grade and when they have in their hands a body of material such as this volume contains. An independent and critical approach to the problem presented by each record is facilitated by the possession of the other records, and an appreciation of the work done in any situation is stimulated by the possibility of immediately comparing that work with the methods applied in other similar situations. This comparison is suggested in cross-references to be found in the notes to the case records.

Reference should be made to the fact that the records are all from a great city, one in which there are many racial and national elements. Plans are under way to follow this volume at a reasonably early date with a collection of case records from smaller communities. It is true, however, that in social as in medical or legal service, it is in the great city that variety in situation and resources for treatment are found. It is therefore fundamentally true in this field of instruction as in the field of law or medicine that education in the city and the city experience are essential.

It remains only to express again the very great obligation under which I with my fellow-"teachers of case work" have been placed by the generous and sympathetic co-operation of the two great societies doing family case work in Chicago. The official board of each agency authorized the use of such records as appear in this volume. And in particular I should like to acknowledge the great kindness with which my efforts have been supported by Miss Amelia Sears, assistant general superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago, Miss Ruth Fitz Simons, Miss Mary G. Henson, Miss Gertrude McCleery, Miss Florence Nesbitt, and Miss Nadia Thomas, district superintendents of the United Charities. In the same way to Mr. M. J. Karpf, superintendent, and to Miss Iris L. Wood, case reviewer, of the Jewish Social Service Bureau, I make most grateful acknowledgment. I am indebted for clerical assistance to the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago, which administers a grant for Social Research from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation. In particular I wish to express most grateful appreciation of the generosity of Mr. Julius Rosenwald, who adds to long-time and generous support of the work of the School of Social Service Administration a gift without which the publication of this volume would not have been possible. My warm thanks are also offered to Miss Maud E. Lavery for innumerable forms of aid and assistance including proofreading and the preparation of the Index.

Sophonisba P. Breckinridge

University of Chicago
December 1, 1924

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# SOCIAL CASE RECORDS OF FAMILY WELFARE AGENCIES

# INTRODUCTION

The forty-four case records making up the great body of this volume have been taken from the files of the two social agencies in Chicago in the field now described as family welfare work.

One is the non-sectarian general family welfare agency of the city. The other is the representative in this field of the philanthropic Jewish community and serves a closely knit and highly organized community within the city. Both agencies carry on their work after the district plan; both have divisions specialized according to the service they undertake; each depends for unity of purpose and uniformity of practice on instructions and information supplied the district workers from the Central Office. A mimeographed compilation of these instructions designated the *Gray Book* is kept in each district office.

These records have been adapted to the use of students in several ways: (1) all identifying data have been eliminated; (2) considerations of space have in some instances made it necessary to omit portions of the record essential to a complete understanding of the treatment as a whole, and they must therefore be read only for the purpose for which they have been arranged and are published, namely, to introduce students to the practice of family case work; (3) slight changes in phraseology have also occasionally been made where such changes seemed necessary to prevent confusion on the part of the reader, but such changes have not been made for the purpose merely of editing the record; (4) in a few instances extracts from the records of other agencies giving joint care and service are added to the record of the Family Welfare Agency.

In selecting cases, an attempt has been made to show the processes by which standards of work are developed and emphasis in treatment is altered as new resources in the field of social welfare become available. The effect, for example, of the creation of a new public agency such as the Mothers' Pension Division of the Juvenile Court or the Industrial Board under the Workmen's Compensation Act can be appreciated by noting the uncertainty sometimes characterizing the approach to such a problem in long-time care as the case of a mother with young children or in industrial accident situations before the pas-

sage of the law creating the new administrative agencies in comparison with the certainty and definiteness characterizing the treatment of similar situations after the establishment of those agencies. By the study of records selected in this way students should develop a sense of history in their attitude toward the art of family case work.

And it is hoped, too, that by the use of supplementary reports and of descriptions of living and working conditions in Chicago the student will become sufficiently familiar with the community to develop what might be called a sense of actuality and of reality. For students in Chicago this can be facilitated by field work and by visits of observation. For students in other communities it may be more difficult, but the fact that all the records are from one community is a real advantage. Their study should make it possible to observe varieties in situation against a background of community life and community development with which the reader becomes increasingly familiar.

In other words, it is hoped that the student will not only become aware of those points at which there is widespread agreement and of those on which there is diversity of view and of practice as to treatment; but that he will become increasingly cognizant of a consciously directed effort to secure more favorable conditions of life, to mitigate the suffering of helpless members of the community, to develop resources of a preventive and constructive character. And the successful use of these records should produce a habit of thought on the part of the student that will mean for him wherever he is employed a power of analysis of community relationships enabling him rapidly to develop responsibility, to co-operate sympathetically and honestly with agencies even of differing standards, and to move persistently toward the improvement of community resources.

A word of explanation should be said with reference to certain difficulties under which the work of the agencies is done that cannot always be reflected in the edited form of the case record. For example, during the autumn of 1918 and of 1919, the pressure due to the influenza epidemic reflects itself often in a slower pace than that characteristic of other periods. During the war there were frequent changes in personnel and there was rapid turnover in staff organization. Sometimes a change of that kind will be marked by a very conspicuous alteration of method, sometimes by relaxing, sometimes by tightening up the work. All these influences—the pressure of work, the change in personnel, and the gradual passing from the general emergency attitude of war-time procedure to the more stable methods of peace-time organization—undoubtedly were factors in many of these case histories.

## THE SELECTION OF CASE RECORDS

With reference to the problems presented, the records in this volume deal with situations in which the conspicuous problems, the occasion, perhaps, for bringing in the social agency, are (1) sickness; (2) insanity or feeble-mindedness; (3) non-residence or very brief residence in the community; (4) loss of earnings of the chief breadwinner (*a*) by his death, (*b*) by his industrial injury, (*c*) by desertion; (5) motherhood out of wedlock; (6) certain problems connected with the care of dependent children; (7) the problem of an unduly large family with very low earning capacity; (8) old age.

The records have been selected with reference both to the special form of need and to the institutions and agencies with which co-operation must be developed by the social worker. And from the study of these case records there can be ascertained (*a*) the other agencies, public or private, on which the general private agency relies; (*b*) the extent to which that reliance is justified; (*c*) the special agencies that call on the general agency and the services they ask; (*d*) the extent to which the various agencies in their dealing with the same family apply similar standards or identical principles of treatment and the extent to which there are obvious divergencies of opinion or differences in standard; (*e*) the way in which improved methods are developed by the general agency and applied in its dealings with the families it attempts to serve.

It is believed that the student will thus acquire not only a sense of the developing art of social case work but an appreciation of the difficulties under which all the agencies do their work.

The population of Chicago (2,700,000) is made up in round numbers of something under one-third of native-born persons whose parents were native-born, over 100,000 of these being negroes; of something over one-third persons who are the children of foreign-born parents; and something under one-third persons who are foreign-born themselves. These members of the foreign groups are distributed in various sections of the city, sometimes in highly congested quarters, sometimes in areas having conditions not unlike village or small town arrangements. The case records have been selected with some reference to national representation and sectional distribution.

For the organization and administration of the public agencies with which the general private agencies co-operate, it is necessary to turn to the statutes authorizing the creation of those agencies and to the reports in which they describe their work. Such material as this is of special importance to the social worker who does not always

realize the limitations under which the public official works. It is well to acquire the habit of thinking of public officials in terms of the limitations imposed by the statutes under which they do their work. The fact (1) that, beyond the terms of the statute creating them, officials have no discretion; (2) that their agents must be on the whole selected as other public agents are selected, at least not with disregard of political considerations and conditions; (3) that the cost is borne from taxation and the probable reaction of the taxpayer must be kept in mind,—these facts impose limitations on the public agency (*a*) in the extent to which the principle of adequacy can be applied at any time, (*b*) on the continuity of personnel and of policy, and (*c*) on the rate at which an advance in standards of care can be secured. In the Appendix will be found, therefore, extracts from the statutes authorizing some of the agencies with which the welfare agency expects to co-operate, and a few reports describing the method and scope of the work of those agencies.

The records have been, for convenient discussion, grouped into eight sections. In the first of these sections there are records of five families in which the need is based upon the sickness of one or more members of the family. These five families are, by nationality, Italian, Lithuanian, American, Polish, and Jewish. In these five records there are situations in which co-operation with medical agencies is to be developed and in which the skill, certainty, and delicacy of the family agency's work will be determined in part by the ease with which an authoritative medical diagnosis can be secured, the adequacy of the resources for medical treatment, and the extent to which the family understands the relations between the welfare and medical agencies and co-operates with both. The Jewish record in this section illustrates various points connected with these problems in striking contrast with the non-Jewish situation.

In Section II there are eight records selected because they exhibit the relationships between the family welfare agency and the public authorities responsible for the care and treatment of the insane and feeble-minded. Of these one is Polish, one Czecho-Slovak, one Spanish-American, one American, one German-American, and three are Jewish. There are state institutions for both the insane and feeble-minded. The statutes under which individuals are committed to these institutions were enacted at different periods and show marked differences in the extent to which the problem of care, treatment, and responsibility had been recognized by the legislature. These differ-

ences in the law give rise to further differences in the nature of the co-operation possible for the welfare agency with the two sets of authorities and have an influence on important aspects of the problem of the agency's care for the family concerned.[1]

The institutional provision for those clearly unfit for community life is obviously entirely inadequate and the question "When is a patient unfit?" is often much more difficult to answer than has, in the fairly recent past, been thought to be the case. As the process of mental diagnosis becomes more exact, it should be possible to enable many more individuals to continue to share in community life by modifying their situation. The sympathetic co-operation of a social worker coming from a family welfare agency or from an agency for mental hygiene may be all that is needed. These records bring out clearly the degree to which the social work is dependent on the possibility of obtaining an authoritative diagnosis and give evidence of a developing skill on the part of the family agency to do this very delicate task with the individuals whose condition has been diagnosed. Among other points, too, they show how costly such service is and raise the question as to whether the general family agency should bear that cost or whether it should be borne by the specialized mental hygiene agency.

The three Jewish records (Numbers 12, 13, 14) illustrate the greater definiteness of the problem where a community is completely served by a closely related group of agencies. It is necessary only to hint at the relative simplicity of securing a diagnosis where such resources as those provided by the Diagnostic Clinic are available and where the patient refusing to accept the treatment based on the diagnosis has nowhere to turn for alternative plans, as compared with such a situation as that revealed in the records of the La Boda, Jenkins, and Weber families.[2]

In Section III there are five records presenting the problem of the adjustment of a family to a new community. In this group there are an Italian, a Negro, a Greek, and two American families. In the first of these, the question of residence for the purposes of eligibility to relief under the Pauper Act and under the Mothers' Pension Act appears at once, and the following extract from the Family Welfare Agency's

[1] Note, for example, the difference between the treatment of a patient escaped from a state hospital for the insane and one who has run away from the State School for the Feeble-Minded. See, for example, pp. 148, 152, 161, 197.

[2] See pages 179 to 286. These records are very long and rather complicated and it may therefore be well to postpone their consideration until a point later in the course.

instructions to workers becomes of special interest as laying down principles applicable to situations in which the question of residence is likely to appear:

CONCERNING NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS

The procedure of the Family Welfare Agency in these cases is exactly the same as in the treatment of resident cases. Whether or not the family are to be asked to return to their place of legal residence must be decided by the best interest of the family. If the family desire to return to their place of legal residence, they should be immediately referred to the County Agent. The deportation agent in the Outdoor Relief Department of the County Agent's office handles all these cases of non-residents. If, however, the family do not desire to return during the period of investigation, work should be conducted with them exactly as with any family coming to the attention of the Family Welfare Agency.

In making an investigation in this type of family the Family Welfare Agency, in its correspondence with the point of origin, should not raise the question of the legal residence of the family, but should inquire merely concerning past history, relatives, etc. Immediately the question of legal residence is under discussion the matter should be placed in the hands of the deportation agent.

In the second and third records in this section (Numbers 15 and 16) there is no question of technical residence, but there is the problem of the relative advantage of the new and the old home. In the fourth (Number 17) and the fifth (Number 18) there is the question of the tramp of poor mental equipment, in one case not sufficiently pathological to require commitment, in the other leading to immediate commitment.

It may also be pointed out that the fourteenth record supplies the only extended illustration of the use of the almshouse in a program of care.[1]

Each of the four records in Section IV contains the story of a widow left with young children. Theoretically this is no longer a difficult problem. The two agencies whose records are given are committed to the doctrine promulgated in 1909 by the "White House Conference" in the following statement:

Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the greatest molding force of mind and of character. Children should not be deprived

[1] In connection with this section, reference should be made to pages 922 and 925 for the Transportation Rules as accepted by the non-Jewish and those administered by the Jewish societies and to page 927 for a series of interesting decisions under the Transportation Rules by the Committee of the National Conference of Jewish Charities.

of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of parents of worthy character, suffering from temporary misfortune, and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without support of the normal breadwinner, should, as a rule be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children. This aid should be given by such methods and from such sources as may be determined by the general relief policy of each community, preferably in the form of private charity rather than of public relief. Except in unusual circumstances, the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty, but only for considerations of inefficiency or immorality.[1]

The conclusions of this conference with reference to regular and adequate allowances have been fortified since that time by the increasing recognition of the burden carried by child-bearing housewives even when they do not work for wages outside the home,[2] and by the better understanding of the disastrous effects on industry resulting from the wage-paid work of mothers of young children.[3]

When the principle has been accepted of regular adequate support for destitute mothers of young children whose homes are not below the standard of sanitation and child care, the questions presented seem to be chiefly those of fitness, of eligibility under the Aid to Mothers Law,[4] and of the budget. When, as in the nineteenth record,[5] there is property or compensation, the question becomes a more difficult one, involving "relief in aid of wages," or the rendering of special services.

The nine records in Section V present, among other problems, the question of the use of the disciplinary processes provided under the

[1] *Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children Held at Washington, D.C., January 25, 26, 1909* (U.S. 60th Congress, 2d session, Senate Doc. No. 721), pp. 9–10.

[2] See *Maternity, Letters from Working Women* (London: G. Bell & Sons); the United States Children's Bureau studies into causes of infant mortality; Myerson, *The Nervous Housewife*, pp. 76–79.

[3] Webb, *Public Organization of the Labour Market*, p. 342, par. 42: "That all mothers having the charge of young children, and in receipt . . . . of any form of Public Assistance, should receive enough for the full maintenance of the family; and that it should then be made a condition of such assistance that the mother should devote herself to the care of her children without seeking industrial employment."

[4] See United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 63 for laws relating to Mothers' Pensions; see also Publication No. 82, *The Administration of the Aid-to-Mothers Law in Illinois*, by Edith Abbott and S. P. Breckinridge; and Publication No. 118, *Standards of Public Aid to Children in Their Own Homes*, by Florence Nesbitt.

[5] The same point could be made in Records 37 and 39.

so-called "Non-Support and Abandonment" Statute and the "Contributing to Dependency or Delinquency" Statutes and the "Extradition," or "Fugitives from Justice" Statute.[1] The Non-Support and Abandonment and Contributing to Dependency statutes create offenses for which severe penalties are provided. Under the Illinois law these offenses in domestic responsibility are not felonies as they are in the case of a number of other states. They are, however, misdemeanors punishable by a heavy fine, $600 in the one instance, $200 in the other, or by imprisonment of not more than a year in the House of Correction or by both fine and imprisonment. It is true that probation is a possibility with or without an order to pay a stipulated amount toward the family support.

The extradition statute is important because its terms not only make possible the return of the deserter who goes to another state but show why the use of that process is probably less effective and available than it should be. The expense of extraditing misdemeanants is borne by the County Treasury while the cost of bringing back those accused of felony is borne by the State Treasury. As the suffering from these particular offenses is apparently restricted to a narrow group, the cost will generally have to be borne either by the family or by the County Agent, as an alternative to assuming the burden of giving relief to the family, rather than by the funds appropriated by the county commissioners for purposes of law enforcement.[2]

Instructions from the Central Office of the Family Welfare Agency with reference to the treatment of desertion cases contain the following suggestion:

> In addition to making certain that no unnecessary suffering is permitted, there exist certain social and legal aspects of the problem which should be dealt with persistently and with determination. Efforts should be made to determine:
>
> 1. The whereabouts of the deserting husband—this through consultation with his former employer, fellow-workmen, and union officials.
>
> 2. Whether or not any collusion exists between the wife and husband.
>
> 3. Whether or not there exists any relative against whom action under the Pauper Act could be instituted. Sometimes such action, though unpro-

[1] For the text of these statutes see below, pp. 891, 893, and 902.

[2] For more extended discussion of the questions presented the student is referred to the appropriate chapters of Richmond, *Social Diagnosis;* Colcord, *Broken Homes;* Baldwin, *Family Desertion.*

ductive financially, results in persuading the relative, in self-defense, to reveal the deserting husband's whereabouts.

4. As a general rule every deserting husband when located should be taken into court on a "contributing to dependency" warrant, and evidence of dependency submitted to the court.

Further, it is imperative in every instance, and before relief is given, that the deserted woman demonstrate her willingness to see justice done by signing a warrant for the deserter's arrest.

If the deserting husband is located in another city, a warrant should be secured in the Court of Domestic Relations and arrangements made with the County Agent to extradite. This process is advisable in cases in which:

*a*) The Welfare Agency has expended or is expending a considerable amount of money for family support.

*b*) There is some evidence that the man has work capacity and some financial returns may accrue from his return.

*c*) There is a possibility that the man's earning capacity justifies confidence that he will be able to secure a bondsman.

Chicago is, of course, not alone in possessing a Court of Domestic Relations—that is a criminal branch of the Municipal Court so specialized as to deal only with questions of domestic offenses. Such courts have, however, been created only in a relatively few of the larger cities, and, in communities in which no such tribunals have been established, the prosecution of such offenses must take place in the ordinary criminal court which is usually notoriously inadequate to the skilled administration of the older criminal law and is even less suited to deal with the domestic and social questions arising under these recent statutes. For various reasons which need not be discussed at length here, the Jewish philanthropic organizations find the public agencies entirely inadequate; and the students will learn in the cases of Benjamin Lawrence (Number 28) and of Isaac Weinberg (Number 29) of the very efficient National Bureau created by those organizations to supplement the family welfare service and the law-enforcing authorities.

Family welfare agencies, in classifying the families under their care according to legal status, refer frequently to "unmarried couples." The first two of the four records in Section VI (Number 32 and Number 33) deal with the situation of the mother of small children who has not married their father. Their situation may possibly be described as one of decent illegitimacy.

The third and fourth records in this Section (Numbers 34 and 35) bring out certain facts with reference to the terms and the administra-

tion of the so-called Bastardy Act, of which the text is given later.[1] The harshness of this act can be understood only when its relation to the Poor Law is also understood, for it is designed primarily as a protection to the taxpayer.[2]

In this connection attention should be drawn to the fact that a full discussion of the care either of the unmarried mother or of the child born out of wedlock would lead into the fields usually discussed from the point of view of the delinquent girl[3] and of the dependent child. An adequate discussion of the disposition and the care of the infant would include the subject of adoption and would also take notice of the rapidly changing attitude toward the question of illegitimacy. Attention should, of course, be directed to the invaluable series of publications dealing with this question published by the United States Children's Bureau.[4]

The records selected will, however, serve to introduce the student to situations that are, fundamentally, family situations to which as rapidly as possible the same principles of thoroughness of investigation, adequacy of treatment, and continuity of co-operation applicable to any attempt at family care should be applied.

The fifth record (Number 36) again introduces elements characteristic of the more closely organized Jewish system of benevolence.

The cases in Section VII show the problems that arise in connection with workmen's compensation.

The substantial denial of justice to the poor under the common law doctrine of employers' liability which often rendered nugatory the claim of employees injured in their work to obtain damages from their employers has been universally recognized:

> The redress afforded injured employees by the law has called forth the bitterest attacks, and here the impartiality of the substantive law has

[1] See page 896.

[2] See Great Britain, *Report of the Royal Commission on Poor Laws and Relief of Distress*, 1909, Part VIII, chap. iv.

[3] See Percy G. Kammerer, *The Unmarried Mother;* the annual reports of the Massachusetts State Board of Charities for the years 1913, 1914, 1915, and the publications of the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy and the Research Bureau on Social Case Work, Boston.

[4] Publication No. 31, *Norwegian Laws Concerning Illegitimate Children;* No. 42, *Illegitimacy Laws of the United States and Certain Foreign Countries;* Nos. 66, 75, 128, *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem;* No. 77, *Standards of Legal Protection for Children Born out of Wedlock.*

See also the *Survey*, XLIX (October 15, 1922), 104, for the terms of the Model Act proposed by the Commissioners on Uniform Laws, 1922.

most justly been challenged. The workman who sought to recover for injuries sustained at work, due to the negligence of his employer, was placed at an enormous disadvantage by the rules defining the master's liability. The fellow-servant rule and the doctrine of assumption of risk growing out of two cases (*Farwell* v. *Boston and Worcester Ry.*, 4 Metcalf [1842], 49 [the first American case] and *Priestly* v. *Fowler*, 3 Meeson & Welsby [1837], 1 [the first English case]), which are now severely condemned and elaborated by a process which can only be called judicial legislation, came perilously near to constituting an actual class distinction in the law. Happily this stigma no longer attaches, because within the last seven years [i.e., since 1912] workmen's compensation statutes, which supplant the outworn doctrines of liability with the principles of insurance, have been enacted in nearly every jurisdiction.[1]

Illinois is one of the states in which a workmen's compensation statute has been enacted and a claim given to the injured man or his dependents for fixed amounts in compensation. The first three records in Section VII (Numbers 37, 38, 39) selected from among many involving the fact of industrial injury or occupational disease serve to call attention to the following points:

1. The arrangement by which industry is made to allocate a fixed compensation to a certain number of persons injured by its processes relieves the social agency of a very real and very great burden of pecuniary cost in the support of the injured persons and their dependents. However, as the amount of compensation is as yet inadequate and as payments are made for a limited time, a part of the burden is still borne by the private agency which must continue to provide both services of a highly skilled order and supplementary aid often of an expensive character. In other words the compensation machinery will never be adequate until there is developed as an organic part of it a division that would correspond with the social service departments of hospitals or of courts. Industrial social service corresponding to medical or legal social service would relieve the general welfare agency of a heavy burden that should be paid for out of the earnings of industry and not out of the gifts of the benevolent.

2. The cases will also illustrate the very definite character of the service required in order to take advantage of the allowances under the Act and the rather subtle temptation offered the worker to be satisfied with that service without feeling the responsibility for the more

[1] R. H. Smith, *Justice and the Poor* (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Learning, Bulletin No. 13), pp. 14–15. See also United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletins No. 126, 185, 240, 272, 332.

thoroughgoing family treatment that in the absence of such public administrative co-operation would seem to be required.

3. The case of Max Berger (Number 40), a case in occupational disease, will illustrate the cost resting on the private agency when the industrial claim has not yet been recognized; and, in comparison with the Juraitis case (Number 2), will bring out the increased definiteness of service rendered possible by the provision of a specialized agency for treatment—in this case the self-support experiment that has been so interesting a feature in several of the Jewish cases.

There remain the four records in Section VIII. In the first of these, the case of Peter Johns, there are peculiarly interesting relationships between the general family agency and the children's agency, and this record contains a transcript of a Juvenile Court record in which a petition in dependency was before the court. In this case the court, with hesitation, took the very decisive step of appointing the children's agency a guardian with power to consent to the adoption of the child in whose behalf the petition had been filed. Some interesting and difficult problems with reference to the social worker's attitude toward certain legal presumptions, for example, are suggested by this record, as well as the relative emphasis laid by the three agencies on the importance of keeping the mother and infant together. The brief record of the Caterigian family (Number 42) brings out the attitude of the Family Welfare Agency on this latter point in a very positive way.

The record of Marcus Jackson (Number 43) suggests the old and forever recurring question "When is a man able-bodied?" Here, at any rate, the Poor Law authorities decided, in view of the large family, low earning capacity, and good character of the head of the family, to mitigate the orthodox practice of not aiding families in which there are able-bodied men.

The record of Mrs. O'Callaghan (Number 44) suggests, as did the record of Mr. and Mrs. Lewis (Number 3), the great lack of community resources for caring for the aged. This last record suggests the difficulties involved in investigating the life histories of aged persons, and reveals an impulsive eagerness on the part of the worker to bring together this aged mother and her elderly son.

It is hoped that as the student becomes familiar with these forty-four records of actual family situations they may (1) exhibit the very great variety in situation under which problems containing essentially similar factors present themselves; (2) enable the student to draw his own conclusions as to the treatment appropriate to the need; whether

the record exhibits approved methods or displays discarded procedure; (3) reveal the relations that exist between social agencies, the methods by which co-operation is secured, and the results in lowered efficiency when different standards or contradictory purposes characterize the work of societies engaged in a common undertaking; (4) introduce the student to the recently developed interest on the part of case-work agencies in the problem of delicate and intricate human relationships between persons and in the conscious study of personality;[1] (5) convey an idea of the extent to which our older social machinery fails and needs to be rearranged and adjusted to modern conditions of family and community life.

A well-known student of case-work method has wisely directed attention to the two conspicuous aspects of the case worker's task in the following words:

> In two respects social case workers have a unique opportunity to further the application of psychological research to social science. First, their efforts to rehabilitate persons who for one reason or another are out of adjustment with their surroundings bring them into an intimate knowledge of the trials and struggles of these persons with their families, their work, their companions, extending over a considerable period of time—over months or even years. Second, the difficulties of maladjustments in the lives of clients are difficulties which in lesser degree are universal. They are merely conspicuous or exaggerated instances of failure in personal adaptation or in social machinery which are the same in kind as those which we all experience.[2]

And it is hoped that study of the case records in this volume may successfully develop in the student a quickened sense of the responsibility of the case worker for necessary community action.

[1] Mary E. Richmond, *What Is Social Case Work?* chap. v, pp. 126–43; chap. vi, pp. 144–58.

[2] Ada Eliot Sheffield, "Identifying Clue-Aspects in Social Case Work," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1921, p. 243.

## SECTION I

# CASES IN WHICH SICKNESS GIVES THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A SERVICE BASED ON CO-OPERATION WITH THE MEDICAL AGENCIES OF THE CITY

### 1. The Family of Anton Chiesa

(*An Italian Tailor Who Was Ill with Tuberculosis*)

*September 24, 1917* (*Monday*).—Miss Hill, nurse at the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium[1] Dispensary No. 20, telephoned, asking assistance for the family of Mr. Chiesa, who has tuberculosis. Sanitarium care has been recommended, and an application for the same has been made. Mrs. Chiesa is eight months pregnant. There is a three-year-old child, Teresa. No income.

*September 25, 1917* (*Tuesday*).—Visited. The family live in a four-room front apartment, which they have occupied for three years.[2] The rent is $10.50. Sanitary condition is fair. Mr. Chiesa, a rather clean-looking Italian (thirty-three years old), has been in the city since he immigrated eight years ago. He has not taken out citizenship papers. He has worked as tailor five years for the Jessup firm, earning $12 a week and in 1917 has worked six months for the Cohen firm, earning $16 a week. Mr. Chiesa comes of good parentage. His father was a professor who married beneath him and died when

[1] [The Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium operates under a statute enacted in 1907, authorizing municipalities on affirmative vote of the people to establish and maintain agencies for the care and treatment of victims of tuberculosis. It consists of the Sanitarium, in which there was provision in 1916 for 1,000 patients, besides a staff of physicians who practice at eight substations and of nurses who visit patients in their homes. In 1917 the revenue derived for this service from the special tax authorized under the statute was $1,071,007.83. (See below, p. 861 for text of statute.)]

[2] [There were in 1910 in Chicago 45,169 persons born in Italy and 27,737 persons whose parents were born in that country. There are several recognized Italian neighborhoods (see Robert Hunter, *Tenement Conditions in Chicago; Report of Committee of City Homes Association;* "Two Italian Districts," Grace P. Norton, *American Journal of Sociology*, XVIII, 509–42; *Special Report of U.S. Labor Commissioner*, Vol. IX, "Italians in Great Cities"; etc.)]

Mr. Chiesa was a little boy. His mother had a struggle to care for her family, and he had only two years of schooling. He has two sisters living near Florence with his mother, from whom he has not heard for a long time, who are teachers. His only relative in the United States is a sister, living in a suburb of Harrisfield, Pennsylvania. He has been ill now four weeks and is getting impatient at the delay in sending him to the Sanitarium. He owes the landlord, who lives in the same building, two months' rent, is in debt $30 for groceries, and has used up all his savings except $5.00. He plans if he is not admitted soon to the Sanitarium to return to work.[1]

Mr. Chiesa is insured in Societa San Mareo, Botino Lodge. He is entitled to $5 a week sick benefit for six months. He is entitled to no death benefit. When the six months is up, he is not entitled to any more benefit. He has put in his application and has been advised that payment will be made the third Sunday in October. This will include payment from the date on which he left work and stayed at home, or about four weeks' time.

Mrs. Chiesa is an attractive, fleshy Italian woman of thirty-one years. She is five months pregnant. Her parents immigrated in 1893, when she was seven, and she reached the fifth grade in the public school. Before her marriage in 1912 she worked in several tailor-shops, among them the Silverman Shop. She suffered a miscarriage before Teresa was born, but Teresa has always been an exceptionally healthy

[1] [*The first interview.*—The service asked of the Family Welfare Agency by the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium for this little family, which had never been in contact with any social agency, was a simple and obvious one, including provision for their support during the husband's incapacity and possibly help for the mother in connection with her confinement. Among the subjects obviously in the minds of all three during the conference are the following: How long has he been here, where has he worked, what savings has he accumulated, what are the possibilities of developing other capacities when he is better, what sources of aid does he suggest, what has her experience been in the matter of wage-earning and child-bearing, need she anticipate special difficulty, on whom does she rely?

There is no embarrassment on either side. The family has been in contact with an agency, the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, which is purely a health agency in that, while it deals chiefly with poor persons, it deals with them primarily and fundamentally because they are sick and with a preventive purpose. The family could not formulate the relationship, but they were probably conscious that the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium represents the interest of the community in Mr. Chiesa's restoration to health. He acquiesces in the Sanitarium plan but frets against the delay, substantially saying, "Yes, I see that I should do what I can to get well; but beyond and above that is my obligation to feed my wife and child."]

child and is attractive in appearance. Five months ago they lost a baby boy named David. She did not know the diagnosis, but thought it was swollen glands. Drs. Ball and Bellini attended. The undertaker's bill was $130, and the baby was not insured. Teresa is now insured in the Municipal Industrial Insurance Company; they pay 50 cents a month. Mrs. Chiesa's family, her parents, two sisters, a brother, and a nephew live just around the corner, and she has an aunt living in the same house, and a cousin, Nick Spolato, in the city. She has made no provision for confinement. Visitor gave her diagnosis blank and directions for going to the Lying-In Hospital and urged Mr. Chiesa to take out citizenship papers before going to the Sanitarium. Mrs. Chiesa will try to have her cousin go with him to take out the papers.[1]

*September 26, 1917* (*Wednesday*).—Telephoned Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.[2] Mr. Chiesa is an open case of incipient tuberculosis. Application for sanitarium care was sent in several weeks ago, and an opening may be expected any day now. Miss Hill, the nurse, feels the family should be assisted during his stay at the Sanitarium. Had not made arrangements regarding Mrs. Chiesa's pregnancy as she felt perhaps this had already been attended to.

[1] [Citizenship is not essential for admission to the Sanitarium. It might be said that for admission one must have not papers, but tuberculosis. But if he were permanently and completely incapacitated or if the illness proved fatal, citizenship would prove a factor in Mrs. Chiesa's eligibility for a grant under the Aid to Mothers Law.]

[2] [From the first interview the following lines of inquiry are suggested: (1) About how long may his illness be expected to last? It is inferred that he is curable; otherwise the plan would contemplate his going to the county institution for tubercular patients, on the same grounds with the Cook County almshouse, known as the Oak Forest Infirmary (see below, p. 854, for description of these institutions). It is also inferred that conditions in the home are safe for Mrs. Chiesa and Teresa and that they present no special problem of danger from infection. (2) What suggestion would her older relatives, mother and aunt, make with reference to her support and the care of Teresa during her confinement? Her condition precludes for a number of months the possibility of Mrs. Chiesa's earning, but various combinations suggest themselves by which aid could be obtained from her relatives in the form of shelter and maintenance even if money contributions do not prove available. The Illinois Pauper Act (see below, p. 845) lays the duty of support of destitute persons on parents and children, brothers and sisters and grandparents and grandchildren. The interest and obligation of the sister in Pennsylvania is therefore not to be overlooked. If, however, there are no relatives who can support, there remains always the County Agent to furnish outdoor relief (see below, p. 851).]

Visited Mrs. Sodaro, aunt[1] of Mrs. Chiesa. She has a paralyzed husband who has been in this condition three years. Has seven children of her own and only one working. Could not render any assistance to her niece. Was a rather ignorant type of Italian woman. Mrs. Chiesa's father, Mr. Sparlo, is also incapacitated with paralysis—Dr. Bellini attending. They are not able to aid the daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Chiesa have gotten along fairly well during their married life but have never been able to get ahead. At the time of the death of the child recently they had no insurance and were obliged to meet heavy doctor's and undertaker's bills. They also have been encumbered during most of their married life with heavy furniture bills. Mrs. Sodaro understands that they have only recently completed payment on this. Were married at Roman Catholic Church of our Saviour.

*September 27, 1917* (*Thursday*).—Telephoned Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium nurse and gave report concerning Mr. Chiesa's desire to secure immediate care in Sanitarium or else return to old employment.[2]

*September 28, 1917* (*Friday*).—Visited Mrs. Sparlo, Mrs. Chiesa's mother. Mr. Sparlo is hopelessly paralyzed and has been so for over three years. Smith & Co., for whom he was employed as a special policeman for about fourteen years, has been assisting the family with weekly allowances until very recently. There is one daughter in the home who is working. There is a son of working age, but he does not seem to feel his responsibility and works very irregularly. One of the younger children, Rosie, a girl of about fifteen, is planning to secure employment. Family live in a five-room house. Premises were not very clean. Mrs. Sparlo, who is afflicted with a very bad goiter, says if Mrs. Chiesa goes to the hospital they will be glad to take Teresa. Visitor was not impressed with the fitness of the home

[1] [Among the relatives the mother would be the one to whom it would seem natural to turn first in the face of her daughter's difficulty. However, Mrs. Chiesa, while not telling of her father's illness, had said that her mother would be little able to assist, and a visit to another near relative living in the same house might enable the visitor to approach the mother with better understanding later.]

[2] [It is not the responsibility of the Family Welfare Agency to get Mr. Chiesa to the Sanitarium. The Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium knows his needs as compared with those of other patients. There is no reason, however, why the nurse should not be told of his state of mind about his work—of that she may not be so well informed as the visitor.]

for a child. Mrs. Sparlo stated Mr. and Mrs. Chiesa had been married five years and had been barely able to eke out an existence and get a small sum saved up. All this money had been expended at the time of the baby's death about five months ago.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Nick Spolato, cousin of Mrs. Chiesa. Mr. Spolato is a barber. They have eight children, and she did not feel they could assist Mrs. Chiesa and did not think it would be possible for her to come to live with them. The family has a very nice cottage and looks decidedly thrifty.

*Later.*—Visited Dr. Ball. Had not attended baby during recent illness excepting just at first. Did not know what the trouble was with it. Had known family for about six years. Both the immediate families and all the relatives are very poor and have no resources. He had recently endeavored to have Mrs. Sparlo submit to an operation for her goiter at one of the free hospitals, but she had been afraid to have this done and she could not afford to pay for private care.

*Later.*—Visited. (Mr. Chiesa had gone down town to look up an old friend who knew the date when he came to this country. He is planning to have a cousin go with him on Monday, the first, to take out his first papers.) Mrs. Chiesa had $3.60 on hand. Told her to keep $1.00 for the first papers and use the rest for food. Had been to the Lying-In and received a card to call Dr. Brown on date of confinement, which was noted as either October or November. She does not wish to go to the hospital[1] as she has already purchased $17 worth of coal for the winter; owes $7.00 on this yet. Mrs. Rabb, the landlady, will attend her during her confinement; and Mrs. Chiesa stated that she has so very little pain at such a time that she does not feel it is necessary for her to go to a hospital. There is no bathroom in their house, but she explains that she never takes a bath during the time of her pregnancy because it brings on a miscarriage; under ordinary conditions she uses the bathtub at her mother's. Mr. Chiesa previously used the bathtub at her cousin Nick Spolato's barber-shop. He, however, has not taken a bath for some time as he is afraid to do so because of his condition. Mrs. Chiesa has some baby clothing on hand but needs bands, a few dresses, and a skirt or

[1] [See Adena Miller Rich, *Prenatal Care*, pp. 46 and 57; Grace Abbott, "The Midwife in Chicago," *American Journal of Sociology*, XX (March, 1915), 684–99; *The Midwife Problem in the United States* (U.S. Children's Bureau Leaflet)].

two. She does some crochet work but is too nervous to crochet well enough for any outside person.[1]

*October 1, 1917 (Monday).*—Telephoned County Agent, who will investigate.

*October 2, 1917 (Tuesday).*—Letter written to the superintendent,[2] Associated Charities, Harrisfield, Pennsylvania:

Will you please have your correspondent in Rushwood, Pennsylvania, make a visit on Mrs. Felix Pinelli, sister of Mr. Anton Chiesa 1467 West Street? The situation recently came to our attention as Mr. Chiesa is ill with tuberculosis and is awaiting an opening to go for treatment to the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Mrs. Chiesa is seven months pregnant. The family appears to be absolutely without resources, and no one of the immediate relatives seems to be in any better circumstances. What can Mrs. Pinelli tell us about the past history of this family? Could she render any assistance or would she have any suggestions to offer for the present crisis?

*Later.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Chiesa at her mother's and also Nick Spolato, the cousin to whom Mrs. Chiesa had referred. He had accompanied Mr. Chiesa to the Court on the morning of the first, and then gone with him to the Sanitarium. Mr. Chiesa had paid his dollar for papers but had not had all the necessary information. Mr. Spolato was calling on Mrs. Chiesa to secure these papers which he will take down to the Court. Does not think it will be necessary for Mr. Chiesa to appear in Court again, but if so will have him come in from the Sanitarium. Talked with Mr. Spolato and Mrs. Chiesa regarding hospital care. Mrs. Chiesa did not feel inclined to adopt this plan, but Mr. Spolato said he would talk it over with Mr. Chiesa

[1] [The visitor is evidently trying to find a way in which Mrs. Chiesa may contribute to her own support. It is interesting to notice that, although Mrs. Chiesa had worked in a tailor-shop, the visitor never seems to think of home-finishing. It is also interesting that although there are four rooms in the little apartment, the lodger plan never suggests itself. On those points the Chicago agencies are probably quite clear. See "The Sweating System," *Hull-House Maps and Papers*, pp. 27–25; "The Chicago Housing Problem," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vols. XVI–XXI; and see Wright, *Children of Working Mothers* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication 102). Also see below, Section IV for illustrations of difficulties involved in mother's work.]

[2] [Through membership in the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work a reciprocity exists between the Chicago Family Welfare Agency, and similar agencies in 330 cities. At the request of other cities by letter or telegram the Chicago Agency makes investigations, secures assistance for their clients, and aids

when he visited him at the Sanitarium, and would also discuss it with his own family. Mr. Spolato's parents are quite old, and he has eight children and is therefore unable to give any assistance other than possibly keeping Teresa in case Mrs. Chiesa should go to the hospital. However, Mrs. Chiesa did not feel that it would be wise to store her furniture[1] even if she went as she feels that she is a strong woman and would not need to stay in the hospital very long. Left $2.00 grocery order.[2]

*October 5, 1917.*—Telephoned County Agent's office. Mrs. Chiesa is receiving Ration No. 2.

*October 8, 1917.*—Visited Mrs. Chiesa at her mother's. Talked with her again regarding going to the hospital, but she was unwilling to do this as she said she was ill only a few hours during confinement. Mrs. Chiesa asked for a cap, rug, and sweater from supplies. She has no money to purchase these. Told her if we had a sweater in supplies we would see that it was brought to her the following morning. Otherwise her sister, Rosie Sparlo, who was home that day ill, said she would get the things for Mrs. Chiesa and Mrs. Chiesa could repay her later. Rosie says she occasionally purchases little articles for Teresa, who appears to be a very spoiled child. Talked again regarding the possibility of Mrs. Chiesa's going with some one of her relatives, but both Mrs. Sparlo and Mrs. Chiesa's sister felt this would be impossible. Left $1.60 cash to pay gas bill which was due and also $2.35 grocery order.[3] Mrs. Chiesa did not know whether Mr. Chiesa

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in devising and executing plans for their care. In the same way the Chicago Agency may call on any one of the societies in other communities. See *Sixty-six Years of Service: An Account of the Activities of the United Charities of Chicago* (1922), p. 25.]

[1] [They had just recently finished paying for this furniture after nearly five years' effort. And women like Mrs. Chiesa have little reason to think of childbearing as anything more than rather incidental.]

[2] [At this date the entries of relief given were part of the record. These items are now provided for on special sheet and do not appear in the narrative. The subject of the use of the grocery order might be discussed in connection with the Kruszka case below, p. 452.]

[3] [It had become clear that support could not be had from the relatives in Chicago. The last of the family's savings are spent, and a policy of relief is entered upon. At this time no estimated budget was included in the record, but the following calculations throw light on the entries about food allowances. The County Agent's Ration No. 2 was estimated as worth $3.69. The Chicago Standard Budget, which had been formulated by Miss Florence Nesbitt, required for a man food costing $2.10 a week. This amount was evidently treated as a sufficient allowance for an expectant mother. For the child the estimate was $1.10, or a total

actually had his first papers or not as he had told her he could not leave the hospital for two months and would attend to finishing up the matter at that time.

*October 12, 1917.*—Letter received from Associated Charities, Harrisfield, Pennsylvania, inclosing letter received from Mr. Chiesa's brother-in-law:

RUSHWOOD, PENNSYLVANIA
October 9, 1917

DEAR SIR:

I received your letter regarding my brother-in-law Anton Chiesa of Chicago. Please let me know how long he was sick, and where he it is now, so if he is on his home or on some sanatorium. You know I am was no rich, but I am a poor, because I support 12 peoples, seven is on my family and five it is on the old country including his mother and his sister. But after I will do my best I can for help him soon as possible. Send to me his address if you have and I remain,

Your
FELIX PINELLI

*October 16, 1917* (*Tuesday*).—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa had borrowed $5.00 from her sister for a sweater. Has not yet heard from the benefit society. Is anxious to get money in order to pay rent and her debt to druggist and other bills. Will, however, not spend any of this money before conferring with visitor. Left $2.35 grocery order and 75 cents to purchase olive oil and safety pins as preparation for new baby. Promised to bring baby clothing later in week.

*October 22, 1917* (*Monday*).—Letter written Mr. Felix Pinelli, brother-in-law of Mr. Chiesa:

We have your letter of the ninth addressed to the Charities of Harrisfield. We have known the situation in your brother-in-law's family since September of this year. At present Mr. Chiesa is in our Municipal Tuberculosis

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of $3.20 a week. This multiplied by $4\frac{1}{3}$ equals $13.87, the sum resulting from multiplying the grant $2.35 by $4\frac{1}{3}$ and adding in the value of the County Ration No. 2. The record contains no reference to any explanation making clear to Mrs. Chiesa the way in which this amount was arrived at. Moreover, later (see entry of November 12, 1917), a quart of milk a day was arranged for in addition to the weekly allowance. Her allowance, then, is made up of County Agent ration, Charity Alliance milk, the society benefit, the Family Welfare supplementary grant, and various donations. For the method of framing a budget, see Benjamin R. Andrews, *Economics of the Household* (New York, 1923), chap. iii; "Minimum Quantity Budget Necessary to Maintain a Worker's Family of Five in Health and Decency," *Monthly Labor Review*, X (June, 1920), 1307; Florence Nesbitt, *The Chicago Standard Budget for Dependent Families* (published by the Chicago Council of Social Agencies).]

Sanitarium endeavoring to recover from a case of incipient tuberculosis. He left Mrs. Chiesa entirely dependent as their small savings had been used to defray the funeral expenses of the baby boy, who died five months ago, and also to pay for medicine and for a previous operation for Mr. Chiesa. Mrs. Chiesa is expecting another child this week. Our organization has been assisting with food and has recently furnished clothing for the expected child. It seems that Mrs. Chiesa has no relatives here who are in a position to help her. She is expecting a $5.00 weekly payment from the Societa San Mareo, Botino Lodge, which payment was supposed to begin yesterday. We have not learned whether the payment has been made. Her rent of $10 is due. We would appreciate any assistance you can give Mrs. Chiesa and shall be glad to keep in touch with you regarding your brother-in-law's condition.[1]

*October 23, 1917.*—Visited Mrs. Chiesa at her mother's. Her father was dying, and she was much disturbed. Her check will be forwarded this week from the benefit society. Will amount to $30 or $35. Advised that she does not spend any of this until the twenty-sixth, when visitor will call to talk over expenditures.

*October 26, 1917* (*Friday*).—Visited drugstore at the adjoining corner. Mrs. Chiesa owes them $5.00. Proprietor agreed that he would wait until Mr. Chiesa had returned from Sanitarium and secured employment before pressing for payment.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa had her $35 cash received from the benefit society carefully put away in a jar. She has a great horror of debt and seemed extremely anxious to pay the debts she owes at present. Planned with her to pay the rent, $10.50, and $7.00 coal bill; also milk bill of $3.72. Mrs. Chiesa explained that her milkman was a very poor man and she had promised to pay him on the twenty-seventh. Owes him two months' milk bill. After this she will buy her milk from the store. In addition, she will have to pay the $5.00 to her sister for the sweater, as her sister had borrowed the money from friends. This will leave about $8.76, which will enable Mrs. Chiesa to buy groceries to the amount of $2.35 a week for three weeks and a half. Thinks the rest of the money from the benefit society will be due the third Sunday in November. Promised to try to secure underwear for Mr. Chiesa and shoes for Teresa. Teresa was not feeling at all well and seemed to have a heavy cold. Arranged to send county doctor. (This was done by telephone later.)

[1] [The record does not show any later correspondence between the Agency and Mr. Pinelli. It is of course possible that Mr. Pinelli wrote directly to Mr. Chiesa. Mr. Chiesa's statement about his meager educational advantages makes it easy to understand why he and his sister do not correspond.]

*Later.*—Visited landlord, with Mrs. Chiesa. Paid $10.50 rent. He is a very kindly man and has been of great assistance to Mrs. Chiesa. He went to find the coal dealer at the corner, to whom Mrs. Chiesa owes $7.00, but he was not in. Is a very difficult man to find. Mrs. Chiesa will try to get hold of him at the earliest possible moment.

Mrs. Chiesa owes grocer across the street $5.00. In this connection she said that although he has not pressed her for the money she feels ashamed whenever she sees him because she has not paid him. Is not accustomed to run bills and is anxious for Mr. Chiesa to come home and not find her loaded down with debts. Her father is insured in the benefit society of Smith & Co. for $1,000. This is in Mrs. Chiesa's mother's name. Smith & Co. has helped for two or three years, $6.00 a week, but has discontinued this help.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. Adams, volunteer, who will try to secure clothing and shoes for Teresa.

*October 30, 1917.*—Telephoned nurse at Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium regarding underclothing for Mr. Chiesa.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Chiesa at her mother's. Her father very low. She had not yet been able to pay the $7.00 to the coal man but had the money safely lodged in her waist. In addition to this she had $6.00 cash on hand, which she had in her stocking. She paid her gas bill of $3.72 and $5.00 to her sister for the sweater. In addition, she had spent about $1.50 on the baby. Has spent also $2.78 but could not recall what she had spent this for. Still had 40 cents left of her grocery order. Doctor had called and advised that child had a heavy cold and had prescribed medicine which she had procured.

*November 8, 1917* (*Thursday*).—Visited Mrs. Chiesa at her mother's. Left bundle of clothing from donation containing shoes for Teresa, which although worn, were usable; however, Mrs. Chiesa did not feel that they were heavy enough for the child. She had about $1.50 left. Does not think she will get $20 from the benefit society as she received $5.00 extra in her last payment; was really only entitled to $30. Doctor from Lying-In had called and had been surprised to learn that she had not as yet been confined. Promised visit on the thirteenth to leave grocery order for that week as her funds would not extend over that period of time.

*November 12, 1917* (*Monday*).—Telephoned Mrs. Coonley, Charity Alliance.[1] Gave report of Mrs. Chiesa's situation and asked that

[1] [An "endorsed" organization of relief and benefit character having a budget in 1921 of $3,853.06.]

Charity Alliance furnish a quart of milk a day. This was agreed to, beginning on the fifteenth.

*November 13, 1917.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa is anxious about Teresa's shoes as she feels the child should have some heavier ones. Gave $2.35 grocery order.

*November 21, 1917 (Wednesday).*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa thinks she may receive benefit society money the twenty-second but will spend none of it with the exception of some for food until the twenty-fourth, when visitor will call to arrange with her for expenditures. Had telephoned Mr. Chiesa at the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium but thinks he must have been moved to a cottage as she could not get in touch with him at the main building. Is worried about him but he advised her sister on previous Sunday that he would possibly go to a cottage. His condition is much improved. Had 50 cents left of last week's grocery order and had borrowed $1.35 from landlord with which to purchase shoes for Teresa as she felt those Welfare Agency gave her were too large.[1]

*November 27, 1917.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa had received the $20 from the benefit society but had not wanted to spend any of this until the visitor came, so had secured a small charge from grocer and promised him she would pay same when visitor had called to arrange about her money. Called in landlord and paid $10.50 rent from November 26 to December 26; in addition, arranged with Mrs. Chiesa to pay 50 cents back milk bill, 64 cents grocer, 50 cents insurance, and $1.35 which she had borrowed from landlord, also 25 cents for syrup. This leaves her $6.26, which will last her about three weeks, making it necessary for Agency to supplement small amount on the fourth week. Will receive her next payment from the benefit society shortly after the sixteenth of December. Left clothing from donation, with which she was greatly pleased. Has not heard from Mr. Chiesa at the Sanitarium and is much worried to know what has become of him. Arranged to telephone her through the grocer when we heard from the Sanitarium.

*November 28, 1917.*—Letter received from Sanitarium, in which it is reported that Mr. Anton Chiesa is a moderately advanced case

[1] [This transaction was one of several in which Mrs. Chiesa with perfect firmness made known her needs and when they were not met by the Agency directly provided in some other way for their satisfaction. These incidents illustrate the futility of leaving out of the Agency's budget any items likely to be thought essential by the client and at the same time expecting the client to devote such resources as she enjoys to satisfying the needs the Agency thinks imperative.]

of pulmonary tuberculosis, with disease extending to both lungs. While he has been gaining in weight and is doing well so far, he ought to remain in the institution longer.

*Later.*—Telephoned grocer. Gave report for Mrs. Chiesa regarding Mr. Chiesa.

*Later.*—Visited Nick Spolato, Jackson Avenue. He owns a barber shop at 327 West Street, so went there to see him. Mr. Spolato has not seen Mr. Chiesa since he went to the Sanitarium—therefore has not assisted Mr. Chiesa in getting his first papers. Says his working hours are such that he cannot get off to see him. Gave visitor the first papers, for Mr. Chiesa to fill out—then he thought he could do the rest. Mr. Spolato had a roll of blank naturalization papers, both first and second, so evidently helps others in this also.

*December 4, 1917.*—Visited. Gave Mrs. Chiesa first papers for Mr. Chiesa to fill out. She had spent $2.50 the past week. Had $4.50 on hand, which she thinks will last her until she gets her next allowance the third Sunday in the month. Her father was supposed to be dying this morning. Gave package of clothing from donation.

*December 13, 1917.*—Visited. Mr. Chiesa had just come home from Sanitarium that day. Was on leave of absence until the fifteenth. Was looking immensely better. Came in to attend to his first papers and was going down with his cousin Nick Spolato to take these out tomorrow. Will borrow $1.00 from his cousin for this purpose. Mrs. Chiesa had used up all her money and will not receive her next benefit society payment until next week. Had been obliged to buy a thermometer for Mr. Chiesa, which had cost 50 cents. Left $2.35 grocery order.

*December 19, 1917.*—Name given Mrs. Lee for Christmas. She will provide dinner and clothing.

*December 24, 1917.*—Visited. A lovely 8½ pound girl was born December 17. Mrs. Chiesa pleased with the care from Lying-In. Lying-In nurse came in and bathed baby while visitor was there. Said child was an unusually well-formed baby. Mrs. Chiesa has not named her. Said she was waiting for Mr. Chiesa to do this. Mrs. Chiesa's father died December 17. Mother will receive $1,000, but most of this has been expended for funeral. Mrs. Chiesa had received $20 from the benefit society.[1] Had spent $2.00 of this. Said that

[1] [See below, p. 464, for fuller discussion of foreign benefit societies. See also S. P. Breckinridge, *New Homes for Old*, pp. 187–221, especially pp. 192–96; Michael M. Davis, Jr., *Immigrant Health and the Community*, pp. 92–111; John Daniels, *America via the Neighborhood*, especially pp. 98–107.]

milk had stopped something over a week ago and landlord had purchased milk for her. Owes him 50 cents. Called in landlord. Paid rent, $10.50, to January 26. This leaves Mrs. Chiesa $7.50, or enough money to keep her in groceries about three weeks. Mrs. Wilson of committee delivered Christmas basket, including some lovely baby things and staple foods. Mrs. Chiesa said Mr. Chiesa was much in need of rubbers or overshoes. Told her we would take up matter with Sanitarium. Mr. Chiesa had taken out his first papers on December 14.

*December 26, 1917.*—Telephoned for 1 quart of milk daily until Welfare Agency notifies otherwise.

*December 29, 1917.*—Telephoned Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Gave report that Mr. Chiesa needed rubbers and overshoes. They will see that same are secured at Sanitarium.

*January 3, 1918.*—Mrs. Jonas of Advisory Committee, reported that she gave Mrs. Chiesa a chicken and $2.00 and sent clothing. She met Mrs. Wilson there, and she had taken in a Christmas dinner.

*January 9, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa had been obliged to spend an extra amount for food as nurse had suggested a special diet including chicken broth for her until the baby is one month of age. Had but $1.00 of the benefit society money left and will not be paid until the thirty-first. Will be entitled to but $16 as one of the members of the society has died and she is obliged to pay $3.00 dues. Will be entitled to but $5.00 in February as this closes the sum due from the benefit society. Mrs. Chiesa asked for bedding. Had report from Mr. Chiesa that he may stay at the Sanitarium until the thirty-first of March. Very grateful for her Christmas remembrances, which included clothing for Teresa and food, also the $2.00 from Mrs. Jonas.

*January 14, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa asked for black clothing for herself and husband, and shoes for the baby. Left grocery order $2.35.

*January 23, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa had secured $16 from the benefit society. Did not receive the total of $20 due as $3.00 had been used to pay dues and $1.00 for the death of a member. She understands there was some talk of the society's taking up the matter of relief for her until March because of her helpless condition. If they do not do this she will be entitled to but $5.00 next month, which will be the final payment. Landlord was not present so could not pay the rent to him. Mrs. Chiesa said she preferred to keep $10.50 and

make payment to landlord when visitor was present. Was to go the following day to the Infant Welfare Station with the baby. Is to take child there every two or three months when she receives notice to that effect. Was inclined not to go because of the condition of her clothing as she does not really have respectable black clothing. Told her if possible we would try to secure this. She promised to take the baby and wear what things she had.

*January 26, 1918.*—Visited. Paid rent to landlord of $10.50 from January 26 to February 26. Mrs. Chiesa had just returned from the Infant Welfare Station with the child. Said the doctors were much pleased with the baby's appearance. Said she was unusually well developed for a child of five weeks. Has decided to call baby Victoria.

*Later.*—Sent clothing from supplies to Mrs. Chiesa which, however, did not include black clothing for herself.

*February 8, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa had used up all the money last received from the benefit society. Will receive next payment February 17. Will take baby to Infant Welfare Station next Friday, February 15. Mr. Chiesa is coming home February 9 to stay over Sunday. Is getting along fine and expects to come home in April to stay. Had gas bill for $1.32 due the eighth. Left grocery order—$2.35.

*February 11, 1918 (Monday).*—Visited. Mr. Chiesa at home for over Sunday. Looked strong and says he is feeling fine. Thinks he can come home the first of April. Wants Welfare Agency to find him a light job to begin with and last until he is strong enough to take heavy work. Left $1.32 for February gas bill. Mrs. Chiesa said grocery order left the eighth was gone because she had to buy extra food for Mr. Chiesa. Left $2.35 grocery order.

*February 18, 1918 (Monday.)*—Visited. Found Teresa ill. Mrs. Chiesa had had a physician. She is expecting money from the benefit society on the nineteenth. Asked for shoes and black waist for herself. Gave her two pairs of shoes for Teresa and some clothes for Mr. Chiesa (donation). Left $2.35 grocery order.

*February 19, 1918.*—Frank Benes telephoned. Mrs. Chiesa in his store asking that he call Welfare Agency to request that they send county doctor as Victoria is very ill, which was done.

*February 22, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa received $20 from the benefit society February 18. Will get $5.00 or $10 next month. Paid 50 cents for insurance. Rent ready for visitor to make pay-

ment to landlord. Has 60 cents left on grocery order. Victoria is better. Teresa still seems to be bothered some with her stomach. Mrs. Chiesa has had a bad cold.

*March 2, 1918 (Saturday).*—Visited. No one at home. Landlord said Mrs. Chiesa had gone to get[1] county supplies but thought she would be back soon. Had not paid him rent as she is waiting for visitor to settle matter.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa had not returned. Explained to landlord that visitor would call on the fifth.

*Later.*—Mrs. Brown, Perry Avenue, telephoned. She wishes to visit some needy family and assist with one week's groceries. Gave detailed report. She will visit Mrs. Chiesa.

*March 5, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa had on hand $14.50 and, in addition, $1.32 for last month's gas bill—the gas bill money had been advanced from Welfare Agency. Does not think she will receive further payments from the benefit society. They are holding a meeting on the eleventh, and she will know after that date. Paid landlord rent from February 26 to March 26, 1918. This left $2.05 after the gas bill was paid. Stated that Mr. Chiesa had returned a month previous to be present at christening of baby.

*March 6, 1918.*—Letter received from Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium regarding condition of Mr. Chiesa.

> Replying to your letter of the 27th ult. inquiring in regard to the present condition of Mr. Anton Chiesa, I beg to report as follows: He is one of our Cottage patients, and has tuberculosis extending to both of his lungs. He has considerable cough and expectoration and his sputum contains tubercle bacilli. He has very little fever and has gained about 18 lbs. in weight. He ought to remain in here for the present, and it is impossible for us to say when he will be able to go home.

*March 8, 1918.*—Mrs. Chiesa telephoned. Victoria quite ill. Asked county doctor, who called the same day.

[1] [The County Agent has several times suggested "that this Department be provided with a small autotruck for the delivery of rations in emergency cases—old age, ill, or isolated contagious cases—all of which now are handled by police patrol wagons. Appearance of a patrol wagon in communities of the poor often is misinterpreted by neighbors, who do not understand its charitable mission, and worthy recipients of emergency relief are embarrassed and grossly humiliated. Such a delivery truck should be added to the equipment of the new main office which the County now is constructing for the County Agent . . . . " (*Charity Service Reports, Cook County, Illinois*, 1920, p. 19). See entry of April 2, 1918.]

*March 12, 1918 (Tuesday).*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa received word from the benefit society that it will be impossible to continue further relief after the six months. Victoria is better now. Had had a severe cold. Mrs. Chiesa had been advised by the Infant Welfare Station to get Russian oil to take herself as this would improve child's condition. Is going twice a week to the Infant Welfare Society. Arranged with Mrs. Chiesa to go this week to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary with Teresa and the baby for a thorough examination. She promised to do so. Left $2.35 grocery order and 40 cents carfare. While visitor was there, Visiting Nurse came in, having been sent by the county doctor who had called on Victoria. Stated that child seemed much improved.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. Brown, Perry Avenue. She visited Mrs. Chiesa on March 8. Had planned to give her $4.00 but gave her only $2.50 as she thought she was ungrateful for assistance she had received from Welfare Agency. When Mrs. Brown asked her how she was getting along, she said Welfare Agency gave $2.35 a week for food and that this amount was not nearly enough.[1]

*March 14, 1918.*—Telephoned Mrs. Smith, Charity Alliance, asking whether they will pay next month's rent for family. Request granted.

*March 19, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa not at home. Left grocery order for $2.35 with neighbor in the rear.

*Later.*—Met Mrs. Chiesa returning from Infant Welfare Station. Had been to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary and was to return on the twentieth. Gave her 10 cents carfare.

*March 28, 1918.*—Visited. Left grocery order for $2.35. Mr. Chiesa will return from Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium in two weeks and Mrs. Chiesa asked if Welfare Agency can provide for his blankets so that he can sleep out on her mother's sleeping porch. She also asked for an Easter dress for Teresa, saying she had nothing

[1] [Among the interesting topics to which space can hardly be given is that of introducing into the homes of the poor, persons who do not understand the situation. This volunteer evidently cherishes the older attitude toward relief-giving and regards it as the appropriate expression of a favorable moral or social judgment on the part of the donor. See below, entry May 7, 1918, for an expression of Mr. Chiesa's appreciation of the help given him. Neither the volunteer nor Mrs. Chiesa had understood that while the food allowance was probably adequate as measured by the Standard Budget, it was only so when the county ration and milk were counted in and when the grocery order could be so used as to extract full value from its ostensible value.]

fit for the child to wear to church. Teresa's insurance was due Friday the twenty-second—50 cents. Mrs. Chiesa asked if Agency could furnish 50 cents for this.

*April 2, 1918.*—Telephoned Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Reported that Mr. Chiesa has not been dismissed as yet. If he says he plans to leave it is probably on his own accord. They have no way to prevent this although he must make application three days before he can leave. The doctor will look up the record and telephone later to Welfare Agency.

*Later.*—Visited. House very clean. Mrs. Chiesa washing. Her sister will visit Mr. Chiesa tomorrow at the Sanitarium and urge him to remain another month or until doctor advises his dismissal. She and the children were examined at Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary and found free from tuberculosis. Will return next month for further examination. She will take baby to Infant Welfare Station April 3. She said she has no money at all. Asked for carfare to go to the Welfare Station. Borrowed 20 cents from landlady last week to go for county supplies. Has gas bill amounting to 62 cents —if paid before April 10. Asked for shoes and dress for the baby. Left $2.35 order, 50 cents cash for insurance on Teresa, and 30 cents to cover carfare.

*April 8, 1918.*—Visited. Mr. Chiesa at home. Says doctor told him he could do light work, and he is very anxious to begin next week. In case Welfare Agency is able to secure him any work, they may telephone grocery. Mrs. Chiesa is greatly concerned about the rent, which she stated had not been paid since February 26. Left grocery order of $2.35. Mrs. Chiesa did not feel this would be sufficient since Mr. Chiesa is now home. Left cash—62 cents—with which she is to pay the gas bill; also clothing from donation. Teresa is in need of new summer clothing as she has outgrown all her old clothes.

*April 12, 1918.*—Visited. Mr. Chiesa returned Saturday, April 6, with the consent of the doctor. His test has been negative for five weeks and the doctor told him he was able to work. He should, however, be out of doors for the sake of precaution. The nurse from the Dispensary called the tenth. He spoke to her about a cot and blankets in order that he might sleep on mother-in-law's porch. She promised same for him. He is very anxious to work at once so that he may assume his own financial responsibilities. Seemed worried about the rent, for which landlord is pressing him. Mrs. Chiesa

called landlord in, and visitor explained that owing to Mr. Chiesa's condition the family had been unable to pay the rent in advance as they had been formerly accustomed to do, Welfare Agency had paid the last rent for month ending March 26 and assured him that by April 26 he would have either from agency or Mr. Chiesa the rent for the month ending April 26. Left grocery order for $3.00 since the budget was now increased owing to his presence in the home.

*April 15, 1918.*—Letter received from the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium:

> Yours of the 11th to hand, requesting diagnosis and prognosis of Anton Chiesa. Our Medical Department reports as follows: "This patient was suffering from Pulmonary Tuberculosis, involving both lungs; his sputum was negative for several months before he left us. He was discharged by us as he was taking a good deal of physical exercise, and we thought he ought to be able to work. We think Mr. Chiesa should be able to work eight hours a day at any kind of light work."

*Later.*—Telephoned Handicap Department.[1] Referred visitor to National Council of Defense, Employment Bureau, for suitable work for Mr. Chiesa.

*April 25, 1918.*—Visited. Mr. Chiesa secured position through Employment Committee for Handicapped, April 23. Was referred to the S. & S. Railway Company for work as night watchman. His hours are from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. The work is not difficult but so

[1] [A number of rather tedious entries showing efforts to secure Mr. Chiesa light outside work are omitted. They would, if retained, illustrate the fact that maladjustments in social machinery account for many situations in which aid is asked. Mr. Chiesa had been maintained six and a half months at the Sanitarium beside enjoying the services of skilled physicians and nurses. His prompt recovery and return are triumphs for the service. Surely considerations of mere economy would indicate the wisdom of developing efficient machinery for so utilizing his energies afterward that he will not again soon become a victim to the same malady. These entries show his eagerness and the futile good will of many persons: for example, the employment committee of the National Council of Defense, the members of the District Advisory Committee, officials of the South Park Commission, a board of five members appointed by the Circuit Court judge who exercise jurisdiction over a district covering 92.6 square miles. There are in that district under this commission twenty-four parks and 32.98 miles of boulevard requiring in 1918 a large staff of workmen and always the source of desperate hope in times of difficulty about employment. Private individuals offered Mr. Chiesa work that was too heavy, the office sent him on errands, and finally through the Employment Committee for the Handicapped a job as night watchman was secured.]

much walking tires him, as he is not used to it; however, he feels that the work will not be too strenuous and is anxious to keep the position. Will not be paid for one month, but Mrs. Chiesa thinks he will receive $75 per month. He was sleeping, and she requested that visitor call on next visit between the hours of 4:00 and 5:00 P.M. so that she might talk with him regarding his wages and the strenuousness of his work. Gave $1.00 in cash in payment for errand which he did for office April 23. Requested that this be kept for carfare for him. Left grocery order for $3.00.

*April 30, 1918.*—Visited at 4:30 as promised. Mr. Chiesa was up and ready to start to work. Does not feel entirely satisfied with position, as he is not able to sleep well during the day time owing to the noises on the street. Does not feel the position is too hard for him, however, and will stay with it until he secures something which he considers better. He will return to the Handicap Department and explain to them the advantage from the physical standpoint of his securing a day position and see if they will not keep him in mind for such a position. Talked over with Mr. and Mrs. Chiesa the advisability of establishing credit for them at grocery. They are very willing for this and feel that with the current month's rent paid they can manage both back rent and current grocery bills on the $75 which he will earn. He will receive his first pay May 14. Left $1.00 cash for carfare for him. Paid the rent to the landlord for the month—March 26–April 26—$10.50.

*Later.*—Visited grocery store and talked with grocer with whom the family had used the Agency's grocery order; arranged for credit until May 28 since Mr. Chiesa will receive only part pay on May 14 and will not be able at that time to pay his bill in full.

*May 2, 1918.*—Telephoned Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary. Mrs. Chiesa is non-tubercular; Teresa is still under observation but shows no tendencies at present. Mr. Chiesa has shown no signs as yet that his work is detrimental to his health. Will notify Agency as soon as any signs appear that his work is too heavy for him.

*May 7, 1918.*—Visited. Mr. Chiesa more enthusaistic about position as he thinks there will be a raise in salary the first of the month. Will receive three weeks' pay May 14. If credit is established for them until May 28, Mr. Chiesa will keep this amount for carfare and incidentals. Talked over their budget of expenses. Both are assured that they can get along now by themselves, and

besides meeting their regular expenses Mr. Chiesa plans to save $5.00 each month. Very grateful to visitor for her assistance. Asked visitor to call upon them whenever in the neighborhood.

*June 22, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Chiesa reports they are getting along in a very fine way. Mr. Chiesa is still working as night watchman with the Railway Company at $75 a month. They now have the back rent all paid, and Mr. Chiesa and Mrs. Chiesa and the children still go to the Dispensary for observation. The doctor from the Dispensary called last week to investigate Mr. Chiesa's sleeping quarters and pronounced them satisfactory. Mr. Chiesa sleeps in the front room where he has the benefit of ventilation from three windows. Mrs. Chiesa would not care to go on a summer outing as she feels Mr. Chiesa is her first consideration and is sure he would have no place to stay which would be satisfactory. Would be very glad to go with the children on a boat trip if tickets are given. Mrs. Chiesa asked Agency's plan regarding milk. Expects to pay for it themselves but it has been coming regularly as it did when sent by Agency and she wondered if it had not been discontinued at the office.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. Smith of the Charity Alliance. Gave report regarding milk. If milk has not been discontinued it has been an oversight on the part of the secretary. Will call it to her attention immediately since the family is able to pay for it.

*November 21, 1919.*—Visited. There is a baby boy, Ernest, born November 7. Mrs. Chiesa is rather weak and complained of headache, but this may be due to being up so soon after confinement. Mr. Chiesa has been well except for a cold now and then. He is still working for the same employer and started to work today in the daytime. Teresa and Victoria both looked well. Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium nurse visits family. They seem to be getting along nicely.

*July 25, 1923.*—Visited the Chiesas, who have moved. They live in a newer district, just two blocks south of their former address. The street is ungraded. They occupy a four-room flat on the second floor front of an attractive two-story frame house, belonging to Alexander Ferro, who married Mrs. Chiesa's sister, Rosie.

Mrs. Chiesa, a rather tall, plump woman of dark complexion, was doing the family washing. The kitchen looked clean and neat as did the rest of the house. Mrs. Chiesa appears to be pregnant. The family is getting along well. Mr. Chiesa is still a watchman at the same plant and works all the time. All the children are well except the baby, Bernice, born September 3, 1921, who has been sick for

the past week and has lost considerably in weight and looks very pale and quite thin. Mrs. Chiesa did not welcome suggestions as to Bernice's medical care. Said she had taken the baby to her own doctor and thought she would improve now. Mrs. Chiesa said she didn't like their new flat at first because she missed the noise and bustle on the other street, on which there was a car line, and the new neighborhood was so quiet at night that she was a little afraid at first. She is glad, however, that they are near a school, which is only one block east and that the children do not have to cross any street-car tracks now. Mr. Chiesa, who is on his vacation this week, came in later. He is a nice-looking man with a ruddy, full face and very bright brown eyes. At first he somewhat resented the presence of an outsider, but his attitude changed after it was explained to him how glad his friends would be to know of the family's well being and his good health. Mr. Chiesa says he feels three times as well as he did before going to the Sanitarium. The heat affects his appetite somewhat, but he appears very well and alert. He says he knows how to take good care of himself.

During the last two weeks, he has, with the aid of a helper, built on an inclosed rear porch, first and second floor, with nice wide stairs, and has also painted the house. He is planning to use part of this addition as a sleeping-porch for himself and will gradually add windows, as he cannot do it all at once. Mr. Chiesa's brother-in-law, from whom he rents the flat, does not charge him the full amount, so Mr. Chiesa takes care of much of the necessary repair work.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Chiesa speak English very well. Mr. Chiesa appears to be a competent American workman who takes pride in being able to provide for his family. Mrs. Chiesa is not interested in a summer outing because the children are small, but might like to go next year when it would not be so hard.

### 2. The Family of Joseph Juraitis

(*A Lithuanian Laborer, Incurably Ill with Heart Trouble*)

*November 5, 1918* (*Tuesday*).—Mr. Kiras, a Lithuanian business man, reported the Juraitis family to be without funds. Mr. Juraitis, a Lithuanian immigrant, aged forty-one, has been ill for eleven months. He worked at Vincent's, using a large screw driver, which he often pushed by holding it against his chest. This resulted in a tumor, which the doctors say cannot be removed. During the first nine weeks that he was

at home he received a sick-benefit from the Employees' Benefit Association at Vincent's, at the end of which time the company doctor said he could resume light work. He was given this for three weeks and then put back on his old job. He suffered a relapse and could not work. Later he tried work in a meat-packing establishment, but again had to stop. He has had many doctors and has spent about $600 for medical care. He has borrowed $25 from a friend, Felix Balutis, for doctors' bills. The Society of Lithuanian Brothers, a lodge to which he belongs, paid him $5.00 a month for six months. This is all the assistance to which he is entitled from that organization. The family are members of a Lithuanian Roman Catholic church. Besides Mr. Juraitis, there are his wife, aged twenty-three, and two little girls. John Kolecki lives with them and pays $6.00 a month. Mr. Juraitis has two brothers, Tony and John, who live in the city. Mrs. Juraitis has a cousin, Stanley Legaikis, who lives near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Family need assistance. Mr. Kiras may be able to help occasionally.

The Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium is registered on the case (June 22, 1918).

*November 6, 1918.*—Telephoned Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary. Mrs. Juraitis was examined and diagnosed non-tubercular.

*Later.*—Visited [with interpreter].[1] Mr. Juraitis came home from a neighboring store. Is a quiet-appearing man who seemed fond of his two children, Eugenia (born March 17, 1915) and Sophie (born October 27, 1917). Children are rather pale. The home, for which they pay $10 rent,[2] is nicely furnished and comfortable looking. They

[1] [The inference is that Mrs. Juraitis, being young and foreign-born, will probably not speak English. The visitor therefore takes an interpreter. (See Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, chap. iv, Part II, especially p. 75, for discussion of difficulties involved in use of interpreter. See also S. P. Breckinridge, *New Homes for Old*, chap. ix, pp. 280–86.)]

[2] [The Juraitis family lived on the first floor front of a brown, flat-roofed, neat, frame cottage of two stories on a street running east and west. On the east, a narrow passage separates the house from a rather old-appearing, two-story frame building, the first floor of which is occupied by a barber-shop. On the west, the house is bordered by a neat yard extending toward the rear of the lot where there is a two-story plain brick building. The block is not at all congested. There are vacant lots at the corner to the west and at intervals between the houses, while, in addition, some of the buildings have good-sized and well-kept gardens. A number of shops are scattered along the block or occupy corners of neighboring blocks: groceries, meat markets, a barber-shop, a dry-goods store, a tailor-shop,

have lived here five months. A previous address at which they lived two years and two months was obtained.

Mr. Juraitis said he came to America and stayed twelve and a half years.[1] He then returned to his old-country home six years ago and married the neighbor farmer's daughter and remained a year and three months after he married her.

Mr. Juraitis said that eleven months ago he became ill and has been out of work all that time. His savings, $500, have gone to pay doctors' bills and living expenses. He borrowed over $100 from his brothers, Tony and John, both of whom are unmarried, living in another district and in another parish in Chicago. Said he worked at Vincent's[2] off and on for eight years. Could not give exact dates. Quit the last time because work was too heavy and receives no benefit, although he did at one time belong to the Employees' Benefit Association.[3] Also worked at the King Tool and Die Company and showed visitor recommendation from there dated August 15, 1917.

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drug-stores, and former saloons. There is a municipal playground about a half-block west of the Juraitis' house.

Churches seem to be numerous in this district. There are within a very few blocks two small Catholic chapels, a Methodist church, a Spiritualist church, and an Evangelical Lutheran German church. A little farther away are a larger German Catholic church and parochial school, a German Evangelical Lutheran church, and still a little farther west and toward the south the Lithuanian church that the Juraitis family attended.

To the north and a little east there is a Settlement house.

The Poles are probably in the majority in the neighborhood, though there are many Lithuanians and Bohemians. The latter are, however, according to a resident of a neighboring Settlement, moving farther west. Until five years or more ago, there were many Germans in this district, but the majority have moved out since the coming of the Poles. About two blocks south and somewhat west there is a small Italian section.]

[1] [The prominent part played by Mr. Juraitis in the negotiations with the agency is to be explained by his greater familiarity with American life. His wife is much less at home. The effect of this difference of experience is not consciously recognized by the visitor, but enters into the whole situation.]

[2] [That is, The American Farm Implement Company, commonly spoken of as "Vincent's."]

[3] [The Illinois Workmen's Compensation Act has included occupational disease only since 1923. Until then compensation was available only for injuries due to accident. See below, p. 907, for statute. Prior to that time, recovery of any damages could be had only as a gratuity from the employer, as a benefit under some company insurance plan, in compromise of some alleged grievance or as actual damages for negligence on the part of the employer in cases in which the defenses of assumption of risk, fellow-servant, or contributory negligence were not available.]

Mr. Juraitis has been to many doctors. Dr. George Lyford, August 22, 1918, gave him a slip stating that he had a dilated heart and should have light employment. In July he was in the County Hospital,[1] and Dr. A. A. Wayland there gave him the following statement: "Joe Juraitis has a mediastinal condition, which is most probably aneurysm of the arch of the aorta. X-rays on file at the County Hospital." At present Mr. Juraitis is going to Chicago Free Dispensary, and Dr. Williams is treating him. Said that insurance doctor at Vincent's referred him there because he had no money to pay doctors.

Mr. Juraitis said Mrs. Juraitis had gone to his brother's to borrow money to go to a Lithuanian doctor tonight because her sides ache and her legs swell. Promised we would come tomorrow to refer Mrs. Juraitis to West Side Free Dispensary.[2]

Mr. Juraitis does not speak English fluently and talked more of his illness than of anything else. Said he cannot lift anything because face becomes blue. Was worried about this month's rent and gas bill. Gave Mr. Juraitis card to the County Agent.

*November 7, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Juraitis is a pretty woman, who speaks no English. Both Mr. and Mrs. Juraitis seemed to be fond of one another and of the children. Mrs. Juraitis was washing and had all the necessary equipment for same—washing stand, wringer, etc. Mrs. Juraitis said she had been to several doctors but had no help—sides ache, legs swell, arms ache. Some doctors claim she has kidney trouble.

Two weeks ago Mrs. Juraitis and the children were ill with influenza. Dr. Kraft was called.

Mrs. Juraitis did not see her brother-in-law yesterday. He will come today. Mr. Juraitis will ask him for the rent and will get the exact addresses of both brothers from him. Told Mrs. Juraitis to go to West Side Free Dispensary tomorrow. She has no relatives in Chicago, but she has a cousin in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, whose address was obtained. They have one lodger, who pays $6.00 a week.

*November 8, 1918.*—Telephoned Chicago Dispensary, Dr. Williams. He said Mr. Juraitis was in a serious condition and could not be cured. Has aneurysm of the aorta. As soon as it bursts, Mr. Juraitis will die. May live a day or a year. Is unable to work. Dr. Williams is treating Mr. Juraitis, but there is no hope of recovery.

[1] [The County Hospital was not registered.]

[2] [See Michael M. Davis, Jr., *Immigrant Health and the Community*, chap xv, "The Dispensary," pp. 326–43. See Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, chap. x, "Medical Sources," pp. 204–20.]

*Later.*—Letter written to King Tool and Die Company, asking work record, earnings, length of employment, and membership in benefit society.

Letter written officer of Lithuanian lodge, asking about benefit.

Letter written head of Vincent's Employment Department, asking diagnosis of company doctor and reason for Mr. Juraitis' leaving.

*November 9, 1918* (*Saturday*).—Mr. Juraitis in office. Said he had seen Dr. Schoenfeld last Tuesday night. Brother had given him $10 the week before, and as his teeth ached Mr. Juraitis had gone to the dentist and paid $2.00. Showed paid bill.

Mr. Juraitis said Mrs. Juraitis had gone with him to Chicago Free Dispensary Wednesday instead of the West Side Free Dispensary, because county investigator came in the morning, and when Mrs. Juraitis went to the West Side Free Dispensary she was too late to be examined. Her number at Dispensary is 527. Mr. Juraitis said he got county supplies today. Showed visitor gas bill of $11, about which he was going to complain at main office downtown. Worried about rent.

*Later.*—Letter received from King Tool and Die Company. Mr. Juraitis worked there six weeks, was a good workman, steady. So far as they knew he did not belong to benefit association.

*November 11, 1918* (*Monday*).—Mr Juraitis in office. Said his brother Tony could not give him money for rent. Had been sick himself.

*November 12, 1918.*—Letter written to superintendent of Family Welfare District where Mr. Juraitis' brothers lived, asking visit on Tony.

*November 13, 1918.*—Telephoned Dr. Williams about Mrs. Juraitis, who was diagnosed as having chronic appendicitis. Doctor cannot say until next week whether or not she needs an operation.

*November 14, 1918.*—Mr. Juraitis in office with rent notice and gas bill of $10.68. Had been to gas office and was told bill was correct as minimum gas bills had previously been given Mr. Juraitis which he had not paid. Mr. Juraitis said he had about 3 tons of coal and a load of wood in shed, and disliked to move. Said friend, Felix Balutis, had been to see him Sunday. This friend loaned $15 to Mr. Juraitis about a month ago. Mr. Juraitis says friend had about $2,000 saved so he could return to his wife in the old country since war is over.

Mr. Juraitis expects money from his brother John to pay for milk bill due next Monday. Has less than $1.60 left.

Telephoned Mr. Kiras and gave report. He said he would come to office sometime to talk over situation. Mr. Juraitis used to do investigating for Mr. Kiras several years ago.

*November 14, 1918.*—Letter received from secretary of lodge, saying that Mr. Juraitis was insured, would receive benefits ($5.00 a week) for six months from June 29. After that, $2.50 a week until year was up.[1]

*November 15, 1918.*—The following letter was received from Vincent's Employment Department:

> Replying to your inquiry of November 8, 1918, concerning Jos. Juraitis beg to state that he was a member of the Employees' Benefit Association last time from December 3, 1917, to March 22, 1918. On March 22, 1918, the membership lapsed contemporaneously with his service, he having voluntarily quit.
>
> He was absent from work during the period December 14, 1917, to January 12, 1918, with a relapse from January 17, 1918, to February 7, 1918. The diagnosis was Neuralgia and Neuritis of right arm. He was paid sickness benefits for lost time at the rate of $1.75 per day. His average daily earnings prior to beginning of disability being $3.50 per day. During the time he was disabled, he was under the care of company doctors. He was also visited, but not treated, by the medical examiner of the Benefit Association. The writer is unable to state the reason why this man voluntarily left the service.

*November 21, 1918.*—Visited. Mr. Juraitis said he received $10 about two weeks ago from the lodge. Would not receive any more benefit until December 14. Said he did not get it regularly and never knew how much it would be because of extra assessments. Left $2.00 grocery order and 60 cents meat order.

*November 22, 1918.*—Letter received (from superintendent of adjoining district), reporting unsuccessful attempts to find Tony and John.

*Later.*—Visited previous landlord. Mr. and Mrs. Juraitis lived there two years and two months leaving about a year ago. Were

[1] [See John Daniels, *America via the Neighborhood*, pp. 98–110, 148–51; Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, chap. vi, "Immigrant Institutions," pp. 119–44, for discussion of lodges in the life of the immigrant. The social agencies have done little to interpret to the lodges modern methods of social work. Their officers are leaders among the people, and their understanding would mean much wider appreciation on the part of the foreign-born of what social agencies are trying to do. They are usually treated, as here, simply as a source of material aid.]

very nice, quiet people. Always paid rent on time. Mr. Juraitis not well. Changed jobs to suit his health. Mrs. Juraitis has no relatives. Mr. Juraitis had a brother who was a drunkard. Did not know where he was.

*November 30, 1918* (*Saturday*).—Mr. Juraitis in office. Is much worried about the rent. Said his brother Tony has been sick and cannot help him. He has moved. Asked if he could arrange to have Tony meet our visitor at his home some evening. Said he would be willing to. Talked over budget with him. Told him we thought brothers ought to combine and pay rent. He will not receive lodge money until December 14. Asks shirts for himself—wears size 15.[1] Gave $2.00 grocery order and 50 cents cash and promised to take up other matters the first of the week.

*Later.*—Letter received from secretary of lodge, explaining further about assessments in lodge.

*December 3, 1918* (*Tuesday*).—Visited. Kitchen dark and Mrs. Juraitis had gas burning—this room is darkest in home. Said Mr. Juraitis went to the County Hospital, December 1, 1918 (Sunday) at 12:30 P.M. Felt very ill—coughed—and thought he was going to die. Mrs. Juraitis said he is in Ward 21, Room 74 on 7th floor. Mr. Juraitis went alone. Brother Tony was going to take him but he did not come. Mrs. Juraitis was going to see Mr. Juraitis tonight. Would leave children with lady upstairs. Mrs. Juraitis said Mr. Juraitis on Saturday, November 30, still had $4.00 left from his lodge money. On December 2 Mrs. Juraitis paid milkman $3.92. Had on hand 23 cents and some beans, flour, and oatmeal.

Mrs. Juraitis was worried about rent. Told her we would telephone landlord and ask him to be patient until arrangements could be made.

Mrs. Juraitis said she was supposed to go to the Dispensary yesterday; did not go because of Mr. Juraitis' illness. Said county supplies were not due until the following Monday. Did not know

[1] [The practice of using the permanent record as a memorandum book has, of course, not been entirely abandoned. It has, however, been greatly reduced. The students will not be confused by these entries. The validity of later practice as well as the problem of distinguishing between facts of permanent and those of momentary value will be borne in on them. A number of entries of this character including such as securing Thanksgiving and Christmas baskets and other incidental services, not affecting the general problem, have been eliminated from the remaining portion of this record.]

how she could get them, because her side pained her and she could carry nothing.[1]

*December 4, 1918.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. Gave him some baby clothes (donation). Will take baby to Infant Welfare Station tomorrow.

*Later.*—Telephoned landlord, who was not in. His wife, Mrs. Bergman, said she would take message. Explained situation to her. Told her we wished to see Mr. Juraitis' brothers regarding rent and asked landlord to have patience until further investigation could be made. Mrs. Bergman said that Mr. Juraitis had always paid the rent promptly before and she understood family was pretty hard up. Felt sorry for Mr. and Mrs. Juraitis.

*Later.*—Visited. Gave Mrs. Juraitis a baby's cape (donation).

*December 5, 1918.*—Mrs. Juraitis in office about rent, two months of which is due tomorrow. Told her the visitor would have to talk with Anton,[2] Mr. Juraitis' brother, and to notify him to be at Mrs. Juraitis' tomorrow evening. Mrs. Juraitis is not sure whether he works days or nights. Told her to notify visitor tomorrow morning if Anton works nights.

[1] [In the entry of November 30, 1918, visitor says she talked over budget with Mr. Juraitis. The idea for the time was to persuade his brothers to pay the rent, to obtain the county agent's rations, to meet incidentals from the Family Welfare Agency and to rely on donations for extras. The food allowance for a man, woman, and two young children at this time was according to the Standard Budget ($4.10+$3.30+$4.00)×4⅓=$49.40 a month. The county rations were supposed to be worth $10.10, leaving $39.30, or $9.07 a week to be obtained elsewhere for food.]

[2] [Under the Pauper Act, Section 1 (see below, p. 845) brothers and sisters are under a duty to support each other. The liability of these two able-bodied unmarried men lay heavy on the visitor's mind. The entries with reference to them illustrate (1) the difficulty on the part of rural-minded people in the city in the face of street names and numbers; (2) the isolated and irresponsible life imposed on men in the non-family groups (see *Report of the Massachusetts Commission on Immigration*, 1914 [House Doc. No. 2300], p. 64); (3) the difficulties of dealing through an interpreter. The visitor did not mean that she wanted to know whether or not Anton worked at night, but whether his work was so arranged that he could come to see her, and if so, by day or night (see entries of December 10 and 11 with reference to Anton's visit). This difficulty comes out, too, in the entry of December 4, 1918. Mrs. Juraitis was in the District office for her baby's clothes; someone telephoned the landlord but did not tell her of the conversation; and although, as a new donation enabled the visitor to add to the baby's wardrobe, a call was made on her to give her the garment, she comes needlessly to the office the next day about the rent.]

*December 10, 1918.*—Mrs. Juraitis at office asking food. Rations were due yesterday[1] and she is unable to go and get them. Received second gas bill. Asks that Agency pay same. Landlord came to see her last week about rent; said he will wait until December 10 and if rent is not paid will serve another notice. Mrs. Juraitis said she notified brother Anton to be at her home December 6; he came and waited until 9 P.M., and when visitor did not come, left very angry and said he will never come to Mrs. Juraitis' home again. Promised a visit.

*December 11, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Juraitis apparently is deaf and does not understand well. Said brother Tony had stayed home from night work to see visitors. Told her she should have let us know if he worked nights. Mrs. Juraitis said she didn't understand.

Mrs. Juraitis said county investigator promised to send supplies by policeman. Told Mrs. Juraitis we would try to see Tony in a few days. Left $2.00 grocery order and 60 cents meat order.

*Later.*—Met Mrs. Juraitis and landlord on street. Told latter we would see Mr. Juraitis' brother in a few days and would telephone him.

*December 12, 1918.*—Telephoned the County Hospital. The nurse said that, although Mr. Juraitis' condition is good, doctor reports that his case is hopeless. He needs medical attention, and it is best for him to be in hospital. He is suffering with aortic aneurysm.

*December 17, 1918.*—Infant Welfare nurse in office. Asked that we provide clothing for the baby so that Mrs. Juraitis could take her to conference. She said Mr. Juraitis had returned from the hospital today. He mentioned the fact that his brother was going to be over this evening.

*December 18, 1918.*—Visited. Mr. Juraitis, who seemed very weak, coughed a great deal during the interview. He says he came home because doctor at hospital told him that he could not get well, that medicine would do him no good, and that he might die in a month. The room he occupies is small and has only a very small window. He is, however, unwilling to have his bed moved to the front room as he fears it might be cold there as there is no stove and the room is too large to heat from the kitchen range. Are not using flour from county ration as stove does not bake. Promised to send someone to estimate cost of repairs of stove.

[1] [See above, p. 30, county agent's comments on the delivery of the rations at the homes of beneficiaries under the Pauper Act. See also p. 69 and p. 474 for illustrations of the cost of the present method to the family and to the private agency.]

John and Tony came in during the interview. Both had been drinking, Tony enough to be rude and irritable. His mind could not be diverted from the recital of his own troubles. He says he has not been well since last winter when he was nearly frozen. He is under treatment by some doctor on 10th and Hoyne streets (name he does not know). He is frequently out of work, never working more than a few days a week. He is $35 in debt, and was eager to know who would help him. He does not know where he is working and says that he has just been laid off. He is illiterate. No appeal brought out the least interest in how his brother is to manage but always a question about help for himself.

John's face is clearly that of a drinking man. He was not as neat as Tony, but a little more jovial. He is employed by Grenfeldt & Shurman as a laborer and earns $20 a week. He also complained of ill-health and said he misses some time on that account. Did not think he could help his brother as he can barely meet his own expenses. Told him that when he gets his pay December 21 we would expect him to pay at least one month's rent for Mr. Juraitis. He would not commit himself. Gave $2.00 grocery order. Mrs. Juraitis seems very deaf.[1]

*December 28, 1918* (*Saturday*).—Mr. Juraitis in office with a prescription from Dr. Kraft. When Mr. Juraitis came out of the hospital, he was dreadfully ill, and Mrs. Juraitis called in Dr. Kraft. Has been to his office twice after that. Mr. Juraitis said he was too weak to go the Dispensary. Would like Welfare Agency to approve prescription as the medicine gives him relief. Mr. Juraitis asked about rent. Was very much put out because Agency has not paid it as yet and became very angry when visitor said that Mrs. Juraitis should have telephoned Agency for doctor when Mr. Juraitis was ill and she would have saved this money. Mr. Juraitis said he paid doctor out of the $10 that he received from his society.[2]

[1] [Reference to certain Christmas activities is omitted.]

[2] [Two interesting considerations emerge from this entry: (1) The great difficulty of relying exclusively on free medical services. Pain does not always come when the office is open, nor will the wife of the poor man always weigh his sufferings against the cost of the medical service. (2) The feeling of Mr. Juraitis about the money from the benefit society as being something different from that obtained from other sources. It was a benefit for medical service, and the plan to substitute for the agreeable and timely help that costs the gratuitous but less immediate help so as to have the benefit payment for rent seemed to him to be taking an advantage of him. He was, whether rightly so or not, indignant, as well as ill.]

Telephoned Dr. Kraft. He was called in about two weeks ago shortly after Mr. Juraitis returned from hospital. Mr. Juraitis was in a critical condition at the time. Was suffering with aneurysm of aorta. Had charged Mr. Juraitis $2.00 for the visit and $1.00 for the two times Mr. Juraitis was at office. Explained to Dr. Kraft that Mr. Juraitis was attending the Chicago Free Dispensary Clinic. Dr. Kraft said he knew this, but Mr. Juraitis was in no condition to go there. Does not think he will ever be able to go as he is too weak to do much walking or to ride in the street cars. Says, if Mr. Juraitis will return with prescription, he will mark it so that the druggist will give him medicine for about 50 cents or 75 cents, which will mean just half the retail price.

While visitor was telephoning doctor, Mr. Juraitis left office. Did not return.

*December 31, 1918 (Tuesday).*—Mr. Juraitis in office. Went home Saturday because he felt very ill. Said the roomer had left and Mr. Juraitis is glad of it. He was a drunkard and never paid his rent on time. Moved somewhere in the neighborhood. Mr. Juraitis received $10 benefit. Had to deduct dues and assessments from this amount as seven persons have died during the month. Paid $4.00 to Dr. Kraft, $3.25 medicine, and $1.96 to milkman yesterday.

Mr. and Mrs. Juraitis went to Dispensary yesterday. Dr. Williams told Mr. Juraitis to continue taking medicine Dr. Kraft had given him. Mrs. Juraitis was examined again; operation for her was advised. Both are to return next Monday afternoon.

*January 2, 1919 (Thursday).*—Mr. Juraitis in office asking whether Agency will pay rent. Landlord was over to see them on December 31 and told them he would have to evict if they did not pay it. Mr. Juraitis went to the Chicago Dispensary on Monday. They told him to continue using the medicine that Dr. Kraft gave him and to return when it was used up.

Mrs. Juraitis also went to the Dispensary. Doctor told her that he would have to operate. Mr. Juraitis will have to pay for bed. Explained to him that Agency had telephoned the landlord and explained the delay so that he will wait, also told him to have the doctors at the Dispensary notify Agency if they decide to operate on Mrs. Juraitis as we can probably secure a free bed.

*Later.*—Telephoned landlord. Three months rent will be due January 5. They are very much in need of money as they have had sickness in family. Said we were taking up matter today with church.

*Later.*—Visited Father Riley, Society of St. Francis. He promised to take up the matter of paying rent and to report about the sixth or seventh.

*January 8, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office asking food. The roomer, who paid them $6.00 a month, left December 11. Says his lodge dues will be payable on January 11 which will be about $8.00. Six members had died and Mr. Juraitis will have to pay up $5.00 more. He expects to get sick benefit from the lodge on the eleventh, and this he will apply to his dues. Gave him $2.00 grocery and 25 cents meat order and $1.00 cash.

*January 9 , 1919.*—Telephoned Society of St. Francis.[1] They will pay rent from now on—but no back rent.

*January 10, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis asks rent. Visitor from Society of St. Francis came to see them today; left check for $10 for rent from January 10 to February 10. Told Mr. Juraitis they would pay rent each month. Explained to him that Welfare Agency will pay last month's rent (December 5–January 5) and his brothers will have to pay November rent. Mr. Juraitis does not know whether they will. They do not help him any. Last time they helped was three months ago. Mr. Juraitis said John is a heavy drinker. Gave Mr. Juraitis $10 check for rent from December 5 to January 5. Mr. Juraitis asks underwear for Mrs. Juraitis and himself. Mrs. Juraitis feeling worse. Mr. Juraitis says he is feeling better.

*January 13, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office asking underwear. Also said they are having a hard time on money which Welfare Agency gives them. Roomer has left, and lodge will give only $2.50 monthly sick benefit. Said when he goes to West Side Free Dispensary he always spends a dollar, as he has to pay for his own medicine, which is 75 cents. Said lodge told him to get statement from Dispensary, showing that he is ill and how long it will be before he will be able to work. Suggested that Mr. Juraitis go to Chicago Dispensary for this. Also told him we would figure out his budget again. Gave him 25 cents carfare and also card to West Side Free Dispensary, asking that they furnish the medicine free.

*January 14, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. Went to the lodge yesterday; received only $2.00. Four men and two women have died in the lodge, so $5.00 is deducted to pay their death benefit and $3.00 is taken for dues. His wife is still feeling poorly, but the doctor at the Dispensary is trying to cure her without an operation. She is

[1] [A sectarian relief society.]

willing to have an operation if the doctor thinks best. He still uses Dr. Kraft's prescription. He has been to him twice recently, but the doctor has charged him nothing for his visits. Mr. Juraitis looks and says he feels much better, but Mrs. Juraitis feels miserable. Has seen nothing of his brother since visitor's interview. Claims John is angry and will do nothing. And Tony, who is kinder than John, has been out of work. Gave $4.00 grocery order and $2.00 cash.

*January 18, 1919.*—Letter written Society of St. Francis, asking that they furnish part of the food.

*January 23, 1919.*—Society of St. Francis reports that they will give $6.00 a week and furnish fuel.

*January 24, 1919.*—Telephoned Dr. Williams, Chicago Dispensary. Mr. Juraitis is unable to do any work whatever. Should not bend or lift or walk far. There is a blood vessel above his heart which is about ready to burst, and he will probably drop dead any day.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mr. Kiras (source). He has been ill so has not answered letter. Would like to talk to visitor.

*January 25, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. Asked him about the places where he has worked.[1] When he came here, he began working for Vincent's and was there about four years. From there went to work for the Grenfeldt firm as a switchman; then to Chicago Heights, Ward and Wells Company, as night watchman for six months or so. Again he worked at Vincent's for two or three years; at City Contract Building for one year; at King Tool and Die Company for over one year; and again at Vincent's up to March, 1917. Could not remember exact dates of the previous work or places of work. Had a very hard time talking. Gave names and addresses of eight doctors he had consulted. The last doctor gave him a card to Vincent's, saying he could not do heavy work. They gave him light work, and after three weeks they were going to transfer him to his old work; when he could not do it, they laid him off. He was sent to Dr. Williams at the Dispensary by the insurance doctor at Vincent's.

Mr. Juraitis was very weak and could hardly talk. Visitor did not wish to question him further as he was having too hard a time breathing. Told him to go home and go to bed. He said they are short of food

[1] [We have here a second stage in the dealing with the problem. Before this everything has been very temporary. Mr. Juraitis might die any moment. But he has now lived nearly three months since the Agency learned to know him and he is feeling better. It may be a long strain, so the problem is attacked *de novo* as it were. We have now something in the nature of a second "First Interview."]

this week. Explained budget to him, telling him Society of St. Francis are going to pay $6.10 a week. He will have to pay rent out of this. Agency will buy clothing and supplement to the amount of $3.00 a week. Gave him $2.00 cash. Mr. Juraitis asks for underwear for himself and Mrs. Juraitis.

*January 28, 1919.*—Letter written Dr. Williams, asking prognosis.

*February 3, 1919* (*Monday*).—After several attempts to visit Mr. Kiras (source) finally reached him by telephone. Mr. Juraitis worked for him about six years ago as an investigator of personal injury cases. Thought him a bright and satisfactory employee. He went to Europe and so gave up his position. When he returned, the place was filled by a young Lithuanian law student. It was Mr. Kiras' impression that Mr. Juraitis was married here after his return. Mr. Kiras gave Mr. Juraitis some financial assistance when Mr. Juraitis came back before he obtained work. Has not helped in present emergency. He will consider paying Mr. Juraitis' back rent; would like to come to office to talk to visitor. Promised to come in on Wednesday, the fifth.

*February 24, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. He is short of money. Says that it is impossible to manage on money given by Society of St. Francis and that their visitor said Agency should help them out. His brother Tony is dead.[1] He had only $50 insurance. Mr. Juraitis had to take charge of things. Undertaker charged $74, cemetery $15, priest $10, and he had to buy suit, shoes, etc. The whole thing will come to $175. Only had been sick a month, and landlord took his suit and watch in payment of board bill. John can be counted on for nothing. Works five hours a day and then gets drunk. Mr. Juraitis does not know how he will meet these bills. Borrowed $10 from a friend of his brother's to pay the priest. The man insisted upon being repaid; therefore he paid him $5.00 on Saturday out of the $6.00 which the Society of St. Francis had given him. The Society gives $6.00, not $6.10. Mr. Juraitis feels that he got off quite easily by paying the priest only $10 as he had at first wanted $25. Mr. Juraitis seems to have no idea how he will meet the remainder of the bill.

Talked over his budget with him. He insists that county supplies do not amount to $10.10. Talked over what he received. Insists

[1] [Among the evidences of the Agency's limited resources is the frequent failure to be in the situation of the family with comfort and neighborly contact. Death comes to the group, but the visitor knows nothing of it until it is all over and there is the question of keeping down costs. See below, p. 133, the Konczewski case as well as the item about Mr. Juraitis' own death (March 30, 1921).]

that there is not so much lard, bacon, or sugar as our list shows. He has scales and weighs the things. Promised to make an exact list of what he receives next time. Is unable to use his flour as stove is not yet fixed. Man of Stove Repair Company came to see it. Mr. Juraitis said he could not tell how much he spent on food a day; sometimes 75 cents, sometimes over a dollar. He promised to keep account from now on. Gave him $4.00 cash and asked him to keep account of expenditures and come to our offices with same when money was exhausted. Says his wife does not seem to be any better. Has been to a private physician twice and paid $1.00 each time.

Telephoned Society of St. Francis. Visitor says they felt they were doing all they could for the family. She felt that we had dropped the family. Told her that amount given them was almost sufficient for budget, according to our letter, and that we would keep track of how the money had been spent. Told her Mr. Juraitis had paid $10 to priest for mass for brother. She promised to see priest and try to have him refund money. Suggested that she ask priest for reading-matter for Mr. Juraitis[1] as visitor had been told the church had a great deal of reading-matter.

*March 4, 1919.*—Visited. Gave $17.17 for gas bill to cover June through January. Said he expected brother's lodge would meet the funeral expenses. Mr. Juraitis has not been to library for any reading.

*March 10, 1919.*—Mr. Crane, the County Agent,[2] telephoned that Mr. Juraitis was in office with list we said comprised county supplies. Mr. Crane says that they do not give so much as that. Said we could call and get their lists.

*March 12, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. Gas collector has not been around. Has February bill for $2.00. Mr. Juraitis says he thinks he is entitled to something from Vincent's. Mr. Juraitis spoke of Mr. Kiras as his cousin. Said Mr. Kiras was going to try to get

[1] [The question of keeping Mr. Juraitis busy now suggests itself. Reading, then training for barber's job is proposed, appearing before committee (May 26, 1919), light manual work (November 21, 1919), looking for "vacant rents" for visitor (May 1, 1920), coming to the office (July 16, 1920), and so forth.]

[2] [Sound principles of co-operation would require that the County Agent let the Welfare Agency know when changes are made in their food allowances. Similarly any agency which undertakes a service at the request of another is under obligation to let that other know if for any reason the service is not rendered as promised (see entries March 19, 1919; May 10, 1919; May 16, 1919; August 5, 1919).]

Tony's lodge to meet all bills for his funeral. Tony owed many bills before he died. Mr. Juraitis planned to go to Dispensary today. Mrs. Juraitis is no better; but, as Dr. Williams has been sick, nothing has been done for her. Promised to revise budget according to County Agent's actual contribution. Gave $2.00 cash for gas bill.

Dr. Williams, who is away because of illness, did help Mrs. Juraitis. Mr. Juraitis said county coal was delivered today and instead of leaving one-half ton only about one-fourth of a ton was left.

Telephoned Chicago Dispensary. They do not know when Dr. Williams will return. Said they could have Mrs. Juraitis see another doctor very well. Have very good physicians on the staff, etc.

Telephoned County Agent, who said he would take matter of coal up with company and telephone later.

*Later.*—County Agent telephoned. Coal Company will have balance of coal delivered tomorrow.

Advised Mr. Juraitis to take Mrs. Juraitis to clinic and tell doctor that medicine does not help her and he will probably try something else. Also told him to let Agency know whether coal is delivered or not. Gave 10 cents for carfare to go to gas company and $2.00 for February bill.

*March 14, 1919.*—Mr. Crane, County Agent, telephoned that superintendent of coal yard told him driver had said that Mr. Juraitis had about seven tons of coal in shed. Will send visitor out and let us know what he finds.

*March 15, 1919* (*Saturday*).—Mr. Juraitis in office asking grocery and meat order over Sunday and $2.00 to pay milk bill. Received $10 from lodge for February dues, with which rent was paid. Coal man delivered extra coal. Mr. Juraitis brought in receipted gas bill. Received $6.00 from Society of St. Francis on Monday (last week's allowance). Gave $3.00 grocery and meat order and told him to come in Monday afternoon for milk money.

*March 19, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. He receives only $5.00 this week from the Charitable Corporation.[1] Paid his $2 milk bill, bought some stockings for Mrs. Juraitis and a scrub board, and has only $2.50 left.

Telephoned Charitable Corporation. They sent only $5.00 because they understand Mr. Juraitis is going to get insurance from brother.

[1] [A new form of organization within the sectarian relief work, which has taken over certain aspects of the work of the Society of St. Francis.]

Mr. Juraitis does not know name of secretary of brother's lodge. Mr. Kiras is attending to collecting money. Thinks he will receive $50 and $1.00 from each member, amounting to about $215 in all. Funeral will be over $140, and a tailor is attempting to garnishee lodge collections for $60, which brother owed him. Mr. Juraitis would like to go to a barbers' school. Was a barber in old country and by a little practice here thinks he could get a license.

Telephoned Chicago Dispensary. Dr. Williams still sick. Dr. Bell asks that Mr. Juraitis come in on the twenty-first, and he will see if he could do barbering.

Gave underwear, dresses, coats for children (donation) and bought pair of stockings for each.

Talked over budget again. Mr. Juraitis weighed everything from County Agent and claimed that he received only 5 pounds rice instead of 6; 20 pounds flour instead of 24; 4 pounds sugar; 2 pounds lard, and one can syrup and other supplies as on list.

Mr. Juraitis said he did have some coal of his own bought last summer, but it is almost all gone. Gave $2.00 cash.

*March 20, 1919.*—Telephoned visitor of Charitable Corporation. She has not seen Mr. Juraitis for some time. Will try to locate brother's lodge and get refund from priest of $10.

*March 21, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. Telephoned Chicago Dispensary. Closed, as it was almost five o'clock. Asked Mr. Juraitis to return on Monday morning.

*March 24, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. Went to doctor who said he could do work as barber.

Telephoned the Dispensary and was told that Mr. Juraitis could do work as barber. Advised Mr. Juraitis to go to Society of St. Francis and ask them if they would help pay for barbers' school and let us know.

*March 26, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. Has made arrangements with the Smith Barber College to take the course for $20. Telephoned Smith Barber College. Mr. Juraitis ought to be able to learn barbering in from four to eight weeks. If he pays $15 for the course, he can go for eight weeks. He can pay this in instalments of $5.00 a week.

Telephoned Jones Barber College. They charge $35 for the course and $15 or $20 for the tools. Length of course the same. Might make some reduction for Welfare Agency.

Got in touch with a barber. He has never heard of the Smith Barber College.

*March 27, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. Mr. Kiras cannot assist with tuition as he put a great deal of money in his new company. Mr. Juraitis has a friend at 28th and Alden streets, who, he is sure, will give him a place. Also might get work at 30th and Harlem streets.

Telephoned U.S. Employment Agency. They have no calls for barbers. Probably Union supplies demand.

Telephoned Barbers' Union. Secretary discouraged Mr. Juraitis' taking up barbering. He thought it would be very hard with heart trouble. Also said he would learn nothing at the school. Advised him going as an apprentice to a barber.

Mr. Juraitis said his friend could not take him as an apprentice because he would lose customers if Mr. Juraitis made a mistake in a hair cut. He had to go to school to learn American styles. Mr. Juraitis returned underwear which was given for Mrs. Juraitis as it was too small.

Gave Mr. Juraitis $5.00 deposit for tuition at barber school. Told him someone would visit regarding underwear for Mrs. Juraitis. Says she has two changes of same but it is so shabby she is ashamed to go to doctor on Monday.

*March 28, 1919.*—Visitor of Charitable Corporation telephoned for report. Told her that we will pay fee at barber college and asked that they continue relief as heretofore.

*April 2, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office asking for some money for carfare and food, also $5.00 for next week's tuition. Says beginning with April 11 he will get half of what the barber takes in from work Mr. Juraitis does, may amount to $2.00 or $3.00 a week. Gave $2.00 cash and $5.00 for barber fee.

*April 8, 1919.*—Mrs. Juraitis in office. Says she has no food in house. Asks doctor for two children who are ill. Says County Agent refused to deliver rations.

Telephoned County Agent. Asked that doctor make visit.[1] Also asked about delivery of rations. County Agent said that police will deliver rations this afternoon. Police patrol busy this morning.

Promised visit this noon.

*April 9, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office asking for some money. Said nurse from Visiting Nurse Association was in yesterday. His daughter is sick, and he needs some money for medicine. Promised a visit today. Gave 50 cents for carfare and lunch.

[1] [In 1921 there were twenty county doctors who made 18,027 calls in the homes at a cost of $23,851.]

*Later.*—Visited. Gave $2.00 cash grant. County doctor had been to see baby.

*April 11, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office asking $5.00 with which to pay his tuition. Telephoned college but proprietor was out and could get no information about Mr. Juraitis' progress. Mr. Juraitis is satisfied and feels that he is getting along nicely. Gave $5.00 for tuition.

*April 17, 1919.*—Visited. Gave $1.85 cash grant.

*April 18, 1919.*—Visited. Gave flowering plant for Easter.

*April 21, 1919.*—Mrs. Juraitis in office very much upset about Mr. Juraitis, who is very ill. Promised to send doctor and telephoned County Agent for doctor.

*April 24, 1919.*—Visited. Gave $1.85 allowance. Mr. Juraitis feeling very much better. Still in bed.

*May 8, 1919.*—Visited. Found Mr. Juraitis up and feeling much better. Asked for a coat for the older girl; says she can't go out of doors because she has no wrap to put on. He asks also that we telephone County Agent and ask him to send in the supplies as both he and his wife are unable to go and get them. Left $1.85 cash.

*May 9, 1919.*—Mrs. Juraitis in office asking that Agency telephone County Agent to send in food. Told her that Mr. Crane said he would sent it in. Asks about coat. Had none to give her from donation. Told her to ask Charitable Corporation. Says she did and that they had none.

*May 10, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. Looks badly. Seems very weak. Lips quite blue. Said county doctor very nearly killed him by using cold compresses. Mr. Juraitis sent for Dr. Kraft, who will not charge him, but it is necessary to spend between 85 cents and $1.00 a day for medicine. Have used up money Society of St. Francis gave this week. County supplies have not come. Gave $2.00 grocery order.

*Later.*—Telephoned County Agent. Will send in supplies today.

*May 15, 1919.*—Gas collector in asking whether Agency will pay gas bill. Told him it would be necessary for visitor to speak with Mr. and Mrs. Juraitis.

*May 16, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office, still very weak. Had to come because no one from Society of St. Francis or Welfare Agency came to see them, and they had no food. His medicines cost $17; he sold his watch for $7.00, and now he doesn't know what to do.

Telephoned Society of St. Francis. Visitor promised to visit Mr. Juraitis today. Mr. Juraitis very anxious about Eugenia. Doctor

told him she would get tuberculosis if she was kept indoors so much. Says he asked for a coat for her several times but Agency always had an excuse and never bought one for her. Said he would buy one with the $2.00 visitor gave him.

*May 23, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. He feels somewhat better, but Mrs. Juraitis is sick in bed. Has fever. Does not like to call Dr. Kraft as he has done so much without pay. Mr. Juraitis is still buying medicine. Told him that he really must bring prescriptions to office. He is having Mrs. Juraitis' coat made over for Eugenia. It will cost $2.50. Thought Agency would pay it.

He will get about $300 from brother's lodge, but there are many debts. Mr. Kiras is handling matter and knows secretary's name. Does not expect to get money for another three months. Gave Mr. Kiras' new address.

*Later.*—Telephoned for county doctor.

*May 23, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Juraitis was lying in bed. She was better, and Mr. Juraitis did not want the county doctor. He has no faith in him. Dr. Kraft is taking care of her. He would not like to send Mrs. Juraitis to a hospital for an operation; not just now at any rate. As soon as she is a little better and will be able to get up, they would like to go to the Chicago Clinic and have an X-ray taken. Then if any operation will be necessary, they may consider it. Mr. Juraitis will get bill for coat tomorrow. Gave $1.85.

*May 24, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office with bill for Eugenia's coat. Gave $2.50.

*May 26, 1919.*—Visited to ask if Mr. Juraitis would speak against replacing smoking cars[1] at hearing of City Council Committee. He said he would.

*May 27, 1919.*—Telephoned Visiting Nurse. They have sent down throat culture of Mrs. Juraitis. Will know result tomorrow.

*May 28, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Juraitis was up and feeling pretty well. Told Mr. Juraitis the Agency would pay the last gas bill, but hereafter he must endeavor to pay his own bills. When he needs medicine he should come to the office, and we would get it for him.

*Later.*—Mr. Juraitis in office with prescription for medicine.

Telephoned Dr. Kraft. He said that the only thing that saves Mr. Juraitis' life is the medicine which he is using. An artery above

[1] [In 1918, during the influenza epidemic, the practice of setting aside certain cars or portions of cars for smokers was abandoned by the local transportation companies.]

his heart is enlarged and that caused his present condition. Mr. Juraitis will never be well, but Dr. Kraft believes he will be able to work as barber. Dr. Kraft does not charge him for the services; he does not remember seeing Mrs. Juraitis lately.[1]

*June 3, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office to have his prescription filled. Asked for a waist for Mrs. Juraitis. Gave a summer dress. Mr. Juraitis says he is going back to the barber college in a day or two. Mrs. Juraitis is feeling better, but is still too weak to go down to have an X-ray taken.

*June 11, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office with Eugenia, who has the whooping cough. Dr. Kraft gave prescription for some medicine for her as well as for Mr. Juraitis. Gave a card to Rose Drug Store asking them to fill out these prescriptions. Last Friday night Sophie became suddenly ill. Dr. Kraft was out of town. Mr. Juraitis called Dr. Charles. Paid him $2.00 and also gave 75 cents for medicine.

*June 18, 1919.*—Visited. Eugenia was playing out in the parlor. Mr. Juraitis complained of pain in his side and did not go to the barber school. Would like to go with Mrs. Juraitis to see Dr. Williams at Chicago Dispensary. Do not want to go to West Side Free Dispensary because you have to wait so long. It costs $2.00 to have an X-ray taken. Gave $1.85 cash grant.

*June 27, 1919.*—Telephoned Mr. Kiras. He believes that the lodge will not be able to extend any more payment because at present they are not in very good standing financially. He feels very sorry for Mr. Juraitis and is willing to help with the moving expenses if we find suitable rooms for them. Mr. Kiras believes that Mr. Juraitis ought to get the money which his brother has left. Of course there are debts, but in Mr. Kiras' opinion Mr. Juraitis is much more in need of the money than the people to whom Mr. Juraitis' brother owed this money. Mr. Kiras does not know the name of the lodge. The secretary is Mr. Kelmy, who has a furniture store at 30th and Western. Mr. Kiras is not a relative of Mr. Juraitis. He is the godfather of one of the little girls. Mr. Kiras will be very willing to help any time we think the Juraitis' in need of his assistance.

*July 1, 1919.*—Mr. Juraitis in office with prescription. He is asking pension today because he must have some razors sharpened. Told him he would have to wait until tomorrow. Mr. Juraitis says his rent will be due Saturday, and he will not receive any more money from his lodge.

[1] [A number of entries about medicine and prescriptions, etc., are omitted.]

*July 2, 1919.*—Visited. Mr. Juraitis was not at home. Gave $1.85.

*July 5, 1919* (*Saturday*).—Mr. Juraitis in office asking money for rent. Interviewer told him to come Monday at 9:00 A.M. when visitor would be in office. He will go to West Side Free Dispensary heart clinic if we wish it.

*July 7, 1919.*—Mrs. Juraitis in office with prescription. Told her we would speak to landlord about the rent. The plan is that we will try to move them in about two weeks and if no suitable rooms are found that the whole rent will be paid. If rooms are found and they are moved, then we shall pay for the number of days they have lived there.

*July 18, 1919.*—The following letter written to employment manager at Vincent's:

> Last November you wrote us with regard to Mr. J. Juraitis and gave us a very full report of your contact with him. However, you did not state just what sort of work Mr. Juraitis was doing when last with you. May we ask you to let us know the the kind of work at which he was employed?

*July 19, 1919.*—Mrs. Juraitis in office asking pension and rent check. Mr. Juraitis has been at home sick for three weeks. Has been unable to find rooms. The old landlord has sold out, and the new one does not know his address. Was there saying he must have the money on time, as he does not care to wait. She will continue to look for rooms. Gave her check for $10 to pay rent from June 5 to July 5 and $1.85 cash. Mrs. Juraitis asked for some gingham for dresses for children.

*July 23, 1919.*—Employment manager at Vincent's telephoned. He thought our inquiry as to what kind of work Mr. Juraitis had done quite unjustifiable.

*July 25, 1919.*—Mrs. Juraitis in office asking for sheeting material, girls' petticoats, and food. Promised visit this afternoon.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. Juraitis was very ill. Could scarcely walk. He had to call Dr. George. Was given medicine which allayed the pain. He has been borrowing from Mr. Felix Balutis. Now will attend the Dispensary. He has had to buy medicine. Ran short on food. The children are in need of undershirts and sheeting. Asked Mrs. Juraitis to come to our office some day next week when visitor would buy them for her. Left $2.00 pension.

*August 5, 1919* (*Tuesday*).—Mrs. Juraitis in office. Mr. Juraitis still very sick. Asks rent. Charitable Corporation has not visited

this week. Gave $10 rent July 5–August 5 and promised to telephone the Corporation. Mrs. Juraitis is to let us know if they do not come in this afternoon.

*August 9, 1919.*—Mrs. Juraitis in office. Charitable Corporation had not sent visitor. Telephoned their office. Visitor had left with pension.

*August 10, 1919.*—Visited. Inspected rooms Mr. Juraitis had found. Rent $10. Landlord refused to admit visitor suspecting her to be from Welfare Agency. Said Mr. Juraitis had paid deposit on rooms. Landlord of course did not know Mr. Juraitis is Agency's client. Rooms appeared light, clean, and airy. Toilet in yard.

*Later.*—Gave Mr. Juraitis $10 check to pay rent. Explained that visitor did not tell landlord he is being assisted by Welfare Agency. Advised he locate cheap expressman and notify visitor cost of moving.

*August 19, 1919.*—Visited. Asked Mr. Juraitis to take out second papers. Mr. Juraitis expects some insurance from his brother's death, some mistake having been made by which estimate of insurance was $200 short. He could give no information since he left all the papers with a friend who was to take them to a lawyer. Asked him to bring the papers to the office so that if necessary Legal Aid[1] can take care of matter.

*August 21, 1919.*—Telephoned Dr. George. Mr. Juraitis has been under his care intermittently for past six years. X-ray pictures were taken at Cook County Hospital which showed nothing. Dr. George diagnosed the case as aneurysm. He is not sure if there are other complications. The prognosis is bad. He feels sure that Mr. Juraitis will never be able to work.

*September 9, 1919.*—Following letter written to Juvenile Court:

Juraitis Case
Joseph
Mary
Eugenia (b. 1915)
Sophie (b. 1917)

The Juraitis family was referred to this organization on November 5, 1918, by Mr. Stanley Kiras, 225 Monroe Street, telephone Randolph 2143. Mr. Juraitis told us he had been employed by the Vincent Company as a breast drill operator and became ill in November, 1917, and has since been

[1] [See R. H. Smith, *Justice and the Poor* (Carnegie Foundation Bulletin No. 13), Part III, especially pp. 219–25.]

unable to work. (See attached copy of letter from Vincent's Employees' Benefit Association. Also see copy of letters received from Society of Lithuanian Brothers, regarding lodge sick-benefits.)

Dr. George Seeley on August 22, 1918, gave Mr. Juraitis a slip stating Mr. Juraitis had dilated heart; recommended light work. (Slip read by our visitor.) July 1, 1918, Dr. E. E. Webb gave the following statement to Mr. Juraitis: "Joe Juraitis has a mediastinal condition, which is most probably aneurysm of the arch of the aorta. X-rays on file at the County Hospital." On March 6, 1918, Mr. Juraitis was treated by Dr. Williams at Chicago Free Dispensary, having been referred to Dispensary by insurance doctor of Vincent's Employees' Benefit Association. Dr. Williams by telephone on November 8, 1918, reported to us Mr. Juraitis in serious condition, diagnosis aneurysm of aorta. Advised Mr. Juraitis may live one day or one year—perhaps longer.

Mr. Juraitis next entered County Hospital, December 1, 1918. Report received by us per telephone conversation with doctor in ward on December 12 gave diagnosis as aortic aneurysm. Hospital care recommended, case hopeless, also patient could live only short time. Mr. Juraitis left County Hospital several days later when he heard case was hopeless. Was next attended by Dr. Kraft, who diagnosed case as aneurysm of aorta and said Mr. Juraitis had only a short time to live. [The names and addresses of six other doctors are listed.] One of these doctors, Dr. George, gave us report on August 21, 1919, that Mr. Juraitis had been under his care intermittently for the past six years; diagnosis aneurysm of aorta, perhaps other complications.

On July 12, 1919, we wrote employment manager at Vincent's asking the exact nature of Mr. Juraitis' work, our object in writing being to ascertain cause of Mr. Juraitis' illness. Employment manager replied by telephone July 23, 1919. He thought our inquiry as to kind of work Mr. Juraitis had done quite unjustifiable. We have not pressed the matter farther.

Mr. Juraitis told us he came to U.S.A. in 1910 and started working for Vincent's where he continued for four years. He next worked for Grenfeldt & Shurman, length of time unknown. He changed to Ward & Wells Co., as night watchman for six months or longer, when he returned to Vincent's for two or three years. He was employed by City Contract Building one year, also by King Tool and Die Co. He returned to Vincent's in 1917, where he continued until his illness. Mr. Kiras reported Mr. Juraitis worked for him as an investigator on personal injury cases for six years in the evenings. He was bright and a satisfactory worker. Left his employ when he returned to Europe to be married.

In March, 1919, Mr. Juraitis became very eager to work. Dr. Kraft advised Mr. Juraitis would probably be able to work as barber. We paid

tuition fee of $15 for an eight weeks' course at the Smith Barber College. Mr. Juraitis was unable to attend classes regularly. It, of course, is a question if his physical condition will ever permit him to use this training.

After remaining in Chicago for twelve and one-half years, Mr. Juraitis returned to his home in Russia and married a neighboring farmer's daughter. He remained in Europe for one year and three months when he returned to Chicago with his wife.

At the time of Mr. Juraitis' illness they had saved $500 but this amount with $100 borrowed from Mr. Juraitis' brothers, John and Tony Juraitis, was spent for living expenses and medical care before application to Welfare Agency. We have found the children always neat and clean and the parents show a great interest in them. The house, although plainly furnished, is well kept and attractive. Mrs. Juraitis was diagnosed on November 13, 1918, by Dr. Williams as having chronic appendicitis. An operation was at one time suggested by Dr. Williams, but never urged.

The Charitable Corporation gives a regular allowance of $26 per month. We pay the rent $10 and give a $2.00 regular allowance weekly, plus clothing as needed. We have expended on family to date, $142.65.

Mr. Juraitis' brother Tony Juraitis died February 24, 1919. He was insured with a lodge for $300, but there were many debts to be settled. Mr. Kiras is handling case, which has not been settled. Tony Juraitis, when living, assisted Mr. Juraitis irregularly. He was a heavy drinker, irregular worker, not dependable.

John Juraitis, also a brother, has assisted Mr. Juraitis irregularly in the past. He also drinks heavily; refuses to take any interest in the family. We understand he is single and earning good wages. We have not taken matter up of his assistance through County Court. Our record mentions a friend, Felix Balutis, having loaned Mr. Juraitis a small amount of money, address unknown.

*September 24, 1919.*— Mr. Juraitis in office, showed undertaker's bill for brother, $160, paid. He claims debt of brother John was eight years old. Told him we would see secretary of lodge and find out situation. Charitable Corporation sent him to West Side Free Dispensary. He is now going to Dr. F. C. James. He charges only for medicine, and Mr. Juraitis is greatly benefited by it. Mr. Juraitis has no wedding certificate but could produce many witnesses who saw him married in the old country. He said he owns a farm in the old country that was worth $2,000 or $3,000. He received $200 a year rent for it. When he was last home tenant paid him in advance for six years. With this money he bought tickets to America, $125, and spent money on furniture here, $150. The remainder he used in the year he was sick before he applied to us. He had many bills for medi-

cal services during that time. He kept this money in a bank at LaSalle and Adams streets.

*October 1, 1919 (Wednesday).*—Visited Mr. Kneigis, president of lodge of Tony Juraitis. Mr. Kneigis works at Vincent's and is home only after 7:00 P.M. His wife could not give check number nor department of his work. She recalled case slightly. Says that lodge is poor and will pay when they can. She suggested that either Mr. or Mrs. Juraitis attend lodge meeting on Saturday, October 4.

*Later.*—Visited cashier of the lodge. He has no information but also invited attendance at next meeting.

*October 18, 1919.*—Reached president of the lodge by telephone. He says $148 death benefit is coming to Mr. Juraitis; $50 has already been collected, and the rest will be paid shortly.

*November 13, 1919.*—Visited. Mr. Juraitis is ill in bed with a heavy cough. Dr. George in attendance. Dr. George promises to care for patient without pay until he is able to work. He has also obtained reduction in price of medicine.

The house is very clean. Mrs. Juraitis mending children's clothes. Mr. Juraitis says he has no warm underwear and there is only one comforter for the two beds.

Telephoned Dr. George, who says that Mr. Juraitis will never be able to work, that he has an incurable heart condition that will probably never be better than it is now. He has never found evidence of tuberculosis.

*November, 21, 1919.*—Visited. Mr. Juraitis is able to be out of bed during the day, but the slightest exertion seems too much for him. Left cash grant $4.00. Promised to send underwear for Mr. Juraitis and comforter for bed as soon as possible. Mr. Juraitis said he would like to try some light manual work.

Telephoned Dr. George. He says that the lightest kind of work would be too much for Mr. Juraitis. The cardiac condition does not seem to respond to treatment. Dr. George suggests that Mrs. Juraitis be given work.

*November 28, 1919.*—Visited. Mr. Juraitis said that he and his brother were going to Legal Aid Society this afternoon to sign papers for money from Tony's lodge. Mr. Juraitis seems slightly better. His rent is due tomorrow. . . . .

*December 24, 1919.*—Christmas basket, toys, and clothing given by Thompsons.

*December 30, 1919.*—A baby daughter was born—Hedwiga.

*January 2, 1920.*—Family notified by Juvenile Court to make application for mother's pension.[1]

*February 27, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Juraitis showed bank book of National Trust and Savings Bank:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| February 19 a deposit of $101 was made by Legal Aid to his account | | |
| February 19 he made a withdrawal of his share, | $30.50 | |
| February 26 brother's share, | $30.50 | |
| Balance, | | $40.00 |

which must be left in bank for one year.

February 22 he paid Felix Balutis, who was leaving for Europe, $25 he had borrowed from him for his brother Tony's funeral expenses ($10 for priest, $15 for cemetery). February 26 paid bond as administrator $5.00. Mr. Juraitis had left 50 cents which he easily spent for carfare in settling up estate. Mr. Juraitis has application blanks for his second papers.

*March 24, 1920.*—Telephoned Dr. George. Mr. Juraitis is in same condition as before. He is likely to die suddenly with slight overexertion. Dr. George sees him regularly and charges nothing.

*May 1, 1920.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. He has been walking the streets for the visitor looking for "vacant rents." With his usual good nature he agreed to continue the job. He seems pleased each time the visitor suggests some new small errand that he can do. He commented on how hard it had been for him not to be able to work to support his family. Mr. Kiras gave him a suit recently.

*May 7, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Juraitis had pain in his side and a bad cough. He takes his medicine regularly. The children and Mrs. Juraitis are well. The house was clean and neat.

*May 13, 1920.*—Telephoned Mr. Kiras. He has seen Mr. Juraitis occasionally only. He gave him a suit and promises to send a check he has not yet remitted in payment of Mr. Juraitis' moving last summer. . . . .

*May 24, 1920.*—Telephoned Dr. George. Mr. Juraitis had had another bad spell with his heart. Heavy coughing spells make him weak. Dr. George had corresponded with the County Hospital and West Side Free Dispensary. Neither physician who examined Mr. Juraitis has arrived at a diagnosis, nor can Dr. George diagnose him. Aneurysm of aorta, diagnosis of 1918, could not be correct, for a patient so afflicted could not live this long, especially with such

[1] [See *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 23, sec. 323, "Aid to Mothers and Children."]

a heavy cough. Dr. George wants to take Mr. Juraitis for consultation with Dr. Stevens, specialist in internal medicine. No case could be made for industrial commission without a diagnosis.

*May 26, 1920.*—The following letter written to Kelmes Valsciaus Taryba, Kelme, Lithuania:

Mr. J. Juraitis, formerly of Kelme, is now living in our neighborhood in Chicago. He is permanently incapacitated and unable to support his family. We should like very much to secure for him a pension from the county.

We understand that Mr. Juraitis owns a farm near Kelme. We should like to know if this farm is still in his name. What is its value and what is the possibility of selling it? Because Mr. Juraitis is supposedly the owner of this farm, he is not eligible for a pension.

We would be very glad if you could give us the desired information on this property and could also suggest some one who would act as Mr. Juraitis' agent in the sale of the same if Mr. Juraitis is really the owner.

*June 1, 1920.*—Mr. Juraitis is feeling much better. Dr. George is giving him some "swell new medicine." He is proud that his spell lasted only a week in place of his illness of a month last year.

*June 4, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Juraitis received a letter today from her father in the old country, mailed March 20, 1920. Her youngest sister died in the old country this spring. The houses had all been burned and the people had nothing to work with. Mr. Juraitis says farms are cheap; but horses and implements are so high a man cannot farm. . . . .[1]

*July 16, 1920.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. He has felt very well for this week. He has been examined by Dr. Layton, a physician who knew him before the war. Mr. Juraitis hopes that he and Dr. George may be able to arrive at some diagnosis by consultation.

His wringer is broken. Visitor agreed it should be repaired. Mr. Juraitis did not stay at home to see visitor. He likes to get out and come to office.

*July 19, 1920.*—Telephoned Dr. Layton to whom Mr. Juraitis had referred. Mr. Juraitis, he is sure, has an aneurysm of arch of aorta. He may drop dead any day. Doctor will examine him again this week and communicate with visitor.

*August 6, 1920.*—Mr. Juraitis in office to get supplies. Eugenia is gaining in weight since her tonsils were removed by Dr. George.

[1] [This testimony to conditions abroad suggests the burden of fear in the hearts of foreign-born who had come from those parts of Europe over which the armies had passed to and fro.]

Mr. Juraitis does not want to return to Dr. Kraft. He puts his faith in Dr. George; likes his treatment and medicine. However, if Dr. George will take him to another physician, he will agree to consultation. His back and side have been aching badly. He has heard recently from Lithuania.

*August 12, 1920.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. He is to return to Dr. George in a couple of weeks when his present medicine is finished. He is feeling better. He does not think Mrs. Juraitis would consider going to the English class at the Settlement, even with mother's pension as an object. He will speak of it. She is timid and retiring and wants always to stay at home.

*September 1, 1920.*—Mr. Juraitis in office. He talked at some length over his affairs, saying that the county supplies were so different from what they used to be that they could not be counted upon. He formerly got bacon, fruit, sugar, and potatoes, but now gets only flour, lard, tea, and beans. He finds it most difficult to get along on[1] the money given by the Charitable Corporation and Welfare Agency.

*October 8, 1920.*—Telephoned Dr. George. He is very much puzzled over Mr. Juraitis' case. He feels that Mr. Juraitis has never been diagnosed correctly and suggests that we make an effort to get him into Knox Hospital for a couple of weeks under observation of Dr. Stevens.

*December 3, 1920.*—Dr. Layton in office. He was much interested in Mr. Juraitis. Had obtained reports from County Hospital and West Side Free Dispensary. Diagnosed case as aneurysm of aorta—enlargement of artery leading from heart which weakens artery to such an extent that death may come at any time. Hence Mr. Juraitis unable to do any kind of work. He cannot even use his arms. Dr. Layton believes this condition due to Mr. Juraitis' former employment as it is general medical opinion that constant pressure causes such a condition. He is not charging for his services. He states that Mr. Juraitis is too ill to go to be examined at Knox Hospital and doesn't advise it as his condition is incurable.

Thinks Mrs. Juraitis stays too close to her home and is quite untouched by living in America. . . . .[2]

[1] [A number of entries recording routine services are omitted from the remainder of this history.]

[2] [See Frank V. Thompson, *Schooling of the Immigrant*, pp. 109–11; S. P. Breckinridge, *New Homes for Old*, pp. 159–69, 180, 203, 230–48.]

*December 31, 1920.*[1]—The family has been visited regularly during December. Mr. Juraitis' condition is about the same. Some days he feels pretty well and is able to get outdoors; and other days he hardly leaves his chair. The children are in need of clothing, but neither Mr. nor Mrs. Juraitis seems willing to discuss definite needs. Hedwiga seems unusually well and lively. Mr. Juraitis calls her "an American baby."

*January 7, 1921.*—Visited. Mr. Juraitis was sitting by the kitchen table and breathing heavily. He has a pillow on the table on which he lays his head when he wants to sleep. He does not lie down at all—has not for over two weeks.

Mr. Juraitis very much resented recent suggestions of Welfare Agency to Mrs. Juraitis that she take the baby to the Infant Welfare Station and that she go to the County Agent herself when Mr. Juraitis was not able to go. He has arranged with a friend of his to attend to the trips to the County Agent's office. Mr. Juraitis maintains that Mrs. Juraitis is not used to going out alone. He cannot seem at all to see the need of her getting used to it.

Although two dresses were purchased for each of the little girls as recently as September, Mr. Juraitis declared that they had nothing to wear, and in substantiation of this he pointed to the children as they were playing about the kitchen. Neither of them had a dress on. When it was suggested that before new clothes were bought, we should know exactly what the children have in order to determine what is most needed, Mr. Juraitis became perfectly frenzied. He said he ought to know what the children needed, and that it ought to be sufficient for him simply to report their needs. He was most violent in his criticism of Welfare Agency and referred repeatedly to insurance papers that had been taken away from him by a visitor, and although the subject of clothes had been taken up with Mrs. Juraitis, Mr. Juraitis refused to let her talk, and told the visitor to get out and stay out.

*Later.*—Telephoned Dr. Layton and explained situation to him. He advised that Welfare Agency take care of food only for the time being, and he will use his influence to try to bring Mr. Juraitis around to a right attitude.[2]

[1] [A new system of recording supervisory visits at monthly intervals is adopted at this time.]

[2] [Two and a half years have elapsed. The strain is unendurable for both client and Agency. The visitor was in a trying position, but the lack of response on the part of the family is easily understood when words of this kind creep into the record.]

[The rest of the story may be summarized. The Agency "stays out." Groceries are sent in, but no visits are paid for three weeks. No entry is made of Mrs. Juraitis' pregnancy, though she gives birth to a boy baby two months later. After an interval, Mr. Juraitis gets better, swallows his pride, and goes to the office. He apologizes and asks a return to the former practice of getting cash instead of groceries. Visits are renewed, but relationship with the co-operating sectarian agency is not perfectly satisfactory, and the visitor chafes against the sense of helplessness in the face of language difficulties. She is suspicious of the influence of the church and of the neighborhood and yet helpless. February 18, he gets his "second papers," and finally, March 29, 1921, the visitor learns by passing the house and seeing a wreath on the door that he has died. The surviving brother and the church are said to be in charge of the funeral. In fact, the funeral bill of $264 is paid within the week by the brother, and Mrs. Juraitis is provided with mourning. She comes, however, the day of the funeral for the usual allowance. Evidence of the marriage is later obtained from Lithuania, a budget of $82.45 is worked out, and November 10, 1921, the maximum grant for four children under the Mothers' Pension Law, which had been recently amended, allowing $25 for one child and $15 for each other child, $70, is made by the court. The contact is now between the probation officer and the family. Many sources of confusion and difficulty are removed, and the new relationship is simpler and happier. Eugenia starts to school. Mrs. Juraitis says that she will go to English classes as soon as she can take the baby out; she looks forward to the time when six-year-old Eugenia will help her with her accounts, and she "manages nicely" on the allowance, which is $12.45 less than the court thinks she should have.

Between November, 1918, and October, 1919, the Welfare Agency gave the Juraitis family $192.96. During the fiscal year October, 1919, to September, 1920, the amount given was $445.61; between October, 1920, and May, 1921, $285.72 was given, making a total of $924.29.

In addition to these grants the family received rations and fuel from the county, $26 a month from the Charitable Corporation, the benefit from the lodge, and such additional gifts as Thanksgiving and Christmas baskets.]

### 3. The Family of Frederic Lewis

(*An Elderly Infirm Man Who Makes and Sells Metal Forks*)

*December 6, 1919.*—Miss Fowler, General Office, telephoned that family are in need. They have enough coal for the next two days. Mrs. Lewis has been working, but has been ill for the last two days. Source was Miss Pike, Service League for Handicapped.[1] Mrs. Lewis secured work from them, and they became interested in family.

*December 7, 1919.*—Telephoned Service League and talked with secretary, who said that they had become interested in family through Mrs. Lewis, who has been making rugs for them. Thinks Mrs. Lewis a very refined, deserving woman, who has been used to better circumstances. They have been assisting a little, and advanced $12 for a rug Mrs. Lewis is now making so they could pay rent. Dr. Mary Bullock, of Grove Park, a friend of the secretary, is attending Mr. Lewis and giving her services. Thinks Mr. Lewis is anemic and needs nourishment. They will be glad to co-operate in any possible way.

*Later.*—Visited. Family have lived for four years in a four-room attic for which they pay $12. Rooms are comfortable, well lighted, and quite well furnished. A number of oil paintings which Mr. Lewis has done were around the room.

Mr. Lewis, who is sixty-two years old, has been sick for about five weeks. Said he had not been very well for some time previous to this but had been able to work. He worked for Holt & Company, making wire forks used to pin price marks on meat and vegetables in market windows. These, it seems, are sold, and Mr. Lewis receives a commission averaging about 80 cents a gross. This averages about $18 a week.[2] He seemed very cheerful and said he had large orders waiting to be filled. Mrs. Lewis makes rugs for the Service League, receiving from $12 to $14 per rug. It takes about six weeks to make a rug if she works steadily.

[1] [Service League for the Handicapped, an indorsed agency whose objects are "to render service to handicapped persons and particularly to assist persons who are physically handicapped in their means or efforts to obtain support, maintenance or education." The budget in 1921 was $21,059.]

[2] [The standard budget for a family like this at this time required food ($4.10 a week for the man, $3.30 a week for the woman, or $7.40 a week multiplied by $4\frac{1}{3}$) $32.07 a month; rent, $12; fuel (stove), $8.50; household supplies, $5; or total, without clothing or sundries, $57.57.]

Mr. Lewis was born in Chicago. His people were originally from Utica, New York. His grandfather was a wealthy lumberman there. His father, it seems, was a very reckless man, and at the death of the grandfather it was found that Mr. Lewis' father had drawn most of his inheritance in checks, amounting to thousands of dollars. The family moved to Des Moines when Mr. Lewis was a small boy, his father going into the lumber business, but he failed. Mr. Lewis claims his mother was prominent in club circles, having been at one time the secretary of the Y.W.C.A. there. He has only one sister, living in Nebraska, but has not been in touch with her for years. After Mr. Lewis' first marriage they moved to Chicago, where they lived a number of years, Mr. Lewis doing various things. At one time he traveled for a grocery company, and it seems made some speculative investments and left his wife and a daughter of about eighteen. He was badly in debt, so he went to California. He wrote to his wife and daughter, Mabel, but they refused to come to him and went to Des Moines, where they kept house for Mr. Samuels, whom the daughter later married. Mr. Lewis went back to Des Moines, but his family would have nothing to do with him. The first Mrs. Lewis died about twenty years ago, and a few years later (June 10, 1905) in La Porte, Indiana, he married the present Mrs. Lewis, whom he met in Chicago, who is also sixty-two years old.

Mr. Lewis wrote a letter to Mabel seven years ago. Mr. Samuels was then in Chicago and met Mr. Lewis by appointment. He told Mr. Lewis they thought he was dead, and it was a terrible shock for Mrs. Samuels to hear from him. She wanted him never to bother her in any way. He said Mr. Samuels was a member of the Cosmos Club, and was vice-president of the Washington and Jefferson Coal Company. He is a man of about Mr. Lewis' age (he refused to give his Des Moines address). Mrs. Lewis, whose maiden name was Ellen O'Donnell, was born in Boston, and shows every evidence of having been brought up in refined surroundings. She is very hard of hearing and uses an electrophone. She came to Chicago with her mother and brother years ago. The brother worked for the *Times* but has been dead about twenty years. Her mother died fifteen years ago. The family have moved about a lot since they married, living a while in Massachusetts, and in Philadelphia, Mr. Lewis doing this same work in each place. They have been in Chicago for the last seven years. Neither is insured. He is Methodist and she, Roman Catholic. One former address at which they lived in 1913 was obtained.

*Later.*—Reported family to County Agent.

*Later.*[1]—Talked with Dr. Bullock, who seemed very much interested in family, and gave the diagnosis of Mr. Lewis' malady as chronic kidney and intestinal trouble. She said Mr. Lewis did not follow her directions carefully and was very indiscreet in eating.

*Later.*—Telephoned secretary of Service League, Miss Pike, and gave foregoing report.

*December 11, 1919.*—Miss Pike telephoned. They will take care of family for Christmas and will also pay one month's rent.

*December 19, 1919.*—Accompanied Mrs. Lewis to County Agent for supplies.

*December 24, 1919.*—Delivered County Agent's Christmas basket to Mrs. Lewis as she was not well enough to go for it.

*January 7, 1920.*—Telephoned Holt & Company. Mr. Lewis has worked four years for them, and they have found him most reliable. Did not know he was in need of financial aid. He averaged from $18 to $20 weekly. About two years ago he left them and went into the grocery department at another department store, thinking he could make better wages, but he stayed only two weeks. They will be very glad to co-operate and will take matter up at once.

*Later.*—Mr. Holt telephoned. Said he will send out $10 tonight, and will pay rent during Mr. Lewis' illness.

*Later.*—Read County Agent's record.

*January 19, 1920.*—Since Mr. Lewis showed no marked evidence of improvement, conferred with Dr. Bullock with regard to hospital care. The latter approved of this, and Mr. and Mrs. Lewis seemed especially anxious for Mr. Lewis to go to hospital for thorough examination. He admitted he had not felt well for three years. Dr. Bullock said she had been very glad to give her services to family, but she lives in a suburb and it was difficult to come in so that she would be very glad to have doctors in hospital take case. She will be glad to be called upon at any time. Arranged with Whitfield Hospital, and accompanied Mr. Lewis to hospital. Mrs. Lewis has broken her electrophone, which made it impossible for her to hear at all, so arranged with Magniphone Company, and they repaired same, discounting cost to Welfare Agency, which made the total $5.00. Service League paid for same.

[1] [*The investigation.*—(*a*) After reporting to the County Agent for food and possibly fuel, medical diagnosis is sought. (*b*) The employer's advice and help is obtained. (*c*) Correspondence with the daughter is made possible after Mr. Lewis becomes seriously ill and gives her address.]

When Mr. Lewis became ill, before receiving help from Welfare Agency, Mrs. Lewis pawned a leather bag, which she valued very much. She secured this from pawnshop by paying $3.60. This was paid out of the $10 given by the Holt Company, and she used the remainder for necessary bedding. Mr. Lewis did not know Mrs. Samuels' address, could not remember name of coal company with which Mr. Samuels was connected; thought it was Arkansas Coal and Coke Company, but this address was secured from Des Moines directory. Mr. Lewis would not consider any communication with daughter at first. He said she had asked him not to bother her, and he was good as his word. Insisted she would not wish to hear about him and became very excited when he talked of her. On the day he went to the hospital, however, he said he was too sick to think about it, so would leave matter of informing Mrs. Samuels to the discretion of visitor.

*January 31, 1920.*—The following letter was written by the district superintendent of the Chicago Welfare Agency to the secretary of the Family Welfare Society, Des Moines, Iowa:

May we ask your society to visit Mrs. L. W. Samuels, 3257 Washington Avenue? She is a daughter of our Mr. Lewis, whom we have been assisting since December. He was referred to us at that time because of illness and has been confined to his bed ever since. We found it necessary to procure hospital care for him, and he was taken to the hospital January 19.

Mr. Lewis tells us that Mrs. Samuels is his only child. She is a daughter by a former marriage, her mother having died about twenty years ago. It seems they came to Chicago from Des Moines shortly after their marriage, and when Mrs. Samuels was about eighteen years old Mr. Lewis had to leave the city because of financial difficulties. He expected to join his family later, but they would have nothing more to do with him. He seems to blame the daughter for this, as he said Mrs. Lewis cared for him. Mrs. Lewis and her daughter, soon after his departure, returned to Des Moines, where they kept house for a Mr. Samuels, a widower, whom the daughter later married. Mr. Lewis wrote about seven years ago, and Mr. Samuels made an appointment to meet him in Chicago, but they were not reconciled. Mr. Samuels is vice-president and manager of the Washington and Jefferson Coal Company, 481 Waverley Building.

Mr. Lewis married the second Mrs. Lewis, a very refined Boston woman, in 1905, and soon afterward went to Boston to live; but they have lived in Chicago for the last seven years although neither has relatives here. Mrs. Lewis is very hard of hearing, and not very strong physically. She seems very fond of Mr. Lewis. She has helped in the support by making rugs for the Service League, but she is a very slow worker, and manages to earn on an

average of $6.00 per month. Since Mr. Lewis has been ill, she has been compelled to devote all her time to him.

This seems a very pathetic case, and we wonder if Mrs. Samuels could not be made to feel some interest in her father and to assume some responsibility for their support. The estrangement worries Mr. Lewis very much. He has been rather reticent in giving past information, and Mrs. Samuels may have more to tell. What suggestions can she offer? Would she be willing to contribute $20 per month or more until Mr. Lewis is well enough to work. Mr. Lewis has worked for the W. L. Holt Company for the last four years, earning on an average of $18 per week. They speak very well of him, and have contributed toward the family support during this emergency.

*February 11, 1920.*—Following answer received from head of the Registration Department of the Des Moines Family Welfare Society:

In answer to your letter with regard to the Lewis family a visit was made as requested at the home of Mrs. L. W. Samuels, 3257 Washington Avenue, daughter of your client. Mrs. Samuels lives in a very attractive apartment in our best residence section, and she herself is a charming and evidently cultured woman. At first it was rather hard to gain her confidence, as she feels very bitter and resentful toward her father; and it was only after a great deal of persuasion that she could be made to feel that he was not doing this purposely to humiliate her.

It seems her father's family are the Lewis family of Des Moines, an old family of very good standing, but he was always the black sheep of the family. Her first recollection of difficulties was when she was about thirteen years old and she and her father and mother lived in Chicago. Her father was at that time established in business of his own when suddenly without any cause at all, he disappeared together with all the funds of the concern, including the capital which he had borrowed in order to start the business. He left his wife and daughter with no funds, many debts, and the disgrace to face. Nothing was heard of him for several years. Then a letter came to her mother from San Diego, California, in which her father wrote that he was there and wanted his family to join him. Mrs. Lewis sold all her furniture except a few family heirlooms, sending these on to San Diego, but before she herself could start they received another letter from Mr. Lewis telling them to wait until things were going a little better. Again nothing was heard from him for a long time when he suddenly appeared only to go away again mysteriously. After this Mrs. Lewis and her daughter came to Des Moines, borrowing from relatives enough money to start a boarding-house, and were doing splendidly when Mr. Lewis appeared again, apparently expecting to stay, but never attempting to get a position, simply allowing his wife to support him. This continued for some time, and then he went away again. It seems that this performance was repeated five or six

times. The last time that Mrs. Lewis went back to him was after her daughter's marriage. Mrs. Samuels tells us that her husband and her mother were very congenial and when Mr. Lewis again left his wife she came and made her home with her daughter. Just how it was Mrs. Samuels does not know, but it seems that Mrs. Lewis learned only after returning to him the fifth time that there was some other woman in whom Mr. Lewis was interested and with whom he had been living when away from his family. With this knowledge, Mrs. Lewis secured a divorce from him and continued to live with her daughter until her death.

Mrs. Samuels feels that she has absolutely no obligation to her father. From time to time he has appealed to her, always for financial aid, and the last time her husband went to Chicago to see him and investigate matters. He returned saying that Mr. Lewis had misrepresented his needs and that he would only misuse any aid which they might give him. However, Mrs. Samuels feels that as the present need seems authentic she would be willing to help him a little, not because he is her father, but because he is someone in need of assistance. She requested that we give her the name and address of the Welfare Society, so that she herself might write to them. We did this and are hoping that by this time you have heard from her. She does not want to pledge herself to any certain amount each month, but gave our organization $20, which we are inclosing, that is to be used for her father as you judge best.

We hope this information is satisfactory, and if there is any further assistance we can render you, we will be glad to do so.

*February 16, 1920.*—Letter written to Mrs. L. W. Samuels, 3257 Washington Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa, by the district superintendent of the Chicago Family Welfare Agency:

We received a letter a few days ago from the Des Moines Family Welfare Society, inclosing check for $20 for Mr. Lewis. I am very glad indeed that you are willing to help at this critical time. I am sure it will be something of a comfort to him, not only because of what has happened in the past, but because of his very serious condition. He is still in the Whitfield Hospital and is showing very little improvement.

Mrs. Lewis is braiding rugs at home, but because of her extreme deafness and age is unequal to any more remunerative work.

We will let you know how your father is and hope very much that he can be relieved in his present suffering.

*February 21, 1920.*—Letter received from Mrs. L. W. Samuels:

My Dear Madam:

It is indeed a comfort to know that there is a society like the Welfare Agency of Chicago through which a person can be of assistance to another and know that money will be spent judiciously, and I am only too glad to

help Mr. Lewis in a modest way through you. I sent him a little cheer today in the way of some flowers; hope he receives them. It seems unnecessary to go into details of the past—sufficeth it to say that I feel that whatever I do for my father is in the spirit of "Forgive and ye shall be forgiven." It is impossible for me to leave Mr. Samuels as he has been ill with an affliction of the eye for three months or I would go to Chicago to see Mr. Lewis. It was indeed nice of you to write me personally, and I would appreciate it so much if you will keep me advised as to his condition—and the nature of his ailment.

Most cordially,

(Mrs.) Mabel Samuels

*February 27, 1920.*—Reports from the Whitfield Hospital show Mr. Lewis has had very serious disease of bladder, for which he has been treated at hospital, and this condition seems much improved. The complete diagnosis shows pernicious anemia, and the prognosis is only temporary improvement of perhaps a year or less. He seems, however, to have gained 6 pounds and is cheerful. At first he was very melancholy and worried to such an extent that he had hallucinations and in one of these spells wandered out of the hospital at eleven o'clock at night, insisting that he must be shown the way home. A policeman brought him back to hospital, and he was persuaded to stay. He calmed down in an hour and has not had a return of these spells. He laughs and jokes about it now, and calls it his "crazy time."

A later visit to the hospital and a conference with Dr. Stone verified foregoing statements. Mr. Lewis is showing a decided improvement, and will be kept in hospital at least another month. Dr. Goodall is also attending physician. In speaking with Mr. Lewis at hospital he expressed his appreciation of reconciliation with his daughter and said that alone was worth being sick for. She has sent him flowers and a beautiful basket of fruit.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Lewis was dressed to go to hospital. Said she had been visiting Mr. Lewis every day but promised visitor she would go only three times a week after this as she is not well enough to go more often. She had finished a rug for the Service League. Said two visitors of Service League had been in to see her and had left her $2.00, which she had used for extras for Mr. Lewis. Mrs. Lewis has a spinster cousin, Annie Kegan, in Boston, who is about sixty years of age and keeps a little shop. They are on very friendly terms and correspond. Miss Kegan did not want her to marry Mr. Lewis because he was poor. She added that they had a very hard time at

times for Mr. Lewis was no financier, though never lazy, just a poor manager and "out of luck," as she expressed it. For instance, while in Boston, he invented a wire hanger for postcard use, and while he was struggling to get it through, someone stole the patent and made it by machinery and Mr. Lewis was put out of work. For the past few years he has had to work very hard to get sale for his wire forks outside of what he had for Holt & Company, in this way trying to supplement his wages, but it was almost impossible to get orders. This year he has been besieged by orders and is not well enough to fill them. Arranged with Mrs. Lewis to go to County Agent for supplies February 26, and Miss Bane, volunteer, helped her take supplies home. Mrs. Lewis received mattress sent by Welfare Agency and said she had been able to keep warm at night since sleeping on it. Rent is due.

Talked to Holt & Company, who said they would send rent out to Mrs. Lewis the following day. They feel a great interest in Mr. Lewis and asked to be informed of his condition occasionally.

*Later.*—Talked to visitor of Service League, who said Mrs. Lewis would be kept busy with rug-making so she would not have so much time to worry over Mr. Lewis. Besides they needed her work when she was well enough to do it. [From February, an allowance was made the family varying in amount. In February, when Mr. Lewis was in the hospital, it was $11.]

*March 17, 1920.*—Mr. Lewis returned from hospital March 12. A report from the doctor showed that Mr. Lewis was dismissed, the doctor feeling he would get along as well at home as in the hospital. He had shown a decided improvement, but it is necessary for him to report to clinic every fortnight.

Mrs. Samuels wrote a very nice letter to Mrs. Lewis, which delighted them both very much.

*March 31, 1920.*—Visits have been made, and Mr. Lewis is showing improvement. He reports to hospital every two weeks, and walks out into the air when the day is nice. On March 30, Mrs. Lewis received $14 from Service League for rug. She used $12 of this for rent, since Holt & Company had failed to send this (after being telephoned twice).

During March an allowance of $19 was made. The visitor of the Service League makes occasional visits to the home, and she stated that her first acquaintance with the family was through a letter from Mrs. Lewis answering an ad in the paper asking for women to make rugs.

Doctor's report: A report from the hospital after Mr. Lewis' examination March 29 was very favorable. Dr. Goodall thought he was getting along better than they expected, and they are very much encouraged over his condition. Hospital is supplying medicine free of charge.

*April 29, 1920.*—A visit was made April 25, and Mr. Lewis is getting along very well. He is still reporting to the hospital, and he is able to walk out and seems to have gained a great deal. He said the doctor had told him he had made a remarkable improvement. He thinks he will be able to do a little of his work in two weeks. Mrs. Lewis finished another rug for the Service League, and was paid $8.00. She applied this to the rent, since Holt & Company failed to send this as promised.

Mrs. Samuels had written to them, and had addressed it to Mr. Lewis as "Dear Father," which delighted him very much. Talked to Holt & Company, who said that Mr. Holt was out of the city and they had no authority to send the rent. He will return in a few days and they will take the matter up with him. [During April, $30.16 relief was given.]

*May 6, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Lewis has been working a few hours a day but tires quickly. Mr. Springer, of Holt & Company, visited last week and paid the rent.

*May 26, 1920.*—A visit was made on May 19, and it was found that Mr. Lewis had been re-admitted to the hospital May 14. Dr. Goodall found this necessary since he had been losing in strength. He was discharged May 22, but will report weekly to the hospital. On May 26 a visit was made, and Mr. Lewis was quite a little improved and much encouraged over his condition. Mrs. Lewis had been busy on her rugs and had finished one for which she hopes to receive $8.00, which will be applied on the rent. [During May, $24.05 was given.]

*June 10, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Lewis said he had gained 6 pounds since returning from the hospital and thinks he will be able to work very soon. Gave him a card to dentist, Dr. Mallory, who will attend to his teeth. Mrs. Lewis had not been paid for her rug, but expected to see League for Handicapped visitor soon.

*June 30, 1920.*—Mr. Lewis has been fitted with a plate by Dr. Mallory at the reduced rate of $25. He returned three times for minor adjustments. He is very much relieved and is hopeful that his general health will improve more rapidly.

At request of Welfare Agency, Mr. W. L. Holt sent a check for one month's rent. It seems he is not Mr. Lewis' exclusive employer, but that he has been buying his forks, paying him 70 cents a gross and selling them at $1.50. In addition Mr. Lewis sells direct to retail grocers and butchers but at lower rates.

[During June, $50.05 ($25 for dental work) and during July and August $23.05 was given.]

*September 7, 1920.*—Mr. Lewis has been going regularly to the South Side Clinic for blood tests. As he was losing ground he went to the hospital August 24 and was there until September 4. He is feeling very much stronger and hopes to work soon. He says he feels better than at any other time after leaving hospital. He has been unable for some time to do even a few hours work a day.

Mrs. Lewis is still making rugs and tries to pay the rent in this way. [During September, $32 was given.]

*September 16, 1920.*—Visited Mr. Holt. He has not paid rent for three months. He will go to see Mr. Lewis and will consider keeping him further.

*September 22, 1920.*—Weekly visits have been made. Mr. Lewis is feeling stronger and working a few hours each day. He has made $6.00 since he returned from hospital and will use it to help pay rent.

*September 29, 1920.*—Letter received:

My dear Madam:

Thanking you for the inclosed check to Mrs. Lewis and take this opportunity to thank you for all the kindness bestowed on us by the Welfare Agency and friendliness of you and the visitors. I know I am great trial to all, and that I owe my life to care taken of me. I was taken to Hospital just in time. My blood count was then 650,000 Red Corpuscles—about as low as possible.

I get, it seems, more real strength every time I take treatment except as Dr. Goodall of Whitfield says, my blood is not normal enough yet to build up my muscle. I tire so easy. However, I am gaining some strength—only every extra exertion causes me to, using a hospital phrase, slip, which takes me back to hospital. They are watching me very close. I go for blood test every ten days or two weeks.

Thanking you again for all the kindness and hoping my condition will soon justify all the assistance in my behalf, also thank you for the comfort you were to Mrs. Lewis while I was in Hospital. I can never forget or praise the Welfare Agency too much for all they have done.

Yours thankfully,

Frederic Lewis

*October 28, 1920.*—Weekly visits have been made. Mr. Lewis as usual thinks he is improving. He goes every other day to the Clinic and blood tests show some improvement. He works a little each day and in good weather goes out to dispose of his wares. He finds it hard to sell them and makes no more than $2.00 per week, using this for gas bills and to help out on rent. Mrs. Lewis averages $8.00 a month on her rugs. Mrs. Lewis is not well, but will not consent to go to the doctor. Mrs. Lewis seldom goes to church, and Mr. Lewis never. Mrs. Lewis has no particular friends in the church and is reticent about making friends. Both Mr. and Mrs. Lewis are quite cheerful in spite of their difficulties. Mr. Lewis feels hurt that his daughter does not write to them.

*November 4, 1920.*—Miss Eleanor Vickory, who is doing volunteer work for the League for the Handicapped, has asked Mr. Lewis for samples of hand-painted Christmas cards, saying that she would take all he could make if they suited. Mr. Holt has received a large order of wire forks, and will need no more of Mr. Lewis', and Mr. Lewis is not able to walk the distance required to sell them himself. He thinks inside work would be better for him.

*December 9, 1920.*—Letter written to the secretary, Family Welfare Society, Des Moines, Iowa, as follows:

You will recall that during last February you made a visit on Mrs. L. W. Samuels, 3257 Washington Avenue, Des Moines, a daughter of Mr. Frederic Lewis and step-daughter of Mrs. Ellen Lewis.

Since that time Mrs. Samuels has contributed $105 toward the support of her father, through us, as follows:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| February | 10 | $20.00 | July | 9 | $20.00 |
| February | 21 | 5.00 | September | 15 | 10.00 |
| March | 17 | 20.00 | October | 30 | 10.00 |
| April | 27 | 20.00 | | | 105.00—Total |

We have had very pleasant letters from Mrs. Samuels from time to time, and she says that she would gladly do more if it were not for the fact that her husband has been very ill; I believe he has lost the sight of one eye. At first Mrs. Samuels wrote to us on the letterhead of the Washington and Jefferson Coal Company but recently she has torn off the top of the letterhead. I am wondering if Mr. Samuels is still a member of the firm, or if you can find out from some of your business men or Board of Directors about how he is situated.

We have been caring for the Lewis' now for just a year, supplying a quart of milk daily and $7.00 or $8.00 for food each week, besides fuel. Mr. Lewis is better than he was, but I am beginning to doubt if he will ever be

able to support himself and wife. Anemia is a difficult thing to combat in a man of his age. We would appreciate a second visit to Mrs. Samuels and a tactful approach as to future plans. We appreciate what she has done, but cannot help wondering if she might not do more if she realized how difficult it is for us to continue caring for the family.

It is dubious as to whether we can get them into an old people's home, he being Methodist and she Catholic, and our homes just now are badly overcrowded. I have no idea whether Mrs. Samuels will ever consider providing a home for them. Could she be persuaded to come to Chicago and talk over plans with us and them? It seems to us that something must be done very soon and much depends on her attitude and willingness to help.

I have thought it best to correspond directly with her since your initial visit, but it seems now as if a further conference might be advisable.

*December 16, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Lewis complained of trouble with her eyes when she sews. Gave card to West Side Free Dispensary to have eyes tested for glasses. Mrs. Lewis will receive the usual amount for her rugs and will make the extra $2.00 needed for her rent by making four table runners at 50 cents each for the Society of Shut-Ins.

*December 24, 1920.*—Letter received from the secretary of the Des Moines Family Welfare Society as follows:

At last we have been able to get in touch with Mrs. Samuels, but at first we received a very cold reception. This, however, may be due to the fact that at present she is very upset over her husband's physical condition. It seems that he has not been very well for some time and that they have just returned from Hot Springs, where the doctor had ordered him to go.

The Washington & Jefferson Coal Company, of which Mr. Samuels was a member, has gone out of business, and at present there is no income coming into the Samuels home. However, Mr. Samuels is making a new venture, and they feel that by February they can tell you something definite.

Mrs. Samuels tells us that her husband is bitterly opposed to her helping her father and everything she does she has to do secretly. However, she is delighted with the idea of placing the couple in a home and feels sure she could persuade her husband to pay the money for this. We believe that you will get the best co-operation by writing directly to Mrs. Samuels. She seems so bitterly opposed to having outsiders come into her home, and it was only after our visitor had talked with her an hour that she became friendly at all. While the family lives in a beautiful home, Mrs. Samuels explained that they were not at all wealthy. They have no machine, and she is doing her own housework. She tells us that she sent her father $5.00 for Christmas a few days ago. If you will write her full particulars regarding admission into the Old Folks' Homes of your city, she will be very glad to

talk the matter over with her husband, and feels that, by the first of February, they will be able to give you a definite reply.

*January 6, 1921.*—Visited. The family received no basket for Christmas. Mrs. Lewis must go three times a week to Dispensary to have eyes treated. Left money for extra transportation and medicine for eyes. Visitor from Vocation Bureau for Shut-Ins gave two suits of underwear each, and one suit and three shirts for Mr. Lewis.

*January 25, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Lewis received glasses and was very much pleased with them. Mr. Lewis has been in bed with a cold for two days but is better now and does not wish to have a doctor.

*February 18, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Lewis sick in bed. Promised visit by Visiting Nurse Association.

*February 23, 1921.*—Visited. Visiting Nurse called February 19. Dr. J. P. Arnold, who had called at request of visitor, pronounced illness bronchitis and nurse found much improvement this morning. Mrs. Lewis will make no rug this month as Secretary of League for Handicapped had no material for her the first two weeks in the month, and she has been too ill to work since.

*Later.*—Miss Pike called to inquire about Mrs. Lewis' health. Miss Pike will appeal to members of committee and report to Agency concerning paying rent.

*April 29, 1921.*—Weekly visits have been made. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis' health remains the same. On April 14 Mrs. Lewis had some dental work done. Both have said they would be glad to enter an old people's home. Mr. Lewis does not understand his daughter's silence. Thinks she should be pressed further to send money.

*October 11, 1921.*—Mrs. Samuels in Family Welfare Agency office asking about the present situation of the Lewis'. She said it was out of the question to place them in a home in Des Moines. Would like to have them placed in a home in Chicago, but could not pay more than $300 or $400 for their entrance. Mr. Lewis was never wilfully unkind to her mother, but continually failed in investments on the stock exchange. After each failure he would disappear for several months. Mrs. Samuels finally persuaded her mother to secure a divorce, saying she had to choose between them. Mrs. Samuels had just met Mrs. Lewis for the first time and was very much pleased with her. She thought that after the first of the year Mr. Samuels' business would improve. But Mrs. Samuels says she could save more out of her allowance to assist her father. Wants to make donations through

Welfare Agency. Told her that if the Lewis' again became dependent, the Welfare Agency could not take care of them unless her donations covered the expense. Mrs. Samuels thinks she might be able to do this and will start saving toward this end.

*July 18, 1923.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Lewis, a tall, white-haired woman with a pale, full face, very pleasant and friendly, working about flat, which looks fairly comfortable, even though the furniture and rugs are plain and well worn. Mrs. Lewis is feeling well and is only bothered by her extreme deafness. Mr. Lewis is always cheerful and well enough to go out and sell his forks at least two or three days a week, making on the average about $8.00 to $9.00 weekly. Mrs. Lewis is still making rugs for the Service League, which furnishes all necessary materials except thread. She can make two rugs in three months and $7.00 to $8.00 monthly in this way and is able to pay for the milk, gas, and small expenses. The rent has been raised to $17 a month, which Mrs. Lewis feels is rather high for them, but she likes their flat because it is so airy. She says that tall tree on the lot to the south of the home is "the prettiest one in Chicago."[1]

Mr. Lewis' daughter, Mrs. Samuels, gave them $10 last Christmas, but has given nothing since then. Mrs. Lewis feels that it

[1] [The neighborhood in which the Lewis family lives was formerly for the most part Scandinavian; but four or five years ago the Poles began to appear in large numbers, and now they are probably in the majority at least on the street on which their house falls. There are, however, a few Bohemian, Russian, Irish, and German families living on the same street. The east side of the neighboring boulevard is largely occupied by Jews of various nationalities. Several of the shops on a nearby avenue showed Scandinavian names.

The family lives on the second floor of a neat, brown, two-story frame cottage, set back on the west side of a street running north and south. It is (in July, 1923) just being painted a light-cream color. A well-kept grass plot, separated from the street by an iron fence, extends back to the house, and beds of geraniums and other flowers are laid out around the entrance. As there is a small vegetable garden just north of the house and a grass-covered lot between the Lewis cottage and the alley south of it, there is plenty of open space. The east side of the street opposite the house consists of attractive and well-kept two-story frame houses and three-story brick flat buildings. The space between the street curb and the sidewalk has been planted with grass and shade trees all along the street. A nearby corner is occupied by an Evangelical Lutheran church. There is a public park not far away, and the boulevard a little to the west of the Lewis' house is quite attractive with very decent residences and modern-looking apartments. Not far away is an avenue largely given up to small shops on the first floor of three-story brick flat and office buildings. The Catholic church which Mrs. Lewis attends is about three-fourths of a mile north and slightly to the west.]

would relieve them greatly if Mrs. Samuels could contribute just a few dollars a month from her plenty, for they are barely able to make both ends meet. They cannot afford ice, but Mrs. Lewis buys only a small amount of food at a time and feels she does not need it except for milk and butter.[1]

When Mr. Lewis does not feel well enough to sell forks, he goes over to the park and sits in the sun. Only on Sundays does Mrs. Lewis sometimes accompany him, for she tries to spend all her spare time making rugs. Mrs. Lewis cried a little and said she greatly appreciated all the Welfare Agency had done for the family. She said she was glad to have a call made.[2]

### 4. The Family of Vittold Wojtatiwicz

*(A Polish Metal Worker, Ill with Carcinoma)*[3]

*October 8, 1919 (Wednesday).*—Mrs. Wojtatiwicz, an Austrian-Polish woman, in office referred by the Polish visitor of the Immigrants' Protective League. Mr. Wojtatiwicz is incapacitated for work, as his hand is in a cast. Was at the County Hospital for several days and is to return next Monday (October 13). Mr. Wojtatiwicz was employed in a machine shop on Harrison and Racine, earning $24 a week. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz is working in a packing-house near West and Halsted streets, earning about $13 a week. During the time Mr. Wojtatiwicz was in the hospital she left the two children, Irene (born October 8, 1916) and Henry (born August 17, 1918)

[1] [Ice tickets were sent the next day.]

[2] [Prior to May, 1921, $446.92 had been given the Lewis family, out of which $332.14 had come from the general fund of this Agency.]

[3] [This is the first case in the series in which there is a personal application for aid and the applicant comes introduced by the Polish visitor of the Immigrants' Protective League. This is an indorsed agency, which was incorporated in 1908 for the protection of immigrants throughout the city; it takes up matters connected with immigration and emigration, and renders assistance in naturalization, irrespective of length of residence in the United States, and does protective case work among foreign-born who have been in the United States less than five years. It is supported by contributions from private individuals and organizations. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz had gone to the League on the first of the month and had given the visitor there the facts now related to the interviewer in the office of the Welfare Agency, together with the dates of her own and of Mr. Wojtatiwicz's arrival in the United States. She had then been referred to the Welfare Agency. The records of the League show that on the tenth of October Mr. Wojtatiwicz sought the aid of

with a neighbor, to whom she paid $6.00 a week. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz is not well and does not think she can continue working. Family is not receiving county supplies.

They were married January 25, 1916, at Saint Mary's. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz has a brother and an aunt living in the city. [The names and addresses of a doctor and three friends and three previous residences were obtained as well as the names of two former employers of Mr. Wojtatiwicz.][1]

*October 13, 1919 (Monday).*—Mr. Wojtatiwicz in office, on way to the County Hospital. Said he has had rheumatism in his right arm for two years. It became so bad that he had to stop work two weeks ago. Mr. Wojtatiwicz took out first papers October 10, 1919. He worked for the Highland Can Company on Ashland and Fairfax streets for a year and a half. He then went to Columbus, Ohio, where he worked in a munitions factory. He returned six months ago and since then had worked for the Stability Company, 114 Sawyer Street. He belonged to the machinists' union for a few months and then dropped it. Had a policy for $500 with the Reliance Insurance Company, paying $14 a year, but had to drop this last year, because Mrs. Wojtatiwicz and the children had influenza.

Mr. Wojtatiwicz is very anxious to get light work and asks assistance in doing so. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz is not well, and the children need her attention.

*October 24, 1919.*—Visited. Family have lived for three months in four-room flat, which is bright and airy, every room being an outside

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the League visitor in taking out his "first papers" and that on the twenty-fourth the League visitor called the Welfare Agency to learn what, if anything, had happened to the family, and was told that the visitor for that district had been ill and no visit had been made until that day. The League registered only on the fourteenth, and no other agency was registered on the case until the following month when the County Agent (November 14, 1919) and the Infant Welfare Society (November 25, 1919) registered.]

[1] [The factors in the problem seem to be somewhat as follows: (1) Mr. Wojtatiwicz's illness is being diagnosed by the members of the staff of the Public Medical Agency; (2) Mrs. Wojtatiwicz has a job in an "outside" packing-plant where many Polish women work. The Welfare Agency has no right to assume that his malady will not be properly diagnosed, nor can it undertake to relieve all mothers of young children who are earning wages supplementary to those of the husband and father. See below, p. 448, Helen R. Wright, *Children of Working Mothers* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 102). See also p. 507 for the provision made by the Jewish Bureau for Mrs. Meyer.]

room. The home is comfortably and attractively furnished, indicating that the family have good standards of living. The rent is $12.

Mr. Wojtatiwicz came to America eight years ago from Russian Poland to avoid army service in Europe. His family were in comfortable circumstances, living in a good-sized town, and Mr. Wojtatiwicz had the advantage of good schools. He attended *Gymnasium* for four years and was then apprenticed to a machinist for three years. Showed visitor a certificate which stated that he had fully completed course as a machinist. Upon coming to America he went into this line of work. He was with a machine company at Fulton and Ashland for a number of years.

Mrs. Wojtatiwicz (Frances Kruszka) comes from Austrian Poland (Galicia) and has been in this country for seven years.

Mr. Wojtatiwicz has felt this condition in his arm coming on for about four years. He was bothered with pains occasionally, which came every few months and lasted a few days at a time. Later the pains became more severe, and Mr. Wojtatiwicz, thinking it was rheumatism, took electrical treatments. However, these did not seem to do much good. Several months ago his arm began to bother him continuously, and when he left his position he was unable to hold a tool in his hand. Upon his going to the County Hospital for treatment his arm was put into a cast and left there for five weeks, during which time the arm continued to swell to such proportions that he was forced to take the cast off because of the intense pain which it caused him. He asked the advice of Dr. Leedle, 4850 Armstrong Avenue, and he told him to have his teeth and tonsils examined, and if the cause of infection was not found there, he should have a thorough physical examination. When Mr. Wojtatiwicz became unable to work, Mrs. Wojtatiwicz immediately set out to earn their living. She is working for a packing-house, but Mr. Wojtatiwicz declares the work is much too hard for her, as she is forced to carry large pieces of meat. She is earning $13 a week.[1]

Six weeks ago, when matters began to look very serious, they took another family, a young couple with a baby of three months, in with them to help pay the rent (half the rent and half the coal and gas). During the influenza epidemic last fall the whole family were ill with it, and Mr. Wojtatiwicz has been unable to make up what was lost during that time.

[1] [At this home visit, Mr. Wojtatiwicz is interviewed. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz is at work, and he is taking care of the children.]

Mr. Wojtatiwicz said as far as he knows there was no history of illness in his family. He has several brothers younger than himself who had to serve in the army. He feels his family have probably lost much of what they possessed by this time.

Mr. Wojtatiwicz is a very refined type of Pole and would probably be able to develop other possibilities for himself if he should be incapacitated for his own line of work. He is anxious to learn to speak and read English, and has been studying by himself. The children were attractive youngsters, and looked well cared for.

*October 27, 1919.*—Mr. Wojtatiwicz in office. Is very much dissatisfied with treatment he has been receiving at County Hospital. Gave him card to West Side Free Dispensary.

*October 28, 1919.*—Social worker, West Side Free Dispensary, telephones that they are keeping Mr. Wojtatiwicz for observation at the Knox Hospital.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz has stopped working as she is not feeling well.[1] She is a very attractive looking young woman, neat in her dress and appearance. She is very much worried about her husband's condition.

*November 3, 1919 (Monday).*—Mr. and Mrs. Wojtatiwicz in office. Mr. Wojtatiwicz upset as Dr. Sewall recommends amputation of his arm. Wants to get another diagnosis.

*November 4, 1919 (Tuesday).*—Visited County Hospital and read report. Mr. Wojtatiwicz entered hospital September 25, 1919, and was discharged October 3, 1919, case diagnosed as periosteitis of right elbow. Dr. Farquhar examined Mr. Wojtatiwicz with X-ray. [Dr. Farquhar's diagnosis is omitted.] Was in Ward 24.

Visited Knox Hospital and talked with Dr. Sewall, who says that the operation should have been performed six months ago, before infection spread. Does not give much hope of recovery for Mr. Wojtatiwicz even after having operation performed as the growth has spread through the arm. Will be glad to perform operation whenever Mr. Wojtatiwicz is ready for it. Diagnosis, sarcoma.

*November 5, 1919.*—Mr. Wojtatiwicz in office. Is going to the American Hospital for examination.[2]

[1] [The visitor sees Mrs. Wojtatiwicz for the first time. However, a program of relief is entered on shortly after this. See below, p. 92, for total relief given family.]

[2] [A third diagnosis is sought in the face of the sentence pronounced by Dr. Sewall.]

*November 7, 1919.*—Visited previous address, 235 Ashland Avenue.[1] Family lived here about six months. Were reliable type of people, Mrs. Wojtatiwicz keeping a clean house and taking excellent care of her children. Neighbors complained to landlord that the family were proud and considered themselves above everyone else; but landlord stated that was due to the fact that the Wojtatiwicz family kept very much to themselves, and he did consider them superior in every way to the usual type of tenants he had.

Mrs. Wojtatiwicz and children were always dressed tastefully and neatly. When she finished with her work, she usually took her two babies and spent the afternoon in the park with them. Mr. Wojtatiwicz frequently took care of them on Sunday afternoons, allowing his wife to attend the movies, or they would all go together for an afternoon and evening in the park. During the summer months Mr. Wojtatiwicz sent Mrs. Wojtatiwicz and children to the country for two weeks' vacation, landlord thought to a farm or a summer resort, for Mrs. Wojtatiwicz knew no one there.

The family had a number of friends coming to see them, most of whom seemed to be in fairly comfortable circumstances.

The landlord stated that when the family moved there they were known as Kukulski and that all their mail came to them under that name. Then about two months after their arrival, Mr. Wojtatiwicz gave him a card with his present name on it, stating that mail under that name was meant for them also. Landlord thinks they were receiving mail under another name also. Does not know reason for this. Neighbors all know family as Kukulski, and even landlord failed to recognize family when visitor inquired for them under the name Wojtatiwicz.

Mr. Wojtatiwicz always worked regularly, always paid his rent regularly, and the family in every way were desirable.

Talked with neighbor who lived next door, to whom landlord directed visitor, as the two families visit one another. She knows family under name of Kukulski. They were always quiet, respectable type, Mr. and Mrs. Wojtatiwicz usually going out together. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz did not mingle with neighbors. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz visited this neighbor last week, and told her about condition and the possibilities of an operation. Has never visited family at present address.

[1] [The family has lived at present address a very short time. The social investigation, as distinguished from the medical diagnosis, begins with this visit to the former neighborhood. On the subject of visits to former neighbors, see Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, p. 274; Amelia Sears, *Charity Visitor* (4th ed.), p. 8.

*November 10, 1919 (Monday).*—Mr. Wojtatiwicz in office. Feels that he is ready for amputation if that is necessary.

*November 11, 1919.*—Telephoned Dr. MacIlveen, American Hospital. Gave diagnosis as sarcoma, and amputation is necessary.

*Later.*—Visited Joe Krusza, brother of Mrs. Wojtatiwicz. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz came to United States about seven years ago. After living here a short time, she sent for her brother. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz worked in a packing-plant, previous to her marriage, so it was not hard for her to secure a position when Mr. Wojtatiwicz became ill.

Mr. Krusza became acquainted with Mr. Wojtatiwicz about a year before Mrs. Wojtatiwicz married him. Mr. Wojtatiwicz was always a steady worker, and a man of good habits.

About a year or two ago Mr. Wojtatiwicz met with an accident while working for the Highland Can Company. Was hit by a beam which swung from the polishing machines. This made his whole right arm black and blue. First aid was given him at the shop, but Mr. Wojtatiwicz never had any medical attention for it and though it was bruised, he never paid any attention to it. Mr. Krusza thinks trouble originated from this bruise.

Mr. Krusza saw Mr. Wojtatiwicz on the Saturday previous, and was aware of the condition in the family. Mr. Wojtatiwicz has no relatives in America; Mr. Krusza and Mrs. Wojtatiwicz have an aunt living on Joseph Street.[1]

Mr. Krusza was a fine-looking young man of about twenty-four or five years of age. Does not appear to be of such a high type of Pole as Mr. Wojtatiwicz and probably does not have such high standards of living. His wife appears to be of the peasant type. Was very neatly dressed and her home was extremely clean. They have two small children, the oldest probably of about three years of age; the baby is not able to walk. Mrs. Krusza is pregnant.

Mr. Krusza is employed in a packing-plant. Does not feel he can do anything for family at present. They need special care for their own baby, but he is planning to keep in very close touch with the family. The Kruszas live in a rather poor neighborhood back of the Yards, the street needing paving and in a filthy condition. The houses on the street were old and rather ramshackle, although the cottage that the Kruszas occupy was neat and well taken care of.

*Later.*—Visited previous address, Racine and Groveland avenues. Family lived here a year or more. Mr. Wojtatiwicz rented flat, and Mrs. Wojtatiwicz came to live with him. Was married while here.

[1] [This aunt was never visited. See later entry, December 22, 1920].

Mr. Wojtatiwicz worked steadily, stayed at home nights with his wife, although landlord knew him to be of socialistic tendencies. Left his position here to go to Columbus, Ohio, but the landlord knew they did not remain there for a long period of time. After they returned to Chicago, the landlord heard the family were living under an assumed name in order to evade paying debts. Several collectors called upon him after the family moved away, among them a collector from Schmidt's on Halsted Street, who claimed that family still owed for some furniture. Mr. Wojtatiwicz always paid rent promptly.

Landlord stated that they were a quiet couple who minded their own business and who did not mingle much with the neighbors. The house was always clean and neat and in fact the couple were quite superior to the average tenant. Thought that Mr. Wojtatiwicz belonged to Polish National Alliance.

Visited office of Polish National Alliance. Mr. Wojtatiwicz had been a member of society, joining November, 1913, and dropping April, 1914, policy for $1,000.

*Later.*—Visited Saint Mary's Church and verified marriage of Vittold Wojtatiwicz to Frances Krusza, January 25, 1916. Witnesses were Joseph Krusza and Julia Dombrowski.

*Later.*—Read County Agent record. Have nothing new except that Mr. Wojtatiwicz was discharged from Highland Can Company for instigating a strike.

*November 12, 1919.*—Secured work record of Mr. Wojtatiwicz as follows:

*Security Machine Company.* Worked there over a year, leaving January 29, 1917. They do not know why he left unless it was to receive higher wages elsewhere. No complaint against him. Home address while there was Racine and Groveland.

*Highland Can Company.* Worked from January 30, 1917, to July 19, 1918, earning about $24 a week. No complaint of his work, but he was discharged because he was inciting the men to strike. Factory is "open shop," and they did not care to have the agitating type of workman. Home address while there 18 Noble Street.

*Stability Company.* Worked here from February 14, 1919, until a few weeks ago. Gave satisfaction. Home address while there, 235 Ashland Avenue.

*November 14, 1919.*—Telephoned Knox Hospital. Dr. Sewall is willing to perform operation as soon as Mr. Wojtatiwicz cares to return to hospital.

*November 21, 1919.*—Mrs. Wojtatiwicz in office. Mr. Wojtatiwicz is to be discharged from hospital.

*November 22, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz wishes further care for Mr. Wojtatiwicz as he is run down physically

*Later.*—Telephoned social service worker at hospital. Will arrange for Mr. Wojtatiwicz to go to Convalescent Home for a few weeks' rest before returning home.

*December 5, 1919.*—Visited. Mr. Wojtatiwicz is very anxious to do some work. He is learning to write with his left hand and is doing well. Mr. Wojtatiwicz had a letter from his mother, telling him that his brother who was in the army was killed sometime in May.[1] His father, who at one time employed about a hundred people, has lost everything during the war. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz wrote that at times her husband's mind is unbalanced. He is always talking about money, making contracts, etc. Mr. Wojtatiwicz showed visitor photographs of his family. His mother is an attractive-looking woman. Her clothes and those of her daughter were fashionably made. The daughter has married this last year. Judging from their appearance they were in comfortable circumstances.

Mr. Wojtatiwicz has one brother, who is about eleven years old. Three brothers have died, one being killed during the war and one drowned.

Mr. Wojtatiwicz said that when he went to live in Columbus, Ohio, he was earning $65 a week. He bought a house, paying $200 down. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz did not want to live there as they had no friends. She thought they might return to Poland some day, and the property would be a burden to them. On their return to Chicago, the family had influenza and used their entire savings. Mr. Wojtatiwicz could not keep up with the insurance so he stopped payment. Mr. Wojtatiwicz said he was disgusted and burned the policy and the papers he had from the property in Columbus, Ohio.[2]

*December 16, 1919.*—Milk continued from December 16 to January 16.

*December 19, 1919.*—Infant Welfare Society reports Mrs. Wojtatiwicz brought Henry to clinic November 20. She should report twice a month. Child is about 4 pounds underweight.

[1] [This was the moment when from various war-stricken areas letters were coming to residents in crowded city quarters. The long period of anxious and fearful uncertainty was being penetrated by brief and often tragic statements of fact.]

[2] [This statement was never pursued by the Agency, the Probate Court, or the Juvenile Court.]

*January 30, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Wojtatiwicz has been attending the School of Occupations[1] since January 19. Telephoned and learned that Mr. Wojtatiwicz comes regularly and is very bright. He has been given letters to write so they may be able to judge as to his capability; is able to write with his left hand. Mr. Wojtatiwicz is quite anxious to return to work. Both Henry and Irene had bad colds and grippe; case was reported to Miss Spencer, Visiting Nurse Association.

*February 27, 1920.*[2]—Visited Mr. Ploskonka, a Polish friend of Mr. Wojtatiwicz, who is employed in the Highland Company Shops. Mr. Ploskonka does not know of any accident which Mr. Wojtatiwicz met with while he was employed by the Highland Can Company and he feels that Mr. Wojtatiwicz would not be able to secure any compensation. Mr. Wojtatiwicz had been out to see Mr. Ploskonka about the accident which he claims he met with, but Mr. Wojtatiwicz was unable to give Mr. Ploskonka any witnesses to it. Mr. Ploskonka stated that Mr. Wojtatiwicz was a fine type of workman and the Highland Can people would have no objection to taking him back if he had not become involved in union troubles. Mr. Wojtatiwicz endeavored to unionize the shop. Mr. Ploskonka suggested that Mr. Wojtatiwicz might secure work as a tool keeper and suggested that visitor get in touch with the Metal Workers' Association.

*April 29, 1920.*—Mr. Wojtatiwicz ill with pleurisy; case referred to county doctor and Miss Spencer, of Visiting Nurse Association.

*March 22, 1920.*—Miss Cannon, Visiting Nurse, reports that Dr. Spray suspects carcinoma of the chest and advises County Hospital.

*May 6, 1920.*—Telephoned Infant Welfare Society. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz has not brought the children to the station for over three months. Case has been dismissed.

*May 26, 1920.*—Letter received from social service worker, Knox Hospital, saying that it had been definitely ascertained that Mr. Wojtatiwicz now has carcinoma of both lungs.

*June 30, 1920.*—Mr. Wojtatiwicz has been quite ill during the month. Dr. Spray, county doctor, has been visiting him about once a week. He says there is nothing that can be done for him except to give him an opiate to relieve pain. Mr. Wojtatiwicz will not consider going back to this hospital. Visiting Nurse has been calling about

[1] [This school was maintained by the Society for Mental Hygiene.]

[2] [The possibility of industrial compensation now suggests itself again.]

twice a week. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz appears to be making quite an effort to keep up, as she realizes the seriousness of her husband's condition.

*July 31, 1920.*—Mr. Wojtatiwicz died July 23. He had been having hemorrhages for several weeks previous to his death.

Made arrangements with the National Bohemian Cemetery for free grave; also, with the Southern Undertaking Company.

The family seem to have very few friends, about eleven people attending the funeral.

*August 23, 1920.*—On August 11 visited Mr. Palas, friend of Mr. Wojtatiwicz. He is a machinist, and became acquainted with Mr. Wojtatiwicz about seven years ago. He comes from the same town as Mr. Wojtatiwicz and has known of the family all his life. At one time the family were in comfortable circumstances, but now he thinks they have lost almost everything they had since the war. Mr. Wojtatiwicz's father died about the time Mr. Wojtatiwicz was in the hospital last fall. One brother was killed during the war, and a younger brother was drowned several months ago. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz has written Mr. Palas asking for help, and it was a source of disappointment to Mr. Palas that he was unable to do anything for her. Mr. Palas lived with Mr. Wojtatiwicz for some months previous to Mr. Wojtatiwicz's marriage, and both men worked in the same machine shop. About four years ago, Mr. Palas started in business for himself with a friend, but they were unable to make the shop pay, and he has since been working for a private concern. His wife is also working in a tailor shop, helping him pay off their debts.

The Wojtatiwicz family have had considerable trouble from the time they were married. Mr. Wojtatiwicz was ill a number of times, and during the influenza epidemic the whole family were sick. Mr. Palas also stated that Mr. Wojtatiwicz had had trouble with his arm for a number of years before he started treating it, thinking it was rheumatism.

Mr. and Mrs. Palas took a collection among friends and bought Mrs. Wojtatiwicz a black dress, and they feel they are unable to do anything further toward assisting the family. However, they hope that Mrs. Wojtatiwicz will always remain near them so that they may keep in touch with her. Since Mr. Wojtatiwicz's death they have been spending considerable time there. The Palas home was quite attractively furnished, and both Mr. and Mrs. Palas are intelligent, refined people.

Mrs. Wojtatiwicz has been unable to remain in her present quarters, and when Mr. and Mrs. Palas have not spent the night with her, she has gone to her brother on the South Side. She is taking the children to the Infant Welfare Society regularly.

*August 26, 1920.*—Mrs. Wojtatiwicz and children sent for outing. Slips signed by Dr. Small.

*September 30, 1920.*—Accompanied Mrs. Wojtatiwicz to Superior Court on September 13, where she applied for first papers;[1] also filed application for Juvenile Court pension. An aunt of Mrs. Wojtatiwicz is living with her. She works in a restaurant where she receives her three meals a day. She pays Mrs. Wojtatiwicz $3.00 a month for room; Mrs. Wojtatiwicz does not provide her with meals.

*October 11, 1920.*—Juvenile Probation officer in office to read record.

*October 25, 1920.*—Visited Juvenile Court and read their record. There is nothing on record but what Welfare Agency has with the exception of doctor's report, which states that Mrs. Wojtatiwicz is not a very strong-looking woman; weighs 113 pounds. She has a small goiter, which, however, is not causing any symptoms. Recommends that she do no work besides taking care of her home and children unless it is some light work she could do in her own home.

*November 29, 1920.*—On November 14, 1920, a pension of $25 per month was granted Mrs. Wojtatiwicz. Mrs. Wojtatiwicz has been having considerable trouble with her eyes. Accompanied her to West Side Free Dispensary for examination. No findings. Normal vision.

Mrs. Wojtatiwicz is not taking Henry to the Infant Welfare Station as he is past two years old. Gave Mrs. Wojtatiwicz a bundle of clothing from donation.

*December 22, 1920.*—Mrs. Wojtatiwicz's aunt, who is a woman of about forty years of age, has not been working for several weeks, and she does not seem to be very anxious to secure another position. She has been in this country about twelve years and has always done restaurant work. During January of 1918, she caught a very heavy cold, walking to work, as the cars were not running because of a heavy snowstorm, and since that time she has not felt well, and rarely works

[1] [Mrs. Wojtatiwicz might have proceeded on the basis of her husband's papers since a widow may become naturalized by completing her husband's interrupted application. However, the court usually preferred to have an applicant take out new papers in her own name probably to give her a longer period in which to prepare for citizenship.]

during the winter time. Gave her a card to Employment Agency, for employment.

[In addition to $532.32 from the general funds of the Welfare Agency, $364.58 was raised especially for the Wojtatiwicz family, making a total of $896.90 used for the family from October, 1919, through January, 1921.[1]]

### 5. The Family of Solomon Isenberg

*(A Jewish Painter for Whose Family of Ten Resort Is Had to the Medical Resources Especially Provided for the Purpose of Securing a Thorough Diagnosis)*

[As appears from the diagnostic letter of December 26, 1922, this family, which had been known to the Jewish Welfare Bureau intermittently since 1911, was composed of the father, Solomon, born in Roumania in 1877; the mother, an Austrian, born in 1888; Martha, a daughter by an earlier marriage, born in 1902; Rachel (born October 13, 1909); Sarah (born October 8, 1910); Jacob (born October 19, 1911); Ben (born July 20, 1914); Dora (born April 23, 1916); Margaret (born February 23, 1918); David (born August 12, 1920); and Joseph (born January 2, 1922). One child between Jacob and Ben was known to have died. Mr. Isenberg has four brothers and two sisters; Mrs. Isenberg has two brothers. The story of the earlier experiences of the Bureau with the family appears sufficiently in the letters that make up part of the later record.]

*December 25, 1922.*—Worker learned on this day that Mr. Isenberg was to go to the Diagnostic Clinic. (Due to a misunderstanding was not informed about this before.)

*Later.*—House visit. Found out the following facts about the Isenberg family. [The facts learned are recorded in the following letter to the Diagnostic Clinic, written December 26, 1922.]

*Jewish Welfare Bureau problem.*—The Isenberg family have been known to this organization since February 11, 1911, when Mr. Isenberg went to Duluth to secure work. During our contact with the family there has always been the question of intermittent financial assistance; and since

[1] [The records of the Juvenile Court show Mrs. Wojtatiwicz completed her preparations for her second papers, that she supplemented her pension of $25 by cleaning at the office of the Welfare Agency until her pension was increased from $25 to $40 and that on June 15, 1922, the pension was stayed because she married. She is reported as being established in a comfortable and well-furnished apartment.]

Mr. Isenberg returned from the Hospital for Tuberculosis Patients, the Jewish Welfare Bureau has been granting all necessary funds for the maintenance of the family. According to our records, Mr. Isenberg has never held a steady position. At present he insists that he cannot work as a painter because the wielding of the brush, the odor of the paint, etc., are all injurious to his health. There also seems to be the question of adjustment in the entire family due to the behavior problem of the children.

*Parental history.*—Mr. Isenberg's father died at the age of fifty-three, after an operation performed on his tongue because of an infection due to its having been pierced with a fish bone. The mother, aged seventy-three years, is still living in Duluth. She has never had any illness, and according to Mr. Isenberg's statement, is very strong physically. All the other members of his family are well with the exception of one sister, who has cardiac complications. Mr. Isenberg's father was a manager in a lumber yard, and apparently the family were in comfortable circumstances. Neither the father nor the mother had very much education. The mother is absolutely illiterate. The father was not orthodox in his religious tendencies, but the mother adheres strictly to all Hebraic beliefs. According to statements given us, the father exerted his efforts toward alleviating the conditions of the poor members of the community in which the family then lived. The social life seemed to be congenial and pleasant.

*Background history.*—Mr. Isenberg was born in Galatz, Roumania, in 1877. His parents gave him every possible chance to study, but he was never willing nor anxious to take advantage of their wishes. He attended school daily in Roumania but only made six or seven classes. A private teacher came into the home and Mr. Isenberg was taught Hebrew, Yiddish, and a little German. However, there was always a tendency on his part to be a very negligent student due to lack of interest. His father, seeing that his son did not make rapid progress in his studies, insisted that he be taught a trade and be put to work. He was taught to be a blacksmith and worked in this capacity until he left for America. He married his first wife in Roumania. Mr. Isenberg came to the United States when he was twenty-three years old directly after having served three years in the Roumanian Army. He landed in New York but was sent from that city by the Immigrant Aid Society to a small town in Colorado, where his wife later joined him. In view of the fact that only one Jewish family lived in that town he moved to Davenport, Iowa, where Martha, the oldest child, was born. The family came to Chicago in 1902, where his wife and two younger children died. He soon after married again. There are eight children as the result of this marriage. Mr. Isenberg left Roumania simply because he felt that greater possibilities awaited him here.

*Occupational history.*—When Mr. Isenberg went to Colorado, he tried to work at his own trade as blacksmith but felt that it was too difficult for him and gave it up. He claims that he worked very hard and attempted

anything that happened to come his way. At one time he carried bricks and assisted generally in construction work. He then learned to become a painter and apparently mastered the trade well. During the dull season however, he would become a fruit-and-vegetable peddler. At present he is working with his brother-in-law as a junk dealer, but he insists that he cannot do this steadily because he cannot lift the heavy articles.

*Medical history.*—Mr. Isenberg was admitted to Zion Hospital on October 15, 1921, and was discharged November 5, 1921. He was sent to the Hospital for Tuberculosis Patients. The diagnosis was pleurisy with effusion, probably tuberculosis. He was discharged about two weeks later and again admitted to Zion Hospital because of an attack of appendicitis. He left the hospital December 4, 1921, with the same diagnosis. At that time his condition was reported as fair and he was to go back to the Hospital for Tuberculosis Patients whenever there was a vacancy, which occurred December 19, 1921, when he did return. The diagnosis at that time was pleurisy with effusion, incarcerated epigastric hernia. The abdominal condition was not considered serious. He was discharged from the Hospital for Tuberculosis Patients in March of that year on account of gross disobedience and insolence. There was also a statement to the effect that the patient's condition was good and that he could be cared for at home. On March 3, 1922, a Zion Dispensary report stated that Mr. Isenberg was able to work from four to eight hours a day at anything that was not severe physical labor. We also received another report on June 16 to the effect that he could work at the painting trade for a full day as his general condition was good. In July he was receiving treatment at the Gastro-intestinal Clinic. The recommendation again stated that he was able to work.

*Social condition.*—From Mrs. Isenberg's statements, we get the impression that their relationship is a very happy and congenial one. She speaks very highly of Mr. Isenberg and states that before his illness he always tried to make a living for his family. She also says that he is an extremely unselfish man and one who is concerned in the interests of others. He is very fond of his children. The family occupy a six-room flat, which is well furnished and clean. The oldest daughter, Martha, has never lived with the family because she cannot tolerate her stepmother.

*Jewish Welfare Bureau experience.*—During our experience with the family we have found Mrs. Isenberg to be very co-operative. Mr. Isenberg on several occasions displayed violent outbursts of temper, and at first it was rather difficult for us to impress upon him the necessity of regular attendance at the Dispensary. Mr. Isenberg has never taken any job offered him by our Employment Bureau because he stated that he could not do any hard work. He is constantly insisting that he cannot engage in any hard labor regardless of recommendations repeatedly given us. We discovered that at present he is assisting his brother-in-law and is earning on the average of $8.00 a week.

*January 1, 1923.*—House visit. Found Mr. Isenberg at home. He said that he had caught a very heavy cold (which was apparent) and it was impossible for him to go out. He is very much discouraged about going to the Dispensary as he does not feel that he is getting anywhere. However, he stated that he would certainly attend the day that was planned for him, January 17.

*January 17, 1923.*—Telephone call received that Mr. Isenberg had not kept the appointment made for him at the doctor's office.

*Later.*—House visit. Worker called to see what was the matter. Mrs. Isenberg stated that her husband did go and cannot understand what happened.

*Later.*—Mr. Isenberg telephoned. Stated that he had kept the appointment, but when he came at the office he was told that another appointment had been made for him due to the fact that his record had not been mailed to the physician. Another appointment was made for January 24.

*February 6, 1923.*—House visit. Learned that Mr. Isenberg had not kept the appointment made for him January 24. Mrs. Isenberg said that he had been very ill for the past week and one-half and had a county doctor visit him regularly and a visiting nurse, and that Mrs. Isenberg had gone to the Dispensary on the morning when the appointment was due, and explained at the office that Mr. Isenberg was too sick to come in the afternoon. She had been told that her message would be delivered to the doctor. Left a message advising Mr. Isenberg to report to the Dispensary on the afternoon of February 17. Sarah is still not attending the Dispensary regularly. Worker told her that an appointment would be made for her and if she did not attend worker would come and take her out of school and take her to the Dispensary. She looked rather thin and undernourished. Rachel is attending school regularly and states that she is getting along very well.

The other children, with the exception of Rachel, were all in good physical condition. She had a very heavy cold. Worker explained to Mr. Isenberg that he must absolutely attend the clinic and told him that he is going through the Diagnostic Clinic, which is a very fine thing for him and we would know just what his ailment was. He said that he understood all these things and would certainly attend the appointment that was made for him. Mr. Isenberg had his first papers taken out December 28, 1921. He was married February 23, 1909. David must have his tonsils and adenoids

taken out, and Mrs. Isenberg said that she will attend to this in the early spring.

*February 7, 1923.*—Background history sent *re* Mrs. Rosa Isenberg.

*February 12, 1923.*—House visit. Worker called to be sure and let Mr. Isenberg know that he should attend the Dispensary on the afternoon of February 13. He promised to attend. He said that he had not been working at all for the past three weeks on account of very bad weather and also because he had been very sick. Four of the children are in need of shoes. Mrs. Isenberg stated that neither Sarah nor Rachel is attending clinic. She said that Sarah will absolutely not go. Furthermore, she has received no notice at all from the Dispensary. Worker stated that she will call up the Dispensary and get appointment for the children and that she herself would probably find it necessary to come and take them to the Dispensary as we would like to know whether or not we can be of any assistance in clearing up their defects.

Rachel has been promoted to the low seventh grade, Room 103. Attends from eight to twelve. Sarah is still in the low sixth grade, Room 502. Jacob is in high sixth, Room 230, regular time. Ben is in high third, Room 220, regular time. Dora is in high first, Room 120, regular time. Mrs. Isenberg said that she does not know what to do with Sarah as the latter does not eat very much and looks very thin. Worker again advised her that it was up to her to see that Sarah attends the Dispensary and that she takes her medicine when it was prescribed for her.

*February 16, 1923.*—Received a telephone message from Dispensary stating that Dora and Rachel and Sarah should come to the Pediatric Clinic any morning during the week.

*February 19, 1923.*—Called. Worker explained that the doctors thought it was very advisable for Mr. Isenberg to get work and that we would see to it that it would be work which would not be injurious to his health. Also explained the budget to Mr. Isenberg and stated that now we were able to gauge the exact amount of money which he would be earning, and that we would have to figure it in on our budget. Mr. Isenberg stated that he is very anxious to go to work and will do his very best to get a position. He also said that he would be more than anxious if he could get a horse and wagon in the springtime and go peddling with fruit. He said that he knows where to buy fruits, what markets to go to, and in what neighborhood to peddle. When he was able to peddle in former years, he used to earn sometimes

about $10 a day. He feels very confident that he could make a living for his family if he were able to peddle. At present, worker told him that he must take a position which Free Employment Agency would try to get for him. No promises were made as far as the peddling idea was concerned. He is very anxious to earn a living for his family so that he would not have to depend upon Welfare Bureau as it hurts his pride to have to come to the Bureau. Also told Mrs. Isenberg to be sure to have Dora, Rachel, and Sarah go to the Pediatric Clinic on the morning of February 20, and if necessary they would have to stay away from school and attend the clinic.

*Later.*—Took Mr. Isenberg to the Free Employment Bureau and spoke to the director. Told her that although we had not received a written recommendation of the Diagnostic Group, we understood that Mr. Isenberg is able to do some light work. The director, Miss Desenberg, spoke to Mr. Isenberg and advised him that he must come regularly so that she could constantly be on the lookout for something for him. He promised to do this. It seemed to worker that Mr. Isenberg was sincere in his efforts and his statements that he wanted to go to work. He seemed less excitable than usual and was more anxious and willing to listen to reason.

*February 21, 1923.*—Report received from the Diagnostic Clinic. *Complaints* [omitted].—*Diagnosis:* Chronic pleuritis, left side with adhesion, chronic myocarditis (inflammation of the cardiac muscular tissues), chronic pulmonary tuberculosis. The Group decided that the patient is 50 per cent incapacitated. It is safe for him to do anything he wants to do now. Sooner or later he will have trouble. There is no physical objection to his returning to his own trade. He may also peddle if he likes to. He may do a full day's work at a light occupation or half-day at somewhat harder work. He was referred to the Medical Clinic for building up.

*February 23, 1923.*—Letter received from the Dispensary *re* Rachel and Sarah to the following effect: "The above children were examined in Children's Clinic on February 20, 1923. Both, because of enlarged thyroid, are asked to come regularly to a special thyroid clinic, the next appointment on Friday, March 2, at 9:00 A.M. The children have been instructed to return."

*Later.*—House visit. Mrs. Isenberg complained that the children's shoes were all torn. Worker advised that the children should go to the County Agent and gave her the address and instructions for same.

Mr. Isenberg stated that he has gone to the Free Employment Bureau, but had not been given any work as yet. Spoke to Rachel and Sarah and told them that they would absolutely have to attend the Dispensary regularly whenever they were sent for and that they must never slip up on this for any reason whatsoever.

Mrs. Isenberg stated that she would see that the children attended the Dispensary regularly. She also said that she has no clothes for them and asked whether the Welfare Bureau could not give her some. All the other children seem to be in good physical condition. There are no complaints from any of them, except Joseph, who has a very bad cold, and Mrs. Isenberg feels he has adenoids and she is going to take him to the Dispensary for examination.

*Later.*—Called Free Employment Bureau and was told that Mr. Isenberg had appeared in office; that he had been given a job but had refused to accept it. The reason for this not known.

*February 26, 1923.*—Telephoned Miss Desenberg and asked whether Mr. Isenberg had reported that day. Was told that he had and would come upstairs to see worker.

*Later.*—Mr. Isenberg in office. Worker noticed that his left hand is very badly infected, and he said that he had to go to the Dispensary to have it taken care of. He said that he had been referred to a position, which was very easy as far as the work was concerned, as it simply consisted in pressing neckties, but he did not feel he could do this because the steam was constantly in his face and he started to work but coughed incessantly and he felt that he could not continue it. He said that he wished to go peddling again with his brother-in-law, Mr. Hecht.

*March 1, 1923.*—Background history sent for both Rachel and Sarah.

*March 2, 1923.*—House visit. Mrs. Isenberg said that her husband had just gone out, but that he had not done anything for the entire week as he had to go to the Dispensary for treatments for his hand and that it was getting very much better. Mrs. Isenberg then stated that her husband wished to go peddling with her brother again. Told Mrs. Isenberg that we would have to see Mr. Hecht and Mr. Isenberg and talk with them together, if possible, so that we can have a clear understanding of what Mr. Isenberg felt would be best with this work. Made an appointment for Mr. Isenberg to come in the office on the morning of March 5 or March 6 at 10:00. Mrs. Isenberg is attending the Dispensary regularly. Both Sarah

and Rachel had gone to the Dispensary this morning to the Thyroid Clinic.

*Later.*—Sarah came home and said that she had to report to the Nutrition Clinic March 3. Mrs. Isenberg said that she is having quite a lot of trouble with Sarah as she is very cross, does not eat what is given her, and seems to be very thin and anemic. Ben and Jacob came home from school and ate their lunch. Mrs. Isenberg said that she has no trouble with the other children and is only worried about Sarah. . . . .

*March 5, 1923.*—Office interview with Mr. Hecht and Mr. Isenberg. Mr. Hecht stated that he is a peddler by trade. Peddles either with fruit, if he can get it at the market, or with junk. He said that Mr. Isenberg has not been working steadily and, in fact, is not able to do so as he very frequently becomes tired and cannot do any work at all. In fact, it is practically impossible for him to do any heavy lifting of any articles. He said that he has been paying Mr. Isenberg $9.00 a week and he guaranteed this much. Worker asked how much he would have to pay a regular helper, and he said no more than $5.00 a week and he would do more work than Mr. Isenberg is able to do. He said he really does not need Mr. Isenberg as his business is not so large as to demand a helper. He clears on the average of $35 a week, pays $10 a week for his horse and wagon, and aside from the money he pays Mr. Isenberg he earns $35 a week. He said that it is impossible for him to give him any more as he feels he is giving him more than he can afford right now. Mr. Isenberg then said that it was not possible for him to work in a factory. He has never worked indoors and he knows that he cannot stand it. He is more willing to work outside. Mr. Hecht said that he would guarantee him a steady job, provided that he himself is physically able to work. Mr. Isenberg said that if he could get work in some other line he would do so, but he feels that this is the best thing for him for he is out-of-doors and as he is working for his brother-in-law he does not have to work very hard. It was absolutely impossible for him to work in the factory pressing neckties. He said further that if he would be given a job for $15, he would certainly spend the difference on carfare and lunches, and at his present job he has no carfare as his brother-in-law calls for him every morning with the wagon and his lunches do not amount to very much. Mr. Hecht refused to leave the address of his home as he did not wish any investigation made there. He did say, however, that he had his livery stable on Racine and Sixteenth.

*March 13, 1923.*—Following letter received from the Dispensary *re* Mrs. Isenberg:

The above patient is under treatment in our Ear, Nose, and Throat Clinic. She should report weekly for treatment. Two weeks elapsed between the last two treatments. Mrs. Isenberg said that she cannot come every week. She is to have a special examination of the throat, for which she must go to the hospital. We have placed her on our hospital waiting list and will notify you when we have a bed for her. Mrs. Isenberg reported to the Dental Clinic February 19. It is impossible for the doctor to examine her carefully because of the condition of patient's mouth. She was instructed to brush her teeth three times daily and return February 27. This she failed to do. May we ask you to notify patient to come to Dental Clinic Monday, March 19, at 9:00. After Mrs. Isenberg has this special test done we will make an appointment for her to report to Medical Clinic. We cannot answer your background history until she is again examined in that clinic. We shall hold the background history until that time.

*March 19, 1923.*—House visit. Explained to Mrs. Isenberg why the budget had been reduced, namely, that we were sure that Mr. Isenberg was earning $9.00 a week and we had to take this into consideration. Mrs. Isenberg said that it is very hard for her to get along on the money that we send, considering that there is a household of children. She needs clothing for the Passover. Worker noticed that at every visit the children were clean, but that their clothing was very badly torn. Mr. Isenberg absolutely cannot work indoors as he starts to cough immediately. He is very anxious, if possible, to get a horse and wagon so that he can go peddling. Worker explained to him that this is very difficult, too, and more difficult than he thought, in view of the fact that he had to advertise his wares and lift heavy things. He says he realizes this, but it is in the open and he is sure he will be able to do well. He is not very satisfied to be with his brother-in-law and he feels that he could make much more if he were by himself and he has the constant idea that his brother-in-law is doing more for him than he can do. He said that he has not been feeling well recently and has been going to the Dispensary. Mr. Isenberg stated absolutely that he could not return to his painting as he could not even bear the smell of paint. He immediately starts to cough. Then spoke to Mrs. Isenberg about the necessity of her going to the hospital for observation. Mrs. Isenberg stated that she is very anxious to go but cannot go before the holidays and will make arrangements to do same after the holidays. She is also looking for rooms

as she has to vacate her flat in May, but she says it is very hard for her to get anything at all.

*March 21, 1923.*—Background history for Sarah and Rachel received. Following findings:

*Sarah:* Throat inflamed; teeth O.K. Other findings negative. Thyroid decreasing. Recommendation—Referred to Nutrition Clinic which patient attended 3-10-23. To return 4-4-23 to Nutrition. She is to return to Thyroid Clinic 4-6-23.

*Rachel:* Laboratory findings: 1 carious tooth; slightly inflamed tonsils, lungs and heart negative. Recommendation—Referred to Dental 3-22-23 1:00 P.M. Medication prescribed. To return to Thyroid 4-6-23.

*March 27, 1923.*—House visit. Worker had learned on the morning of that day that Miss Desenberg, director of the Free Employment Bureau, had a position which would probably be a good one for Mr. Isenberg since it was out-of-doors and the work was easy. Therefore went to advise him that he come to the office on the morning of March 28. Mr. Isenberg was not at home, but worker left a message with Mrs. Isenberg. Mrs. Isenberg told worker that she is looking for rooms as she was told that she must vacate the flat, but it is hard to get rooms in the neighborhood. A card had also been received for the family to come for clothing on the afternoon of March 26. Sarah is attending the Dispensary regularly and so is Rachel. Mrs. Isenberg again stated that it was absolutely impossible for her to manage on the money which she receives and her husband is very anxious to go peddling. Told Mrs. Isenberg that if Mr. Isenberg would come and show us what he could do in taking a regular position, we might then be able to consider something else, but not before, nor could we make any definite promises at present. All the younger children seem to be in good physical condition. According to Mrs. Isenberg they are not complaining of any illnesses. Sarah and Rachel were helping their mother clean the house for Passover.

*March 29, 1923.*—Learned from Miss Desenberg that Mr. Isenberg had not reported for the position March 28.

*April 2, 1923.*—Letter sent to Rachel and Sarah advising them to report to the Thyroid Clinic on April 6.

*April 30, 1923.*—Letter received from the Dispensary stating that a bed was available at the hospital for Mrs. Isenberg if she would report to the hospital this date before 7:00 P.M.

Called on Mrs. Isenberg to advise her of the foregoing fact. She felt, however, that she could not leave the house without advising

Mr. Isenberg of the arrangements made. As he was peddling it was impossible to reach him immediately. He was expected home at about 6:00 and Mrs. Isenberg thought he would then take her to the hospital.

*May 1, 1923.*—Mrs. Isenberg in office. She had gone to the hospital the evening before after 7:00, and was not admitted.

*Later.*—Telephoned the Dispensary to inquire about Mrs. Isenberg and learned that she would be admitted today to the hospital.

Called on Mrs. Isenberg to give her this information. She stated that she will prepare to go immediately without waiting for her husband.

*May 7, 1923.*—Statement received from the Dispensary making new appointment for Mrs. Isenberg for May 10 in Hernia Clinic.

*May 9, 1923.*—House call. Mrs. Isenberg stated that she is looking for a flat as her landlady will not permit her to stay there any longer. Latter also refuses to take rent. She stated that Mr. Isenberg is working with her other brother, Sam Hecht, 2937 Sixteenth Street, who is also in the junk business and that Mr. Isenberg is earning $12 a week. Spoke to Mrs. Isenberg about the necessity of getting out her citizenship papers. Mr. Isenberg has his first papers. Mrs. Isenberg promised to go down shortly. Advised her also to go to the Hernia Clinic on May 10. She stated that she would go. She does not know what was done for her at the hospital, where according to her statement she remained for a week. The children are also attending the Dispensary. Mr. Isenberg is reporting at Medical Clinic.

*May 22, 1923.*—Background history received from the Dispensary.

*May 25, 1923.*—Visited Mrs. Hecht at 2937 Sixteenth Street. She stated that her husband is paying Mr. Isenberg the sum of $12 a week and that he cannot afford to do any more for the family. In fact if it were not for Mrs. Isenberg, Mr. Hecht would not have to pay any more than $5 for a helper. Mr. Isenberg does practically no work at all since he takes care of the wagon. He cannot lift any heavy articles. The Hecht family live in a four-room, fairly well-furnished flat and pay $32 a month. There are two very small children. Spoke to Mrs. Hecht about the necessity of caring for a child during Mrs. Isenberg's hospitalization period. She said it was practically impossible for her to do this. She does not object to the economic idea. She feels that she can easily pay for one child as far as this is concerned but she does not wish to assume the responsibility. She herself has one child three years of age and a baby a few months

old, and she does not see how she can take care of any other children. Also asked Mrs. Hecht whether she knew where her husband got his horse and wagon, but Mrs. Hecht did not know where the barn was located.

Visited the school and spoke to Rachel's teacher, who told that Rachel's conduct is good. She is neat and clean in school, is capable of doing better work than she is at present. She is rather stubborn and hard to direct. Her work is of the average grade and she will be promoted. Spoke to Sarah's teacher. Sarah is especially good in spelling and arithmetic. She is absent frequently and brings the excuse that she must go to the Dispensary. Her conduct generally is good, but at times she becomes irritable and cranky. . . . .

Visitor told the teacher that Sarah has a goiter and explained that she is being treated at the the Dispensary for this.

*Later.*—Visited Jacob's teacher; was told that Jacob is a good scholar; that there is no conduct problem at all except the fact that he is rather mischievous in school, but the teacher did not feel that there was any particular conduct problem. He absorbs new work very quickly. He is neat and clean in school. Visited Ben's teacher. Was told that his work was of the average. He comes to school regularly, conduct good, is neat and clean in school.

*Later.*—Spoke to Dora's teacher. She is doing average work; attendance regular; appearance clean; conduct good.

*Later.*—Made an appointment at Juvenile Psychiatric Bureau for Sarah for June 25 at 9:00.

*May 25, 1923.*—Called at Forcible Entry and Detainer Court,[1] Judge Asa Adams. In the process of the trial it developed that on February 22, Mr. Isenberg had been given a written notice to move. The family situation in this case was explained to Judge Adams and he was asked to allow the family to remain until July 1. He felt, however, that, in view of the fact that Mr. Isenberg had received a notice

[1] [The following extracts from the Family Welfare instructions to workers (the *Gray Book*) contain the essential facts with reference to the relation of landlord and tenant in the matter of rent collection and eviction:

"*Landlord's notice.*—The landlord's notice is an unofficial notification to pay rent or move. There is no expense to the landlord in the service of the notice. The notice calls for the removal of the tenant at the expiration of five days from date, and is sometimes called a five days' notice. The landlord is at liberty to accept rent after service of the five days' notice.

"*Court notice.*—After the expiration of the five days cited in the five days' notice, the landlord may go to the Municipal Court and secure a Forcible Entry

so long ago and the landlord had been so patient in not bringing the case in court until this time, to grant him until July 1 would be extremely lenient. However, after the Legal Aid worker told him the facts, he agreed to permit Mr. Isenberg to remain in his present quarters until July 1, but suggested to him that he make every effort to move out before that time in view of the landlord's leniency toward him. Mr. Isenberg paid the May rent and was ordered by the Judge to pay $3.00 court costs, $2.00 of which he paid at once. . . . .

*May 28, 1923.*—The following letter sent to the Children's Agency:

*Re* Isenberg, Solomon–Rosa 1620 Albany Avenue
Rachel —10-13-09
Sarah —10-8-10
Jacob —10-19-11
Ben —7-20-14
Dora —4-23-16
Margaret—2-23-18
David —8-12-20
Joseph —1-2-22

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summons, which is served on the tenant, and the tenant must appear in court in not less than five days nor more than fifteen days after the date on which the landlord secured the court notice. This process costs the landlord $3.00; therefore the landlord delays as long as possible instituting it.

"*Court hearing.*—Before April 27, 1921, the rule was that if the tenant had no good reason for retaining the premises, there was no necessity for his appearance in court, as judgment would be entered against him and he would be given five days to move. If the tenant had not moved by that time, he might be forcibly evicted by the bailiff, who served a Writ of Restitution twenty-four hours after the expiration of the five days. The service of the Writ of Restitution cost the landlord $2.00. If it was necessary to move the furniture, the court charged $3.00 for each man at work. Not less than two men were employed. If there were more than five rooms, three men were employed. On April 27, 1921, the rule was altered by the court so that the tenant might in the discretion of the judge be given as many as thirty days in which to move.

"Being interpreted, this means that if the visitor comes in contact with a tenant who has received an eviction notice, i.e., in legal terms, a summons in a forcible entry and detainer suit, the attorneys in the Legal Aid Bureau may be able to delay a final eviction by appearing in court for the tenant.

"If the case does not come to the Welfare Agency until after the court hearing and the entering of the judgment, it is doubtful whether or not the attorneys can be of any value.

"When such cases do come, it would be advisable to find out the exact situation and to telephone to the Legal Aid Bureau for advice.

"In any case, every visitor should ask an applicant who claims that he is to be evicted for his 'landlord's notice' or his court notice. Tenants are given a proper time by the court before they are evicted. (See *Illinois Revised Statutes*, chap. 80, secs. 6, 8, 9; *The Charity Visitor*, pp. 10, 36, 37.)"]

We wish to refer the above children for boarding care. The five older children attend school, and according to very recent reports, they are all doing average and above the average work. Rachel is in the high seventh grade, Sarah in the low sixth, Jacob in the low sixth, Ben in the low fourth, and Dora in high second. Several teachers also advised us that there is no conduct problem in school which deserves special attention in connection with any one of the children.

We have been informed by the Juvenile Psychiatric Bureau that Jacob has an adequate intelligence for his age. At the time of his examination he was found to be untruthful, evasive, and disinclined to co-operate. In a very recent talk with his teacher we were told, however, that he is not a behavior problem in the class.

On May 22 we received a recommendation from the Dispensary stating that Mrs. Isenberg was in need of hospitalization, that she has already been put on the hospital waiting list and will be sent there as soon as arrangements are made for the placement of the children. . . . .

Mrs. Isenberg has one brother, Sam Hecht, living at 2937 Sixteenth Street. The family have a four-room flat and seem to be in fair economic circumstances. They feel that they are assisting the Isenbergs to the very best of their ability in that Mr. Isenberg is working for Mr. Hecht and is receiving a larger salary than the type of work ordinarily calls for. Mr. Isenberg is working as an assistant to his brother-in-law, who is a junk peddler, and according to statements given us, is earning $12 a week.

Mr. Isenberg was a patient in the Diagnostic Clinic and was diagnosed as being fully 50 per cent incapacitated and having chronic pleuritis with adhesions and myocarditis. There is also a question as to his having pulmonary tuberculosis. Mr. Isenberg insists that he cannot return to his original trade as a painter and cannot do any heavier work than that which he is engaged in at present.

There is another brother, Jacob Hecht, unmarried, who has recently moved, and we do not know his address. There are also other relatives living in Duluth and San Diego, California. Thank you for your co-operation.

*May 30, 1923.*—Called. Advised Mrs. Isenberg that it would be absolutely necessary for them to move out of the flat by July 1. She said that she understood same. Found Sarah and Rachel in the house. Mrs. Isenberg stated that they do most of the housework as it is absolutely impossible for her to do same. She is attending the Dispensary regularly. She stated that Sarah is improving; eats more regularly and eats all the food that is given to her. Rachel also attends clinic regularly. Mrs. Isenberg stated that she would not want any of her children placed with her sister-in-law, Mrs. Hecht, because on previous occasions when they had been there Mrs. Hecht

had not treated them properly. She said that Mr. Isenberg is looking for rooms every day. Asked Rachel to let worker know where her uncle's barn is situated.

*June 8, 1923.*—Letter to Dispensary *re* Sarah and Rachel.

*June 13, 1923.*—Received letter from the Dispensary, stating that Rachel and Sarah have not been in the Dispensary since June 8.

*Later.*—Called. There were two children at home but they did not let worker in.

*June 15, 1923.*—Called. Explained to Mrs. Isenberg that she must move by July 1. She stated that she could not find a flat for $40, but would keep on looking. Margaret and David have been taken away from the home by a health officer to the Contagious Hospital with diphtheria. Mrs. Isenberg asked that a Dispensary card be mailed to her.

*June 16, 1923.*—Dispensary card mailed to Mrs. Isenberg.

*June 20, 1923.*—Called City Health Department. Ascertained that the Isenberg children were diphtheria carriers and on June 14 a card had been put on the door in the morning and taken off that same evening.

*June 22, 1923.*—Called. Found Mr. and Mrs. Isenberg and the children at home. David had returned from the hospital on June 20 and was feeling much better. Margaret is still in the hospital. Mr. Isenberg did not work for three days last week and for three days the week before. He complained of not feeling well. He stated that he had visited the doctor, who told him to stay at home and not go out-of-doors. Mrs. Isenberg has as yet not found a flat. Worker told her that it was imperative for her to do so. Mrs. Isenberg again complained that it was impossible for her to find a flat at $40 a month and that she would not move into a basement flat. Worker told her that this was not necessary. Mrs. Isenberg stated that she was going to the hospital for an operation next week and promised to telephone to worker as soon as she finds a flat.

*June 27, 1923.*—Called. Worker told Mrs. Isenberg to storage the furniture before she leaves for the hospital and to let worker know about her plans. She promised to telephone tomorrow. Mr. Isenberg is feeling better and has been working since yesterday. Margaret is still in the hospital and is expected home this week.

*July 2, 1923.*—Mr. Isenberg in office. Stated that he is unable to find a flat. Learned from the Dispensary that there was a bed at the hospital for Mrs. Isenberg. Supervisor and worker decided to

send Mrs. Isenberg to the hospital, have the Children's Agency place the children, and storage the furniture. Worker advised Mrs. Isenberg to go to the hospital.

*Later.*—Called Children's Agency. Ascertained that they were unable to place any children at the present time.

*Later.*—Conferred with worker of Children's Agency and learned that the Isenberg children could not be placed until the girls had been examined for possible infectious diseases.

*Later.*—Mrs. Isenberg in office again. Worker explained the situation to her and instructed her to take the children to the Dispensary on Tuesday morning.

*Later.*—Called on landlord, Mr. Blumenthal. He was not at home, but his wife explained that they were being evicted from their flat and would therefore have to move into the Isenberg flat on July 3.

*Later.*—Called at the Isenberg home. Mr. and Mrs. Isenberg both at home. Advised them that they must find a flat immediately.

*July 3, 1923.*—Mr. Isenberg in office. Stated that Mr. Blumenthal had called on the evening of July 2 and had given them permission to stay in the flat until July 5. Told Mr. Isenberg that he must find another flat in the meantime so as not to take advantage of Mr. Blumenthal's offer.

*July 5, 1923.*—Rachel in office. Stated that they had found a six-room flat at 1212 Quincy Street at $40 a month and that they had paid a deposit on it. Worker inspected rooms. Found three of the rooms very light and airy. The bedrooms were dark. In view of the existing circumstances and of the fact that the Isenberg family must move, supervisor and worker decided that the flat would have to do.

*Later.*—Called Mr. Greenberg and told him to move the Isenberg family that afternoon.

*July 6, 1923.*—Letter sent to the Dispensary asking for result of tests on the girls.

*July 7, 1923.*—Mr. Greenberg, who moved the family, in office. Supervisor asked him why the bill was so high. He replied that he had had to do all the moving alone, although Mr. Isenberg did come home for a few minutes in order to move his ladders and other things which he had in the basement. He drove a white wagon and a horse which he said belonged to his brother-in-law. This information seems to confirm the suspicion that Mr. Isenberg is working at his trade and probably full time, although the doctor stated that he had only a 50 per cent working capacity.

*July 13, 1923.*—Learned from a definite source that Mr. Isenberg is working at his trade at 326 Euclid Avenue, Oak Park.

*July 14, 1923.*—Worker in Oak Park. No. 326 Euclid Avenue is a two-story frame house which is being painted and redecorated. The man who was working on the front of the house was not Mr. Isenberg. Worker watched from behind a tall bush until Mr. Isenberg appeared on the front porch. She then walked up the front stairs and spoke to Mr. Isenberg, whose "Hello" was very curt. The expression on his face and his manner did not change in the least. Mr. Heller, the man with whom Mr. Isenberg is working on this contract, volunteered to show worker through the house which is for sale. Mr. Heller stated that he has known Mr. Isenberg for a long time and that he is an excellent worker. Although Mr. Isenberg has done work for Mr. Heller recently, the work has not been steady due to Mr. Isenberg's illness. He related that Mr. Isenberg ate only a little bread and milk for lunch. Mr. Heller credited this to his loss of appetite and not to his lack of funds, for he told worker that Mr. Isenberg makes "plenty of money." Before leaving, worker spoke to Mr. Isenberg and in a surprised voice asked, "I didn't know you were painting, Mr. Isenberg, I thought you were peddling." He replied in a monotone that he couldn't make enough money peddling, but that he hasn't worked at his trade "much." On this particular job he has worked a couple of hours on the thirteenth and would quit on the fourteenth. Mr. Isenberg kept his self-composure and maintained an air of toleration throughout worker's entire visit.

*July 19, 1923.*—Mrs. Isenberg in office. She asked worker why she had not received her check last week. Worker explained to her that since Mr. Isenberg had been working, they were probably not in need of any money from us. She stated that Mr. Isenberg had worked from July 10 to July 18, some days only a few hours. For the whole job, he had received $25 and he was now sick in bed from the effect of the work.

Worker called the Dispensary and asked them to send a doctor. Mrs. Isenberg stated that the only reason that Mr. Isenberg had gone to work was because they needed extra money. When questioned as to why she did not let us know that extra money was required, she said that she had never received anything from this organization that she had asked for. Mrs. Isenberg is very anxious that this organization give Mr. Isenberg a horse and wagon with which to peddle so that he will not have to rely on Mr. Hecht. Worker advised her to

send Mr. Isenberg into the office as soon as he is well, so as to talk over money matters.

*July 21, 1923.*—Received letter from the Dispensary, stating that the Isenberg children were all in good condition to be placed in family home.

*July 23, 1923.*—The Dispensary telephoned that there was a bed at the hospital for Mrs. Isenberg.

*Later.*—Called the Children's Agency. Worker promised to place the children that afternoon.

*Later.*—Called at the Isenberg home and notified Mrs. Isenberg to go to the hospital immediately. Mr. Isenberg was told to take the children to the office of the Children's Agency immediately.

*July 25, 1923.*—Interviewed Mr. Isenberg in the office. He stated that Rachel, Margaret, and Dora were at home because they wanted to be placed in one home and the Children's Agency was unable to do this. Mr. Isenberg asked for groceries, but worker advised him to bring the children into the office in order to have them placed. The question of Mr. Isenberg's work was taken up. He stated that he had peddled a few hours a day, from 9:00 to about 2:00 or 3:00 in the afternoon. On July 7 he accepted a job painting in Oak Park. On July 7 and 14, both days which were Saturday, he worked from 9:00 until 12:00. On week days he worked from 9:00 until about 3:00. This continued until July 17, when he worked but a half-day due to his illness. Mr. Isenberg said that he left the house at about 7:30 in the morning. From a confidential source we know that Mr. Isenberg on July 11, 12, and 13, left the house at 6:00 or 6:30 in the morning and ate breakfast in a restaurant. When worker broached the subject of Mr. Isenberg's working in our industrial shops, first at redecorating and then at one of the trades, he absolutely refused to consider it even "for a million dollars." He became very angry and spoke in a high voice, and refused to listen to reason. Worker told him that we were asking him to do nothing contrary to the doctor's advice. Mr. Isenberg said that when Dr. Reinberg called at his home on July 24, he told him that he had rheumatism and should stay in bed. Mr. Isenberg left the office very angry without coming to a final settlement.

*July 26, 1923.*—Mr. Isenberg in office again. He was slightly calmer. The same ground was covered as on the previous day, and in the end he half-heartedly consented to go down to the Industrial Workshops. Worker gave him a card for the director.

*July 27, 1923.*—Letter received from the Dispensary that a diagnosis of recurrent rheumatic arthritis was made. The patient was advised to return to work in about a week. A physician's house call was made on July 20.

*July 28, 1923.*—Called director of the Industrial Workshops to inquire whether Mr. Isenberg had reported for work. To date he had not been there.

*July 30, 1923.*—Rachel in office, asking that a physician be sent to her father, who was too ill to get out of bed.

*Later.*—Called the Dispensary and asked them to send a doctor to Mr. Isenberg.

*Later.*—Called social worker of the Dispensary and explained the Isenberg situation and asked her to acquaint the doctor with the facts so that he could decide what would be the best course to follow with Mr. Isenberg.

*Later.*—Called at the Isenberg home. The doctor had not yet been there. The children still refused to be placed.

*July 31, 1923.*—Social worker of the Dispensary telephoned. She stated that Dr. Deuvir said that Mr. Isenberg was only malingering.

*Later.*—Called Dr. Deuvir. He stated that Mr. Isenberg was in a better condition now than he was last January when he went through Diagnostic Clinic. At that time it was reported he was able to work at his trade four hours a day. Dr. Deuvir said that Mr. Isenberg is able to work in our shop a full day, but that it would be better to start him out at half-time. We are in no way jeopardizing his health to ask Mr. Isenberg to work a half-day.

*August 1, 1923.*—Called at the Isenberg home. Rachel is taking very good care of the house, and the home was in a very clean condition as on the previous visit. Mr. Isenberg said he was too sick even to walk. Worker told him that either he would have to work in our shops or we would not give him one cent. The doctor's recommendation was explained to him, and worker told him that we were not asking him to do anything against the doctor's advice.

Mr. Isenberg said that he would sooner starve than work in our shops and, as soon as his health permitted, he would find himself a job. When worker asked him what he expected to do about the rent, which is due on the fifth, he was very surprised that we expected him to pay the rent. He did not seem at all concerned about it. He informed worker that he had had to sell his furniture in order to get

something to eat. Worker was, however, unable to find any furniture missing. Mr. Isenberg said he did not want a worker to call on him unless she came to give him money. If we did not expect to do anything for him, he did not want us "bossing" him. He refused absolutely to co-operate with us in any way.

*August 2, 1923.*—Supervisor and worker in conference with superintendent. Situation with regard to the Isenbergs was presented to superintendent. He stated that we were not asking Mr. Isenberg to do anything against the doctor's orders and that as long as we put money into a home we had a right to demand the man's time in our shop. If Mr. Isenberg would consent to come down to the Industrial Workshops in the morning and stay all day and work only when he felt able to, we were ready to grant assistance. Until Mr. Isenberg's belligerent attitude changes there is nothing we can do in the matter.

*August 6, 1923.*—Rachel in office asking that worker call at home to give Mr. Isenberg a letter of introduction to director of the Industrial Workshops.

*August 7, 1923.*—Rachel telephoned that her father would be in the office to see worker on August 8.

*August 9, 1923.*—Mr. Isenberg in office. Asked for a Dispensary card. Again asked for groceries. He is very rude in his manner toward worker whenever he comes to the office. He finally consented to go to the Industrial Workshops to see director that afternoon. Card of introduction given him.

*August 13, 1923.*—Mr. Isenberg in office. Stated that he had gone to work on August 11 and that he likes the work. Will continue at it as long as he is able. Informed worker that he had left his overalls in Oak Park. Asked that we give him money to buy a new pair. Gave him money with which to send Sarah out to Oak Park to get the overalls he had left there. He promised to go back to work that afternoon.

*August 14, 1923.*—Mrs. Blousky, Mr. Isenberg's landlady, in office asking that we pay the rent. Since we had paid the first month's rent they had taken for granted that we would continue to be responsible. Advised her that Mr. Isenberg had just gone to work, and, if he was given time, he would in all probability pay the rent. She refused to listen, saying that she would give them notice to move.

*Later.*—Telephoned superintendent. He stated that we were not to pay the rent and that the landlady would probably give him time in which to pay.

*Later.*—Director of the Industrial Shops called. Stated that Mr. Isenberg had come to the shops to work and that he is a good workman. His wage had not been decided on yet.

*August 15, 1923.*—Mr. Isenberg in office. Was exceedingly sullen. Asked worker that she pay him immediately for the time he worked in the shop. Explained to him that he would probably be paid at the end of the week and by the director and not by worker. He finally promised to return to the shops to work.

*August 17, 1923.*—Supervisor, superintendent, director of workshops, and worker in conference. In view of the fact that the Diagnostic Clinic felt Mr. Isenberg was able to work only a half-day at heavy work it was decided to ascertain from the Dispensary whether they consider painting hard work. Mr. Isenberg is to be paid 80 cents an hour for painting. It is deemed advisable to occupy Mr. Isenberg's full day in some way so that we will be able to know how he spends his time. In this way he would not overtax his strength during the remaining four hours.

*August 20, 1923.*—Rachel in office with five days' eviction notice, which expires August 21.

*Later.*—Superintendent, worker, and director of workshops in conference. It was decided that Mr. Isenberg work four hours a day at painting and four hours a day at something else. Director of shops suggested that the final word be given Mr. Isenberg by superintendent or supervisor. This suggestion met with superintendent's approval and it was decided to take the matter up with the supervisor.

*Later.*—In conference with the supervisor the following plan was decided on: We will attempt to have Mr. Isenberg stay in the shops for eight hours during the day. If he works four hours a day at painting, he will receive $16 a week, and, for the other four hours a day, $6 a week, making a total of $22. According to the present budget, the family needs $34.25 weekly, making a necessary supplementation of $12.25. If, however, Mr. Isenberg works eight hours a day at painting, his earnings will be $32 a week. In addition to the $2.25 a week necessary supplementation, Mr. Isenberg will receive a bonus of $2.50 a week.

*August 24, 1923.*—Letter received from the Industrial Workshops stating that Mr. Isenberg will be paid at the rate of 80 cents per hour for painting four hours a day and at the rate of 30 cents an hour for the remainder of the day, with the understanding that he will give the

shop full time. Director advised that Mr. Isenberg will probably be more or less irregular in his attendance.

Letter sent to the Industrial Workshops advising that we will urge Mr. Isenberg to work regularly at the shops.

*August 30, 1923.*—Learned from the director of workshops that Mr. Isenberg had not reported for work the day before or today.

*Later.*—Called the Dispensary and ascertained that a house physician had been sent to the Isenberg home on August 29. The diagnosis is "hemorrhoids" and probably hospital care will be needed. The patient was advised to come to the Dispensary to the Surgical Clinic for further examination.

*August 31, 1923.*—Called the Dispensary. Learned that Mr. Isenberg had attended the Medical Clinic on August 30 but had been referred to the Surgical Clinic.

*Later.*—Telephoned director of workshops and gave him the foregoing information. He stated that Mr. Isenberg had returned to work on August 31 and was finishing the room that he had started. Mr. Isenberg had told him that immediate hospitalization had been advised, but that he had told the doctor it would be necessary for him to wait.

*September 4, 1923.*—Telephoned director of workshops. Learned that Mr. Isenberg had earned $42.80 for the two weeks ending September 1. Of this amount he has drawn $4.30 on account and has received the balance of $38.50 on September 1.

*September 6, 1923.*—Called at the Industrial Workshops to see Mr. Isenberg. Explained to him that we would pay the rent for this month, but that hereafter we expect him to put aside $40 during the month to pay his own rent. During the month, if his income is not sufficient for him to meet his needs, we will supply the deficit, but that hereafter we will not pay rent for him.

Mr. Isenberg has become much more amenable and approachable. He stated that his family was in need of clothes and asked that these be sent. Mr. Isenberg complained that he was not able to work a full day, but worker emphatically told him that it would be necessary for him to spend a full day at the shops. If he did not feel he was able to work at painting, he should report to the director, who would be able to give him other work, but if he expected any aid from this organization, we expected him to stay at the shops a full day. Finally Mr. Isenberg promised to do this.

*Later.*—Called at the Isenberg home. Mrs. Isenberg has returned from the hospital, and the children have returned home. Mrs. Isenberg looks very well and states that she is feeling fine. Gave Mrs. Isenberg check for the rent and explained to her that we had taken the matter up with Mr. Isenberg and hereafter we would expect the family to put aside the $40 during the month and pay their own rent. Mrs. Blousky, the Isenbergs' landlady, came in and was given the check. Worker also explained to her that the family would pay their own rent hereafter.

Spoke to Mrs. Isenberg regarding the questionnaire for Rachel and Sarah for the Thyroid Clinic at the Dispensary. Learned that both girls had been kept out of school a great deal to take care of the house and to look after the children whenever Mrs. Isenberg is forced to go to the Dispensary. Explained to her how harmful it was to keep the children out of school and to try to arrange differently. Since the birth of the youngest child, twenty months ago, Rachel and Sarah have done practically all the work in the house and have even helped to cook the meals. The Isenbergs are living in very cramped conditions regarding sleeping quarters. Mrs. Isenberg asked that we at least send a cot for Mr. Isenberg as it is necessary for him to sleep alone. They are also in need of bedding, and a few of the children need shoes. Advised Mrs. Isenberg that the matter would be taken up in the office. While worker was there, some of the children came home from school. Jacob, who should be in low seventh, has been put up in high seventh. He is now in the same grade as Rachel. He is a very bright little chap and is anxious to do his best in school.

*September 8, 1923.*—Dresses and shoes ordered for the Isenberg children.

*September 13, 1923.*—Director of Industrial Shops telephoned. He stated that Mr. Isenberg informed him it was necessary for him to go home early every afternoon to cook the meal and look after the children as his wife was not well. Advised him that Mr. Isenberg's presence was not required at home since Rachel and Sarah, the two oldest girls, always took care of the home.

*September 14, 1923.*—Saw Mr. Isenberg at the Industrial Workshops. Worker again informed him that we were expecting him to stay at the shops a full day. He stated that he had received worker's card with the check and that he had already put aside $20 toward the rent.

*September 17, 1923.*—Learned from Director of Workshops that Mr. Isenberg had attended the Dispensary this morning.

*Later.*—Telephoned social worker at Dispensary. Learned that the doctor had stated that Mr. Isenberg is able to work eight hours a day at painting. He should return to their clinic in two weeks.

*September 19, 1923.*—Letter received from the Industrial Workshops that Mr. Isenberg has received a sum of $41.70 for the period from September 1 to September 15.

Letter received from Dispensary stating that Mr. Isenberg had told the doctor he works four to five hours daily and that the doctor had recommended Mr. Isenberg's continuing the same kind of work, putting in the same amount of time, and returning to that clinic in two weeks for further observation.

*Later.*—Called social worker of Dispensary and told her that Mr. Isenberg was working more than four or five hours a day. She stated that the doctor felt that he could work as long as he was now working. She thinks that if Mr. Isenberg had told the doctor he worked eight hours a day the doctor would have made the same recommendation, but that he was not in a position to recommend that Mr. Isenberg work more than the number of hours he is now working.

*September 20, 1923.*—Letter received from the Dispensary stating that the doctor advised Mr. Isenberg to work the same number of hours daily he is now working.

*September 21, 1923.*—Assistant director of the Industrial Shops telephoned that Mr. Isenberg did not come to work today. The doctor had told him, according to Mr. Isenberg's word, that he should work outdoors, especially at peddling.

*September 22, 1923.*—Worker called at the Isenberg home. It was about noon but Mr. Isenberg was not there. Mrs. Isenberg informed worker that her husband had eaten dinner earlier in the day and had gone to see her brother, who has had a tonsillectomy performed. She stated that Mr. Isenberg has not been feeling well and that he has not gone to work in the shops. She stated that if his condition permitted him to work Mr. Isenberg would in no way object to it as he was very anxious to provide for his family.

*September 24, 1923.*—In response to a telephone request for report of Mr. Isenberg's work hours in the shop, such report received.

*Later.*—Director of workshops telephoned, stating that Mr. Isenberg reported for work. He is in a sullen mood and did not care to talk to the director.

*Later.*—The assistant director of workshops telephoned that from his experience with Mr. Isenberg he feels that the man can work eight hours daily at painting.

*September 28, 1923.*—The assistant director of the workshops telephoned that Mr. Isenberg has been working eight hours daily at painting since September 24.

*September 29, 1923.*—Letter sent to the Dispensary asking that they reconsider Mr. Isenberg for the Diagnostic Clinic. Gave them a summary of our difficulty and of our experience with him.

*October 3, 1923.*—Letter received from the Dispensary asking that Mr. Isenberg report to the Dispensary for examination on October 8, at 9:00, preparatory to coming again before the Diagnostic Clinic.

*October 5, 1923.*—Received notice from the Industrial Workshops that Mr. Isenberg received the sum of $41.60 for the period of September 15 to October 1.

*October 6, 1923.*—Called at shops. Spoke to Mr. Isenberg. Advised him to be sure to go to the Dispensary on October 8 to see Dr. Deuvir. Mr. Isenberg promised to do so. Learned from Mr. Isenberg that he is working seven hours a day and from 9:00 until 5:00 at painting. He still insists that this is too much work for him, but expresses his willingness to do whatever he can for his family. Mr. Isenberg stated that he lacks $15 toward the rent. Worker assured him that some supplementation is due him and that this is to be sent out immediately.

*October 9, 1923.*—Rachel Isenberg in office. Stated that she is in need of shoes. Worker noticed that hers were badly torn. Worker questioned Rachel as to what she does with her leisure time. She stated that after school it is necessary for her to take care of the house and look after the children and she has very little time for herself. Although she is very fond of reading, she can read only in bed at night. She is also very fond of sewing, while on the other hand she finds cooking irksome. She belongs to no club and has very few girl friends. She stated that if she could possibly find the time she would very much like to meet other girls of her own age and belong to a club.

*October 17, 1923.*—Worker called at Industrial Workshops to see Mr. Isenberg. He was in a very antagonistic mood and threatened to tell the doctor tomorrow at the Dispensary that he is steadily growing worse because we are making him work too hard and that he knows that he is not able to work at painting even four hours a day, and here we are asking him to work seven or eight. He stated that

if he were able to work a full day he could work in places earning $12 a day, instead of working in the Shops for $4 a day. Mr. Isenberg was very abrupt and left worker while he went to get ready for work.

*Later.*—Rachel telephoned asking whether worker had ordered shoes for her. Told her that the head of the supply department would let her know as soon as she had some shoes for her. Also told her that she and Sarah are to attend the Thyroid Clinic on the morning of October 19. Also that Mrs. Isenberg was to go to the Dental Clinic on October 20.

*October 23, 1923.*—Mrs. Isenberg in office to get clothes from the supply department. She also asked for a pair of shoes for herself and they were authorized. However, the supply department was unable to fit her with shoes because of the size. She also asked for a coat each for Sarah, Rachel, Dora, Margaret, Jacob, and Ben. Went to supply department with Mrs. Isenberg and ordered these coats. Was able to fit the entire family. Rachel was very much dissatisfied with the coat she got. However, Mrs. Isenberg thanked worker profusely for all the clothes and acted as though she were very grateful. . . . .

*October 25, 1923.*—Supervisor and worker at Diagnostic Clinic. Mr. Isenberg was called before the Group and told by doctor that he is able to work a full day at his trade. When this decision was given to Mr. Isenberg, he immediately got up and left the room.

*October 31, 1923.*—Telephoned Industrial Workshops. Learned that Mr. Isenberg had received $52.40 for the first two weeks of October. He had worked all but two days, the second and third, which were holidays and two and one-half hours each on the first and eighth of October. Since it has been decided that Mr. Isenberg should be paid for time spent at the Dispensary, and since Mr. Isenberg is an Orthodox Jew and has probably never worked on holidays, it was decided to pay him for the time lost. Check for $16.94, the difference between what he received at the shop and what his budget calls for for one-half month, was sent. Entire amount up to budget supplemented this month because Mr. Isenberg had been working steadily and lost no time except when it was necessary. The only time that we do not supplement for time lost in the shop is when Mr. Isenberg of his own free will does not report at the shop. . . . .

*November 5, 1923.*—Letter received from Industrial Workshops, that Mr. Isenberg earned the sum of $123 for the period of October 1 to November 1.

*November 13, 1923.*—Letter from the Dispensary recommending that Mr. Isenberg be graduated from the Industrial Workshops and allowed to work full time at his trade.

*November 19, 1923.*—Mrs. Holzheimer, volunteer, called this date at the Isenberg home in response to a request for shoes that they wished to be repaired. Mrs. Holzheimer brought the repair slip, and filled it out according to the service desired. . . . .

*December 4, 1923.*—Letter received from the Industrial Workshops to the effect that Mr. Isenberg had earned $118.40 for the period of November 1 to December 1.

Worker failed to note that Mr. Isenberg was reimbursed $2.50 for the amount expended on taking his wife to the hospital in a cab.

*January 4, 1924.*—Report received from Industrial Workshops that Mr. Isenberg had earned $131.60 for the period of December 1–31. Inasmuch as the Isenbergs require $148.30 monthly, without their clothing allowance, sent the additional amount of $16.77 this date. Of this amount $13.16 was the bonus.

*January 9, 1924.*—Mr. Isenberg in office. He could not understand why he had received only $16.77 this month. Explained in detail his budget to him, and he seemed fully satisfied. Also told him that the Welfare Bureau expected to assist him with clothing. He asked for order for repairing several pairs of shoes for his children. Same was granted.

*January 18, 1924.*—Mr. Isenberg in office and in compliance with request of worker submitted the following sizes of shoes for his children. Rachel, size $7\frac{1}{2}$; Sarah, size $4\frac{1}{2}$; Jacob, size $3\frac{1}{2}$; Ben, size $3\frac{1}{2}$; Dora, size 1; Margaret, size 11 or $11\frac{1}{2}$; David, size 10; Joseph, size 6; Mrs. Isenberg, size 7, extra size. Mr. Isenberg asked for a pair of shoes for himself and also for wearing apparel for different members of the family. Same was requisitioned.

*January 19, 1924.*—Letter from the Dispensary *re* Sarah.

*January 24, 1924.*—Spoke with social worker with reference to the attendance of Rachel and Sarah at the Thyroid Clinic. She advises that they have been very negligent. Asked that worker urge them to report the following morning, or in the event that they were busy with graduating exercises to report on Friday, February 1.

Spoke to Mr. Isenberg regarding the importance of having the girls report to the Thyroid Clinic. He promised to see that they would report without fail the following day.

*January 25, 1924.*—Spoke to Mr. Isenberg with reference to the girls' attending the Thyroid Clinic. He stated that this date was graduation day and therefore the children could not attend. However, they would report without fail the following Friday.

*January 31, 1924.*—Visited. Told Mrs. Isenberg to have Sarah and Rachel report at the Thyroid Clinic of the Dispensary on February 1 at 9:00 A.M. Mrs. Isenberg stated that the children would not consent to stay away from school unless a note excusing them was written to the teacher. Promised Mrs. Isenberg that such a note and a Dispensary card would be given to Mr. Isenberg, who was doing some work at the office, that evening, before he left his work.

The house was rather untidy. Several of the children ran in and out of the room. They are very attractive children. Mrs. Isenberg talked about the poor arrangement of bedrooms and took visitor through the house. The bedrooms were dark and poorly ventilated. Mrs. Isenberg was very pleasant and seemed ready to co-operate.

Asked Mrs. Isenberg if she would permit Sarah, Rachel, and Jacob to go to a performance at a downtown theater. The children are to report at the office at 9:15 on February 2 and from there they will be escorted by workers to the theater. She was quite pleased and consented readily to permit the children to go.

*February 28, 1924.*—Visited in response to a letter from Mrs. Isenberg. The house was very disorderly. Talked to Mrs. Isenberg about the children's shoes and asked to see them. Davie and Jo were at home, and their shoes were beyond repair. The other children were all at school so that their shoes could not be seen. Mrs. Isenberg said that they had all had their shoes repaired twice and after the second fixing they are usually worthless. Promised to take this up. Talked to Mrs. Isenberg about underwear and asked her to manage until the spring weather sets in. She thought she could get along with what they had for the present and asked that light underwear be sent later. Mrs. Isenberg would like very much to move into a place where the bedrooms would be airy and light but said that always she came up against the complication of the landlord's not wanting a family with eight children. She would look for a place in the spring however.

## SECTION II

## PROBLEMS OF INSANITY AND FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS AND CO-OPERATION WITH PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS

### 6. The Family of Peter Zuchola

*(A Skilled but Insane Cabinet-Maker)*

[This record is used at this point especially because of two features: (1) the extraordinary diversity of opinion among relatives with reference to the situation and (2) the information concerning the methods characteristic of the authorities responsible for the care and treatment of insane and feeble-minded people.]

*June 25, 1915.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office asking aid. She does washing. Her husband, a cabinet-maker, is not quite right mentally,[1] she thinks, though he is much better than he was six years ago. He is intensely religious and very fond of the five children, Walter (aged eleven), Nicholas (nine), Peter (seven), Victoria (five), and Stanyslava (three).

*June 26, 1915.*—Sent Mrs. Zuchola and children to summer camp for twelve-day outing.[2]

*November 18, 1918 (Monday).*[3]—Mrs. Zuchola in office asking advice in regard to Mr. Zuchola, who she thinks is mentally deranged.

[1] (See below, p. 872 and p. 883, for statutes prescribing conditions under which the insane and feeble-minded are committed.]

[2] [The first point suggested by the case is the failure on the part of the Agency to give help or to get into the family's situation in 1915. Attention may, however, be called to the following considerations:

*a*) It was in the summer, when all agencies are reduced in staff and when the members of the staff still on the job are especially concerned with country holiday services.

*b*) There was no question of poverty, nor are clues given suggesting violence on the part of Mr. Zuchola.

*c*) There are agencies in the community for apprehending, adjudging, and committing the insane. Mrs. Zuchola's friends and associates would know these. In case of violence there would always be the police.

*d*) A summer outing is good for everyone. As to the matter of Mrs. Zuchola's personal application for help, it may be said that evidently the Agency was thought of as a place of general service.]

[3] [This date was in the midst of the influenza epidemic.]

At times he is very violent and beats and abuses her and children. Mr. Zuchola has been working for the Reichardt Piano Company for ten years. Is a finisher and earns $18 a week. For the past few years Mrs. Zuchola has been forced to work as Mr. Zuchola does not give her enough to support the family. Up to a few months ago Mrs. Zuchola took in washing every day, but this was too hard for her. At present she has an electric mangle which she bought from her aunt, Mrs. Victoria Ostroski. Mr. and Mrs. Zuchola made an agreement to pay Mrs. Ostroski for this mangle, but so far Mrs. Zuchola has been unable to pay anything, as Mr. Zuchola refuses to help. Mrs. Ostroski is pressing her for payment. Mrs. Zuchola has also borrowed small amounts of money from other relatives which she has been unable to return.

Whenever Mrs. Zuchola asks Mr. Zuchola for money, he says he is saving it to buy coal. He has been doing this for the past six months, but has never bought any coal. Mrs. Zuchola has had to buy coal by the bucket.

Mrs. Zuchola is afraid that the two oldest children, Walter (born February 12, 1903) and Nicholas (born June 19, 1905) will run away from home, as Mr. Zuchola has taken a dislike to them and beats them for the slightest offense. They have left home once before.

Mrs. Zuchola does not know how or what to do about getting Mr. Zuchola to a doctor. He is very abusive, and has a mania for taking money to the church and paying for the redemption of his soul.

[The Juvenile Court had registered June 26, 1918.[1]]

*December 2, 1918.*—Visited. After several visits found family at home. They have lived for five months in a dark, five-room basement flat for which they pay $18 rent.

Mr. Zuchola is a tall, fairly intelligent, and refined-looking man. Appears to be sensitive. He is a great contrast to Mrs. Zuchola, who is of a lower type. (Work and worry may have caused her to become this way.)

There are five children, Walter (born February 12, 1903), Nicholas (born June 19, 1905), Peter (born August 13, 1907), Victoria (born February 20, 1910), and Stanyslava (born June 4, 1912). They all

[1] [The Juvenile Court record showed that the previous June Walter had been taken with two other boys who broke into a store and took $35 worth of goods. The goods were recovered; it was a first offense for all the boys, and they were all put on probation to live at home. The probation officer was calling regularly once a month and reported that Walter was not good in school.]

look neglected, especially Walter and Nicholas. They are almost tough looking. While visitor was talking to Mr. and Mrs. Zuchola, Nicholas looked through a door and stuck his tongue out at Mr. Zuchola.

Mr. Zuchola said that he was born on a farm in Russian Poland. He is fifty-three years old. Said his family always associated with the higher class of Russians. Mr. Zuchola would not give details concerning his family.

Mr. Zuchola married Mrs. Zuchola, who is thirteen years younger than he, sixteen years ago in New Jersey. They came to Chicago thirteen years ago. Mr. Zuchola said he would not talk things over, but if he had to go to court he would speak. He said he has been working for six years at the Reichardt Piano Company, and earns $18 a week. He does not give Mrs. Zuchola a regular amount each week. Mrs. Zuchola claims he gave her $3.00 last week. Mr. Zuchola claims he always gives her money whenever she asks for it. Mr. Zuchola said that he never will give her a fixed amount, as he will not live on her money. Says she drinks beer and whiskey.

While living in New Jersey, Mr. Zuchola put $200 in a bank, which is still there. He says Mrs. Zuchola wants this money, but she denies it.

Mr. Zuchola does not believe in having open windows. He goes to church (Our Lady of Sorrows) twice a day, and each time leaves 5 or 10 cents. He attends communion twice a month and pays $1.00. He is very religious, but he says Mrs. Zuchola and the children do not care to go to church. Says Father Slominski knows him well.

The children are all attending school. [Schools attended and grades were learned. Two former addresses were learned, as well as the names and addresses of two of Mrs. Zuchola's aunts and of a brother in Chicago, two sisters of Mrs. Zuchola in New York, and a sister and brother of hers in New Jersey.]

*December 10, 1918.*—Called on Father Slominski, who says that he knows family quite well. Said Mr. Zuchola is a very pious man, although his piety at times is not rational. Thinks that Mr. Zuchola at times is not sane, although he is of no danger to the family. He goes to church twice a day, and once a month he attends mass, for which he pays $1.00. Father Slominski talked to him of this expense, but Mr. Zuchola told him that he is paying this to God, as God granted him a wish for which he had prayed. Father Slominski said that at one time Mr. Zuchola was mentally unbalanced but thinks that at

the present time church is the only thing which keeps him well. Says he works steadily and does not drink; has a good education.

Father Slominski thinks that Mrs. Zuchola is a drinking woman. Will have nothing to do with church, and encourages her children to stay away from Sunday school. She is a very poor housekeeper. Walter has been arrested once. Visitor suggested to Father Slominski that he become interested in the two older boys. Father Slominski agreed to do this and asked if Welfare Agency would try to influence Mrs. Zuchola and children to come to see him, as they have no confidence in him or in Mr. Zuchola. Gave visitor card to give to boys. Father Slominski said that family should not have any assistance as Mr. Zuchola thinks Mrs. Zuchola is saving money.

*December 12, 1918* (*Thursday*).—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola was recovering from a cold. Seemed to be in a very run-down condition. The store in which she keeps the electric mangle was full of customers, and each customer does her own work. The boys were at home. Walter[1] was carving a piece of wood. Visitor talked to boys in regard to their untidy appearance. Boys said that when they went out they looked clean. Children do not seem to receive the proper care and discipline at home. Gave them Father Slominski's card and asked them to call on him.

Mrs. Zuchola told visitor that she married Mr. Zuchola sixteen years ago in New Jersey. Mr. Zuchola at that time was rooming with her parents. Has never been a steady worker. Mrs. Zuchola had hoped that he would reform after marriage. Through her brother he received a position with the Chickering Piano Factory in New Jersey. After they had been married two years Mr. Zuchola started going with another woman and drank a great deal. He used to come home late at night, and at times did not come home for days. He dropped out of church. Kept this up for almost a year when he got the idea that all the people in the city were after him. He also thought that all the priests were after him to condemn him. This preyed on his mind so that he locked up doors and windows and refused to go to work. He became so bad that neighbors reported him, and he was supposed to be committed to the insane asylum when Mrs. Zuchola raised some money among her relatives and sent him to Chicago, to her relatives. Mrs. Zuchola and two children followed later.

[1] [The services of the visitor to the boys in this family are peculiarly varied and ingenious.]

After coming to Chicago Mr. Zuchola joined the Our Lady of Sorrows Church and is a faithful member. Mrs. Zuchola said that Mr. Zuchola accuses her of going with other women to an underworld on a nearby street. Also threatens to kill her, as he claims she follows him with a bad spirit. Mr. Zuchola does not sleep in the same room with Mrs. Zuchola and on several occasions she has wakened to find him in her room. One time he was playing with the gas jet, and at another time he was bent over her, and when she wakened he ran away. Mrs. Zuchola asks if Welfare Agency could draw out the $200 which they have in the New Jersey bank.

Mrs. Zuchola does not seem to be honest in telling visitor of money matters.[1]

*January 6, 1919.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office. Said Mr. Zuchola refused to give her any money for rent, and has threatened to kill her and the children, and she is afraid he will carry out his threat, as he told her that while he was in charge of a large farm in the old country he killed a man who was trying to steal wood, and had also killed a cow with a pitchfork in a fit of anger. Says he quarrels constantly with her and the children.

*January 7, 1919.*—Called on Mrs. Naurocki, Mrs. Zuchola's aunt. She lives in a six-room flat, very clean and comfortably furnished. She is a fairly intelligent, elderly woman, who seems to be a very good housekeeper and mother. Has not had much schooling. Had eight sisters and two brothers. One brother is in the United States Army as a physician, and a sister in Connecticut. Said that Mrs. Zuchola had really never been taught to do anything. Mrs. Zuchola does not know how to keep house nor does she know how to bring up children. All the children are spoilt, especially the two oldest ones. Thinks Mr. Zuchola has never really been sane, although he has always taken good care of himself. Said he has been working for the Reichardt Piano Company for six years, and his only reason for remaining is that he is afraid to look for another position as he continually imagines that someone is following him.

Mrs. Naurocki's husband is a laborer and earns $20 a week. She also has a daughter who is working, and, besides this income, she keeps roomers. She helps Mrs. Zuchola occasionally with food, as they are often without anything to eat.

[1] [The Juvenile Court record shows that on this same day the probation officer made his regular visit. Mrs. Zuchola is very anxious about Nicholas, who is becoming incorrigible.]

Called on the other aunt, Mrs. Ostroski, who is a midwife, an intelligent woman, who keeps a very clean home. She has a twelve-year-old daughter, who is a very refined-looking child. Mrs. Ostroski is a widow. She lived in Warsaw, Russia; and when twelve years old Mrs. Zuchola came to live with Mrs. Ostroski and stayed with her four years. During this time she was taught to sew and to keep house. When about sixteen years old, she worked out as children's maid in a French family living in Warsaw. Mrs. Zuchola was married a year before Mrs. Ostroski came to America, and even at that time Mr. Zuchola acted queerly. He drank heavily, which she thinks was the cause of his mental trouble. He threatens to kill her and Mrs. Zuchola, as he says both of them are controlling him with a bad spirit. Thinks that by killing both of them he would be justified by God as he would then be rid of the bad spirit. The last time he threatened Mrs. Zuchola was about a week ago when he took a large knife and tried to cut Mrs. Zuchola with it, but the children began to scream, which frightened him.

Mrs. Ostroski said that in 1915 when family lived on Evergreen Street they had no money, so she bought a mangle and moved the family to their present address, so that Mrs. Zuchola could have a chance to earn some money. The mangle is in Mrs. Ostroski's name. Mrs. Ostroski thinks Mr. Zuchola is a bad influence in the home.

*January 8, 1919.*—Visited school. Principal gave following report on children: Walter, the oldest, is the poorest scholar in his class; he is very slow. Although fifteen years old is only in sixth grade. He attends school regularly, and his behavior is fairly good.

Nicholas is in eighth grade and is rather bright; attendance regular. Victoria and Peter are fair scholars and attend school regularly. Truant officer visited home several times and found Mrs. Zuchola a good mother.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola told visitor that Mr. Zuchola's father owned a mill in Russia. He has one brother and one sister, both married and living there. About the scar on Mr. Zuchola's head, Mrs. Zuchola said he incurred it when she threw a box at him, in order to protect herself and the children from his vile temper. Two weeks before Christmas he attempted to attack her with a knife and a week later he tried to choke her. He gave her $15 at Christmas time, out of four weeks' salary. She is positive Mr. Zuchola is giving money to the church, as three women in the neighborhood saw him handing money to Father Slominski. Mr. Zuchola says he intends

to kill her because she is hypnotizing him. Says he prays every night until one o'clock and gets up in the morning at four to go to church. A day or two ago the boys were singing, and Mr. Zuchola beat them for this as he said they disturbed his prayers.

Mrs. Zuchola is anxious that Mr. Zuchola be made to give her a regular amount of money each week. Said during the summer she earned from $4.00 to $7.00 a day with her mangle, but at present she earns very little.

*Later.*—Visited neighbor at previous address (Marion Court), who said she knew Mrs. Zuchola's family for many years. Said Mr. Zuchola is a very fine man, quiet, and never complains of Mrs. Zuchola although he has a great deal of cause to complain. He goes to church very often. Thinks the children are ill-mannered and beyond their mother's control. Mrs. Zuchola is a very poor housekeeper but does not drink.

*Later.*—Talked with another neighbor, same building, who said Mrs. Zuchola was always hard working. Children were bad, and Mr. Zuchola a very quiet, good man.

Talked with neighbor next door, who repeated same story, saying Mr. Zuchola was very quiet and religious and children ill-bred. Mrs. Zuchola a poor housekeeper.

*Later.*—Talked with landlady in Evergreen Street, where family lived for four years. Said Mr. Zuchola is a very good man, quiet, but most religious. Mrs. Zuchola has a bad temper and does not know how to care for the children. Said she had seen the children at one o'clock on the street. Landlady said she had to have family move on account of the children.

Talked with another neighbor, next door, who also knew family. He said he cannot say anything bad about the family; and, if Mr. Zuchola did beat the children, he had reason to do it. Mr. Zuchola always seemed quiet. Man said about a year ago Mr. and Mrs. Zuchola had a quarrel and said the scar on Mr. Zuchola's head was caused by Walter. Mr. Zuchola has complained several times that Mrs. Zuchola discouraged children from going to church. Thinks Mrs. Zuchola is to blame for all the trouble in the family.

*Later.*—Visited Juvenile Court and read record. Walter was arrested in the summer of 1918 for breaking into a store and stealing merchandise, in company with two other boys. He was put on probation, as it was his first offense. Principal of the school reported that

boy's behavior was very good, although his progress as a scholar was decidedly poor.

*January 9, 1919.*—Committee decision: It was moved that efforts be made through relatives to have a warrant taken out for a mental examination of Mr. Zuchola and that if this fails, the mental hygiene nurse should be asked to visit. It was also suggested that different recreational opportunities for the children be sought.

*January 13, 1919.*—Spoke to probation officer over telephone. He has known the family since May, 1918. The officer, in visiting the home, found Mr. Zuchola very quiet, but weak mentally. Mrs. Zuchola never complained about him in any way nor did she ever ask for aid. Mrs. Zuchola impressed officer as a responsible and good mother. Gave report of Mr. Zuchola's refusal to contribute more to the home, of his extreme religious tendencies, and of the plan to obtain a mental examination.

*January 15, 1919.*—Called on Mrs. Ostroski, aunt of Mrs. Zuchola. She was willing to put in a complaint at the County Court against Mr. Zuchola so that he might be admitted to the Psychopathic Hospital. Mr. Zuchola came to Chicago in August, 1905, and stayed with her for a few months. At that time he showed symptoms of insanity. Said his sickness was caused from self-abuse. He was thirty-six years old when he married.

*Later.*—Called at County Court with Mrs. Ostroski. They would not admit Mr. Zuchola to the Psychopathic Hospital without a certificate from a doctor.

*January 17, 1919.*—Talked to Dr. Meyer, family physician. Said he knew family fairly well, as he had been called in several times when Mrs. Zuchola and the children were ill, but had never examined Mr. Zuchola. The latter is a quiet man and loses his temper only when antagonized by his family. Thinks it would be advisable to have Mr. Zuchola under observation for a week, but thinks that a week at the Psychopathic Hospital would cause Mr. Zuchola to go insane, as he is a very stubborn man. Dr. Meyer does not want to have anything to do with this, as he does not feel that Mr. Zuchola is insane enough to be committed.

*January 20, 1919.*—Telephoned visitor of Mental Hygiene Society regarding Mr. Zuchola. She asked welfare worker to send report and thought she could have her nurse make visit with a mental specialist this week.

Letter written Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene to confirm telephone conversation, giving history of family as known to the Welfare Agency and information on the present situation.

*February 6, 1919.*—Visitor of Mental Hygiene in office to talk over the family situation. Will ask Dr. Hultman to visit family. Thinks, from what Mrs. Zuchola has said, that Mr. Zuchola is too dangerous to remain at home.

*February 7, 1919.*—Visited with Dr. Hultman, who said that there was no doubt but that Mr. Zuchola was insane. Dr. Hultman questioned Mr. Zuchola as to whether anyone was bothering him. Mr. Zuchola said the children were very noisy, and Mrs. Zuchola is very annoying. Dr. Hultman gave visitor a note to have Mr. Zuchola committed.

*February 8, 1919.*—Took Mrs. Zuchola to County Court. While talking with Mrs. Zuchola she said that Mr. Zuchola was exceedingly pleased because Dr. Hultman and visitor had called on him and shook hands with him. He smiled over this all evening.

*Later.*—Visited. Left cards for boys to go to Koszminski Park and see director who had promised to take an interest in the boys. Peter played a few pieces on the piano for visitor. Piano is owned by Mrs. Zuchola's brother.

*February 13, 1919.*—Called for Mrs. Zuchola to take her and Mrs. Ostroski to the Psychopathic Hospital,[1] where case is to come up.

Father Slominski sent a priest asking what the matter was with Mr. Zuchola and who had sent him away. Mrs. Zuchola told him she knew nothing about it. Case came up and Mr. Zuchola was committed to State Hospital for the Insane.

*February 24, 1919.*—Visited. Flat was in better order than on former visits. Mrs. Zuchola has a great deal of vegetables in the house which she and the boys raised last summer. The director of Koszminski Park gave her some ground in Jefferson Park on which to raise vegetables. They had very good success in raising them, and have sold a good part of the crop.

Mrs. Zuchola says that Father Slominski called upon Mr. Zuchola and promised to take him out of the hospital. Told Mrs. Zuchola to keep an account of her income. The children came home from school, and Mrs. Zuchola gave them for luncheon a meat cake, which was made from gelatin, meat, and vegetables, and home-made bread and coffee.

[1] [See pp. 881–82.]

*February 27, 1919.*—The following letter was received from the managing officer of the State Hospital for the Insane:

Replying to your inquiry regarding Peter Zuchola, will state he is found to be suffering from a paranoid condition which probably dates back many years. He has many ideas regarding his wife, is quite suspicious, delusional, and we do not have any idea of paroling him unless he shows marked improvement.

*March 3, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola did not keep an account of her income. Explained the necessity of doing so, and she promised to keep it. Mrs. Zuchola says Mr. Zuchola has paid $37 on a Liberty Bond; this money she expects to use for rent. Mrs. Zuchola is worried because Father Slominski continues to send people to her and to accuse her of sending a sane man to the State Hospital. Mrs. Zuchola said that Walter broke open her brother's trunk and took from it a revolver, and hid it under the mattress, saying that if Mr. Zuchola returned he would shoot him. Peter saw him hide it and gave it to Mrs. Zuchola, who returned it to her brother.

*Later.*—Called at school and talked to principal. The record of all the children but Walter is good. Says Walter is sixteen years old and should be taken out of school and sent to work, as school will not improve him.

Asked if clothing could not be obtained for children through School Children's Aid.

*March 4, 1919.*—Called on Mrs. Ostroski, who says she does not expect Mrs. Zuchola to pay any debts at the present time. She gave her $13 to finish paying for her Liberty Bond, so that she could sell it.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola gave visitor $50 Liberty Bond, and asked that she sell it so that she could pay rent from the money. She is keeping an account of her expenses and income.

*March 5, 1919.*—Called on landlady at previous address on Evergreen Street. Said she had heard Mr. Zuchola was committed and said all the people who knew the family are bitter against Mrs. Zuchola as she is a woman of a very low standard. She spoiled her children, and, whenever her husband wanted to punish them, Mrs. Zuchola would always take their part. Said this was the reason for Walter's turning out a delinquent. Says Mrs. Zuchola is very careless in her appearance and is a very poor housekeeper. She is a great talker, and at times her talk is ridiculous. Mr. Zuchola drank whiskey and beer but was never intoxicated. In her opinion it is Mrs. Zuchola who is insane rather than Mr. Zuchola.

*March 7, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola's brother was there by appointment. Mr. Gronowski, who has just returned from the army, is a young, healthy-looking man, rather intelligent. He speaks very good English and is a cabinet-maker by profession. Mr. Gronowski told visitor that the church will try to get Mr. Zuchola out and may arrange medical treatments if necessary. Said that Mr. Zuchola is harmless, and also thinks his threatening was mere domestic trouble, as "any man who would live in such a home would become that way." Mr. Zuchola did not get enough food, the living conditions were very poor. When he saw that he did not get any care, he turned to the church and did all that Father Slominski told him to do. He also took his money there.

After talking to Mr. Gronowski about this, he admitted that Mr. Zuchola was not mentally normal, as he would take money away from the home where it was badly needed. Also his illusions were abnormal, and his influence on the children not good; but he said that Mrs. Zuchola had her share in Mr. Zuchola's being ill as she is no housekeeper and does not know how to bring up the children—in fact has no control over them, which fact Father Slominski can prove.

Mrs. Ostroski, his aunt, he says is not very responsible. She is a midwife and gives illegal treatments. Mr. Gronowski admitted that Mr. Zuchola was in bad health through excessive drinking fourteen years ago and that Mrs. Ostroski had him come to Chicago to give him treatments, but these treatments were not successful. They all agreed that Mrs. Zuchola should move and that Walter should go to work (learn the trade of a cabinet-maker) and go on Saturday afternoons to the Art Institute for drawing lessons as he is very fond of drawing.

*March 15, 1919.*—Victoria and her cousin in office. Says Mrs. Zuchola is very ill and should be taken to the hospital.

*Later.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Zuchola in bed and Mrs. Ostroski, her aunt, taking care of her.

Mrs. Zuchola said Dr. Meyer had called and made a diagnosis of appendicitis, and advised taking her as soon as possible to the County Hospital. Mrs. Ostroski said in case Mrs. Zuchola was taken to hospital, she would stay in the home and take care of the children and business.

*Later.*—Telephoned Dr. Meyer, who said visitor should arrange for ambulance.

*Later.*—Telephoned police station for ambulance.

*March 19, 1919.*—Peter in office asking visitor to call at home.

*March 20, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Ostroski was caring for children and business. Says she has a buyer for the mangle. (Mrs. Ostroski would keep money as she owns the mangle.) Advised Mrs. Ostroski not to do anything about it until Mrs. Zuchola returned from hospital. Mrs. Ostroski complained of children, saying they do not come home until late at night, and that Walter is getting worse every day.

*March 26, 1919.*—Called at school for report. Principal said Walter should be working. Gave school report: Attendance regular; scholarship very poor; deportment good if not made to do what he does not like to do; general—very dull. Walter received his working certificate March 25, 1919.[1] Spoke to Walter's teacher who said he is getting duller every day. A few weeks ago she could give him simple questions which he could answer, but of late he is not able to do even this.

*Later.*—Visited. Made appointment with Walter for March 28. Told Mrs. Ostroski to be sure and persuade him to be at home when visitor called. Mrs. Ostroski showed visitor a large piece of chocolate which Nicholas and Walter had brought home. They would not say who had given it to them.

*March 28, 1919.*—Talked to probation officer. He seemed very much in favor of having Walter examined, as he thinks he is feeble-minded and probably an institutional case. Told him of chocolate which boys had brought home. He thinks the home conditions very poor, and Mr. Zuchola has abused Walter.

*Later.*—Called for Walter, but he did not come home. Walter said he does not want Welfare Agency to take any interest in securing a position for him. Mrs. Ostroski does not know what Walter does during the day. Comes and goes at will. Peter says that Walter is working at Kohn's on Milwaukee Avenue, delivering packages.

*Later.*—Called at Kohn's, but manager said they could recall Walter's working there only one evening when he helped a boy deliver packages.

*March 29, 1919.*—Called at County Hospital. Mrs. Zuchola's physician said that she was operated on for gallstones and is doing fairly well. Will be able to leave hospital in a few days.

[1] [See *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 48, sec. 20, for conditions under which the working papers are obtained.]

Talked to Mrs. Zuchola, who seems to be feeling much better but is worrying a great deal about Walter. Told her Welfare Agency is interested in Walter and will try to adjust matters.

*April 8, 1919.*—Took Walter to Juvenile Psychiatric Bureau. After a three-and-one-half-hour examination, the doctor pronounced him feeble-minded. His mentality is that of a child between nine and ten years, and he is, therefore, an institutional case. Advised before committing him that he be given a chance at work, as he is not at present a menace to the home, and, if it is not possible for him to hold work, that he be sent to the State School.

*Later.*—Took Walter to Reichardt Piano Factory and talked to Mr. Nelson, previous foreman of Mr. Zuchola. He was very much interested in Walter and said he would try to place him in a position in the department in which they make the interior of grafaphones. This appealed to Walter, who will work under Mr. Telley and will start work April 9. Mr. Nelson took Walter to Mr. Telley and showed him some of the work that he is supposed to do.

Walter told visitor he has two friends, John Pilsulski and Joe, but did not know Joe's last name. Said Joe was recently arrested, as he held up a man for $50. While holding up this man he had two guns, a revolver and a rifle. Joe is thirteen years old. Walter said that, recently when he was going to shoot his father, he took his uncle's gun out of the trunk and found bullets there also and charged revolver with these bullets. Said when he threatened his sister he did not mean it but just wanted to scare her, as she was teasing him.

*April 9, 1919.*—The following letter received from the director of the Juvenile Psychiatric Bureau:

> In accordance with your request we have examined Walter Zuchola, now 16 years old.
>
> We find his mental development to correspond to that of a child of about 9 years, 10 months. On the basis of our examination, we classify him as a feeble-minded person of middle-grade moron type. The characteristics, described in the history supplied us by your worker, such as irresponsibility, violent temper, and uncontrolled behavior, all arise, we believe, from his mentally defective makeup.
>
> It will be necessary to regard this boy as a problem in social adjustment. If his defectiveness makes it impossible for him to adjust himself to an orderly and responsible mode of behavior, commitment to the State School for the Feeble-minded will have to be resorted to. For the present we think an effort should be made to demonstrate whether this boy can become a reliable working boy at some form of occupation which is within his mental grasp.
>
> I may add that there was a suggestion of lung involvement in this case.

*April 17, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola was feeling very weak. Said she is unable to work the mangle. Said her aunt, Mrs. Ostroski, has made a great deal of trouble for her while she was in the hospital. Mrs. Ostroski kept half of the earnings of the mangle.

Friday evening Nicholas came home very dirty. Mrs. Zuchola told him that she knew positively that he had not been to school and scolded him for it. Nicholas said he did not want to return to school as he wished to go to work. Mrs. Zuchola explained to him that he could not work as he is not fourteen years of age. Nicholas threatened to run away from home and stay away until he is fourteen. He left the next day and has not returned. Mrs. Zuchola thinks he is associating with John Pilsulski, and thinks John knows where Nicholas is, although he denies it. Some boys told her that Nicholas is working on a *Daily Republican* wagon from 8:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.

During visit, the probation officer came in. He was interested to hear that Walter is doing well at work. Walter is trying to work out a plan for a victrola, but so far has not succeeded. Mrs. Zuchola says Walter is cross at home but is very happy with his work.

*April 18, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said Nicholas has returned home. Told her he had been sleeping with one of the boys, but feels sorry for what he has done and will return to school.

Mrs. Zuchola's brother, Mr. Gronowski, told Mrs. Zuchola to look for another flat as he would like to live with her. Told her to remain in present flat until Welfare Agency could help to make a better plan.

*April 23, 1919.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office saying her brother, Mr. Gronowski, was arrested the previous night on a warrant taken out by his wife for non-support of children. Accompanied Mrs. Zuchola to court. Mrs. Gronowski would not talk to Mrs. Zuchola. Told visitor she was helped by American Red Cross during Mr. Gronowski's term in the army. Mr. Gronowski was ordered by Judge Hay either to get someone to sign a $500 bond or to go for a year to the House of Correction. Mr. Gronowski got his employer to sign his bond, and is to pay $8.00 a week for the support of his children.

*Later.*—Visited. The house was in better order than usual, and Mrs. Zuchola was preparing dinner which consisted of vegetable soup and beans. Left $5.00 for food and told Mrs. Zuchola to keep list of expenditures. Mrs. Zuchola is not working the mangle, since April 21. Previous to this she did not receive much money from the mangle, as her aunt, Mrs. Ostroski, kept most of it, as she claimed she was doing most of the work and she owned the mangle.

Mrs. Zuchola is very anxious to do whatever the Welfare Agency suggests.

*Later.*—Agent of the Vocational Bureau telephoned for report of family. They are interested in Nicholas. Will try and get someone to tutor him for a month or so to give him a good start as he was late entering school. Gave report.

Polish Committee Decision: A motion carried that financial aid be granted Mrs. Zuchola during her illness, and that Mr. Thomas Skompa, of the Polish Committee, interview Mr. Gronowski, brother of Mrs. Zuchola, before advising him to live with the family.

*April 29, 1919.*—Visited. Talked to Mrs. Ostroski in regard to mangle. She said she would use the mangle and pay $8.00 a month for Mrs. Zuchola for rent, and in the meantime, Mrs. Zuchola should remain in flat, as she is not strong enough to move. Mrs. Zuchola has received a second eviction notice, and will have to appear in court April 30.[1]

Walter received his first wages of $10 a week. He likes his position, but the boys tease him because of his short trousers. Talked to Nicholas, who does not look very well, in regard to his running away from home. Said it was not bad company, and that it was his own idea as he is tired of school. He worked for the *Chicago Daily Republican* helping to distribute papers, but he is now willing to stay in school until July 19, when he will be fourteen years old. Told him to call with Walter at the Municipal Tuberculosis Dispensary for an examination.

*April 30, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said she has been given ten days in which to move. Both boys went to the Dispensary. Gave Mrs. Zuchola $4.40 for food and $3.50 for trousers for Walter. Asked Mrs. Zuchola to look for rooms and to notify the Welfare Agency should she find any.

*May 1, 1919.*—Walter, Nicholas, and Peter examined at Municipal Tuberculosis Dispensary. Non-tubercular.

*May 6, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said her aunt sold the mangle for $200 and by Friday they must be out of the flat. Walter was at home. Said that foreman asked him to put on his hat, and they gave him his pay envelope. He received $19. Does not know the reason he was discharged. Said a boy in the factory gave him red pepper to smell and this made him sneeze all day. Said he did play

[1] [See above, p. 103, note, for instructions from General Office to visitors in matter of eviction situations.]

the piano, but only at one noon hour. Mrs. Zuchola says he knows very little about playing. While talking to visitor he was printing, and work looked very good.

Told Mrs. Zuchola to look for rooms for her own family and not to consider having her brother live with her.

*May 7, 1919.*—Telephoned Walter's foreman, who said that he tried in every way to keep Walter but that Walter would work only when someone stood over him and watched him closely. When he was not being watched, he would begin to play and fool with others. He doubts that Walter will be able to keep a position. Is sure firm is not willing to give him another chance. Said Walter is "bull-headed."

*May 9, 1919.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office. Said she had found a flat. Accompanied her to see rooms, which look light and airy. There is a large garden attached to house which is very neglected. Mrs. Zuchola is anxious to get this flat and get boys interested in the garden. Talked to agent in charge of this property, and he promised to have windows and plumbing in good condition. Paid rent of $10 from May 15 to June 15.

*May 12, 1919.*—Called on Walter's former foreman, who said Walter is a fairly bright boy and is strong and able to do good work, but as soon as he is not watched he would look out of the window, or fool with other boys, or sit somewhere between pianos and fall asleep. He thinks Walter is just lazy.

*May 15, 1919.*—Mrs. Naurocki, aunt of Mrs. Zuchola, in office complaining that Mr. Zuchola is not being well treated at the State Hospital. Said she visited him Sunday and he told her that he was not getting enough food or clothing. Mrs. Naurocki said Mr. Zuchola is not insane and should not be forced to stay there. Visited and left $5.00 cash grant.

*May 20, 1919.*—Visited. The flat was fairly clean. A large bouquet of lilacs was on the dining-room table. Mrs. Zuchola and the boys have worked very hard in the garden which is attached to house. They have planted various kinds of vegetables. They have placed their large oleander trees which they had in the garden also.

Mrs. Zuchola said Walter is looking for work, as he wishes to get a job on his own initiative, as he feels ashamed to have visitor do it. Mrs. Zuchola showed plans which he had drawn of different pianos, which he did while working at Keichardt's. He told Mrs. Zuchola that he is going to build a whistling organ and that he was very anxious

to work in every department at Reichardt's so that he could get ideas for his plan. The plans were simply drawn and most of them were only keyboards.

Left $8.00. Mrs. Zuchola is keeping close account of her expenditures.

*May 23, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola was baking a large amount of bread, although two days ago, when visitor called, she had four large loaves in the pantry. Said children eat a great deal of bread.

Mrs. Zuchola enjoys her garden very much and works very hard in it. She seems to understand a great deal about farming. Walter has a tool table in the garden where he works whenever he has the time. He tells Mrs. Zuchola that he is trying to build an arbor.

Mrs. Zuchola gave visitor a $200 share in the May Flower Building and Loan Association, 102 Walnut Street, May Flower Park, New Jersey, which is in Mr. Zuchola's name, which visitor will get Legal Aid[1] to try to collect. Mrs. Zuchola says that Walter goes every day to the United States Employment Bureau and finally received a position at the Western Brass and Lamp Company. He began work May 22.

*May 26, 1919.*—Called at the Western Brass and Lamp Company, Walter's employer, and talked with Mr. Jung, manager. Mr. Jung is a very sympathetic man and said he will take a special interest in Walter. Walter is at present working on a drill bench, which is an easy job. Mr. Jung noticed on several occasions that Walter wants to do everything his own way. He showed him at some length how to pull a wire a certain way, and Walter insisted upon doing it in just the opposite way. Mr. Jung realized he was very young and had very little experience. He will give him $11 a week and will make his complaints of Walter to visitor.

*May 29, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola complained that Walter and Nicholas do not stay at home evenings and will do no work around the house. Walter is still planning his organ. Left $4.00 cash.

*June 2, 1919.*—Called on Mrs. Naurocki, aunt of Mrs. Zuchola. Mrs. Naurocki said she is very much disgusted with the way Mrs. Zuchola keeps house. She also neglects her children, and this is the reason why Walter and Nicholas are such bad boys. The children were practically raised on the street, and not by Mrs. Zuchola.

[1] [The Legal Aid is one of the organic divisions of the Welfare Agency. See *Sixty-six Years of Service; An Account of the Activities of the United Charities* (1922), p. 45.]

Mrs. Naurocki said that Mr. Zuchola is not insane, but has suffered a great deal by Mrs. Zuchola's laziness, as she would not prepare nourishing meals. Mr. Zuchola always felt sorry for his children, and Mrs. Naurocki said she could never remember his punishing them. He was always a very quiet man and has been much neglected. Mrs. Zuchola had a habit of buying a great deal of material and things she did not use. When Mrs. Naurocki reprimanded her for this, she would say she wanted it for future use. Mrs. Naurocki also said that Mrs. Zuchola is not telling the Welfare Agency the truth.

*June 4, 1919.*—The following letter written to the director of the Juvenile Psychiatric Bureau:

At your request we are sending you a report of Walter Zuchola who was examined at your institute, April 8, 1919.

On April 8 we secured a position for him at the Reichardt Piano Factory, where he worked from April 9 to May 5. The work was light, and his foreman tells us that the reason of his discharge was that he was stubborn and lazy. As soon as Walter felt that he was not being watched he would hide some place and sleep, look out of the windows, or disturb his fellow-workers.

Walter, however, was anxious to secure a position without our help, and on May 22, 1919, was placed with the Western Brass and Lamp Company through the United States Employment office. He is doing some light and simple work on a drill bench, and his foreman reports that he is doing fairly well, although he shows signs of stubbornness. He is at present earning $11 a week.

He spends a good share of his spare time in planning to build a "whistling organ." He copied some plans while working at Reichardt's. There is nothing concrete in the plans which he has drawn. They are very simple and show nothing but the keyboard.

We have moved the family into a pleasant flat which has a large garden attached. Mrs. Zuchola, Walter, and Nicholas have turned a much neglected yard into a lovely vegetable garden. We did hope that this work would keep the boys at home, but Mrs. Zuchola says that Walter goes out evenings and will do no work around the house, except the planning of the "organ."

We are continuing to visit the family, and would appreciate any suggestions which you might have to offer in regard to them.

*June 5, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola says she has not much clothing for children. Showed visitor a great many remnants of dress goods, which she had bought very cheap at sales. None of the remnants were very large but with careful planning they could be

made up into children's waists and dress. Said Walter tries to deny that he was receiving $11 a week, but when he received his salary, he turned over his check. Left $5.00 cash, and $3.25 for Mr. Zuchola's insurance.

*June 6, 1919.*—Paid moving bill of $14.

*June 12, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola was varnishing the floor. She is trying to make the home very comfortable. Said the boys were doing fairly well, are staying home evenings. Said her aunt, Mrs. Naurocki, has reported her at the State Hospital and hopes that will help to free Mr. Zuchola. She told the doctor that the cause of Mr. Zuchola's condition is Mrs. Zuchola, as she is no housekeeper and is very filthy, which discouraged Mr. Zuchola. Mrs. Zuchola said that Mr. Zuchola was present while Mrs. Naurocki was talking to doctor. She also brought a witness along. Left $5.00 cash grant, and $5.00 for clothing.

*June 19, 1919.*—Walter's foreman telephoned that Walter left without any reason.

*Later.*—Visited. Walter was cutting wood in the yard. Said he was trying to make a fence. He gave as his reason for quitting his job that a boy had told him a man had died from breathing poisonous acids in the factory and also that he had had to carry heavy packages. Said he refused to return. Left $6.00 cash grant and took Walter to Gerts and Company but the manager said Walter was too young, as they do not like to take boys under seventeen years.

*Later.*—Accompanied Walter to his old place of employment. Told the manager of Walter's complaint of acids and heavy packages. He said that any child could carry the packages, and as far as the acids were concerned, Walter had nothing to do with this room, and the fumes were not poisonous, and no one had ever been known to suffer from them. Walter then admitted that he wanted to go swimming, and it was too late to go after working hours, as he had to walk two miles. After much persuasion, Walter decided to return to work.

*Later.*—Saw Nicholas, at 6:00 P.M., riding on a *Daily Times* wagon.

*June 20, 1919.*—Called at school. Teacher was new, so did not know much of Nicholas. Record book showed that his attendance from February to March 18 was without an absence, but after this he did not return to school.[1]

[1] [The visitor evidently thought it impracticable to try to arrange for regular reports from the school. The obligation for keeping Nicholas in school, moreover, rested under the Compulsory Attendance Law on the Compulsory Attendance

*June 21, 1919.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Zuchola ill. Mrs. Zuchola said she has just found out that Nicholas did not go to school. She fainted twice last night. Said that during all this time she has been giving him money and he told her that he had a great deal of school homework to do, but that he does it with a boy, Adam Sabodka, who lives on Washington Street. Mrs. Zuchola was always satisfied with the reports he gave her, and never doubted him until the teacher told Peter about Nicholas' absence, so Mrs. Zuchola looked up the Sabodka family. Mrs. Sabodka told her Nicholas had not been there, and that he owed Adam 65 cents, and also that Nicholas had not attended school for some time, but could not tell how long. Mrs. Zuchola does not want to tell Nicholas of this, as she is afraid he will run away. Said she had heard him say that he wanted to save $50 to go on a summer trip. She scolded him for this, and he told her that he could not be forced to give her the money he earned. Mrs. Zuchola thought he was talking about the money he was going to earn during the summer. Mrs. Zuchola is broken-hearted over Nicholas, as she had great hopes of him.

Later Walter came in and handed Mrs. Zuchola a $3.00 check. Walter seemed to feel sorry for his mother. Left $2.00 for gas bill and $2.00 for shoe-repairing.

*June 23, 1919.*—Visited in evening. Children sitting around the table and eating dinner, which consisted of macaroni and meat. Walter told visitor that they are waiting for Nicholas, who is going to bring tickets for White City, where they are going to spend the evening. Visitor brought colored chalk for Walter and showed him how to use it. He showed quite a bit of interest. Nicholas came in, said he has been distributing papers to different news stands and said he has earned 75 cents. Visitor talked to him in regard to school. Nicholas admitted that he was lying to his mother; an excuse he gave was that school was too hard for him and that he was too anxious to earn money. He promised to do better, he will get his school record and working certificate, and will try to do his best at work. Says that he did not save any money, as his earnings were very irregular and very small.

*June 26, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said that Nicholas was very much ashamed of the things he has done. She has written for

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Department of the Board of Education. See *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 122 (Schools, secs. 342–43). See Abbott and Breckinridge, *Truancy and Non-Attendance in the Chicago Schools.*]

his birth certificate. Mrs. Zuchola complains of Walter; says that she always fears when he is not at home in time that he has got in trouble with his friends. He has a great dislike for Victoria. Peter was playing on a guitar. He seems to have a talent for music. Left $6.00 cash grant. Visitor took Peter to Neighborhood House to register him for the summer classes. He said that Walter and Nicholas smoke, although his mother tries to punish them whenever she sees them doing it.

*July 1, 1919.*—Visited. Walter at home cutting wood; he intended to make a house for a rabbit, which he had just received. He told visitor that his boss told him to work faster, which he refused to do, and therefore he was discharged. Mrs. Zuchola said that Walter returned June 20 to work and worked only half a day; this he told her June 28. She was giving him lunch all this time. Mrs. Zuchola showed visitor a check she received from Washington for $207, made out to her at her brother's request, allotment money; said her brother asked her to cash it and give him the money. She had had this check for four weeks, but had refused to indorse it. Told Mrs. Zuchola that this money does not belong to her and that the Red Cross has made arrangements that her brother's wife should get the money. Left $7.00 cash grant.

*July 2, 1919.*—Telephoned Walter's foreman, who said that Walter came June 20, worked until noon, and left without saying anything. He did not say anything to Walter in regard to working faster, but would ask him to work when he found him reading a newspaper during working hours.

*Later.*—Telephoned Red Cross visitor and told her about check which Mrs. Zuchola received. Visitor said they have sent a telegram to Washington just two days ago. They will call on Mrs. Zuchola to advise her to send it back to Washington, as Mrs. Gronowski is legally entitled to the money.

*Later.*—Called at Polish National Alliance. Secretary said that Mrs. Zuchola owes $8.00 or more to the society. They have helped her often, as they felt Mr. Zuchola was not earning enough. She will take it up with the president of the society.

*July 3, 1919.*—Visited. Walter is working in a printing shop, 625 Market Street. Mrs. Zuchola got the job for him through the newspaper. Left $7.00 cash grant and $6.00 for summer clothing.

*July 8, 1919.*—Victoria and Stanyslava sent on summer outing for two weeks to Lacon, Illinois. Slips signed by Dr. Lewandowski.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said that Walter is very cross. The first three days he liked his work and said it was very light, but he is beginning to tire of it already.

Mrs. Zuchola's dresser drawers are all in great disorder. Mrs. Zuchola says she has no patience to straighten them out. Her greatest pleasure is working in the garden; or, if she must do housework, she prefers sewing, cooking, and keeping the rooms in order, because in doing this she sees some results. Left $5.00 cash grant.

*July 15, 1919.*—Nicholas in office saying that Walter was riding a bicycle the day before and was run over by an automobile. He was taken to the Walter Scott Hospital, but brought home the same evening.

*Later.*—Telephoned hospital and talked to doctor who took care of Walter. Said that Walter had only been bruised upon his arm, and slightly on his head. He does not need medical attention.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said that Walter had suffered with a headache all night. She called in Dr. Meyer, who prescribed medicine for him, but said Walter would be all right in a few days. Left $5.00 cash grant and 75 cents for medicine.

*July 18, 1919.*—Visited. Nicholas received his birth certificate. Gave him card to Vocational Bureau. Left $6.00 for clothing for Nicholas.

*July 22, 1919.*—Visited. Walter had returned to work, and Nicholas began work July 21 at Johnson Wallott Company. Left $5.00 cash grant.

*July 24, 1919.*—Paid grocery bill of $6.00.

*July 29, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola is very happy because Peter is going to have a chance to go to Braedalbane Farm. Nicholas is beginning to feel sorry to think he stopped going to school. Walter will be paid July 31, and Nicholas August 1. Left $5.00 for shoes for Peter, and $3.50 cash grant.

*July 31, 1919.*—Victoria sent on two weeks' outing to Friendship House. Slips signed by Dr. Lewandowski.

*August 4, 1919.*—Called at Johnson Wallott Company. Talked to assistant employment manager who said Nicholas is working in the jewelry department, working in the stock, and does errands. They are well satisfied with him. He appears to be a very bright boy.

*Later.*—Called on Walter's employer. Spoke to manager, who said that Walter is doing everything about the shop. They are satisfied with his work. His forelady was on her vacation. Said that Walter has an opportunity of learning the printing trade.

*August 8, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola has a gas bill of $32, and the gas company has shut off the gas. Mrs. Zuchola said that several months ago, before she moved, the company sent her a bill of $11. She complained at the City Hall, and since then the bills have accumulated, as she refused to pay such high bills.

Walter earned $9.85 this week, as he was out one and one-half days because of the car strike.[1] He turned this money over to her. Nicholas gave her his envelope of $13. Mrs. Zuchola bought two pairs of shoes for $11 and two pairs of stockings, two pairs of shoes with rubber soles for boys, and some screens for the windows. Mrs. Zuchola is very happy because Peter will leave for Braedalbane Farm. Said Nicholas is very jealous of him and wishes he had the same opportunity. Left $4.00 cash grant.

*August 13, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said she had paid $15 for gas on a $35 bill and $8.68 for milk. Her income for that week from both the boys was $25. Left $6.00 cash grant.

*August 19, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said they have sent her a new gas bill. Left $5.00 gas and $4.60 cash grant.

*August 21, 1919.*—Telephoned Walter's forelady, who said that she has discharged him because he refuses to work. He had not worked for the last three weeks—just played around and annoyed the other employees. She talked to him several times, but he refused to do better. She would not consider taking him back.

*August 28, 1919.*—Visited. Walter was working for a few days in a printing-shop but had to give it up because work was too hard. He said that there are plenty of positions and he will look for work. He does not look very well, so advised Mrs. Zuchola to take him to the Dispensary. Left $4.50 cash grant and $1.50 for gas bill.

*September 5, 1919.*—Visited. Walter has started work in a printing-shop but Mrs. Zuchola did not know the name. Said Nicholas is doing very nicely. Left $5.00 cash grant. The Legal Aid has notified Mrs. Zuchola that she soon will hear from New Jersey as to the money from the Building and Loan stock.

*September 11, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said that Walter has begun work in a button factory (September 5). He seems to like the work. Mrs. Zuchola received a letter from Legal Aid saying that they have received letters from New Jersey that they will send money but Mrs. Zuchola will have to sign a paper.

[1] [This was the time of the car strike and race riots of 1919.]

*October 2, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said that Nicholas is still working at Johnson Wallott Company and is earning $12 a week. On October 1 he received $17. Mrs. Zuchola had been ill but was feeling somewhat better and said county doctor had called.

*October 10, 1919.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Zuchola quite ill in bed. Said she has really been ill for last three weeks. She spent a great deal of money on medicine and lemons, and Walter has not brought his full pay. She received a letter from the Legal Aid Society telling her to call for a check which they received from the Building and Loan Association, New Jersey. Mrs. Zuchola wants to deposit money with Welfare Agency.

*Later.*—Telephoned county doctor. He said that Mrs. Zuchola has the influenza. Asked him to make another visit.

*October 13, 1919.*—Telephoned attorney of Legal Aid Society in regard to Mrs. Zuchola's money. He said that Mrs. Zuchola is unable to draw the whole sum, because there is a bond on it. He will send someone to see her, and they will arrange for her to draw a small sum of money. This has to be probated through court first.

*October 25, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said that on Sunday Walter was arrested for shooting rabbits and Monday he was arrested again for stealing a bicycle. Mrs. Zuchola said that he has bothered her recently for a bicycle, so she told him to save his money. He bought an old bicycle in a second-hand store for $2.00, which needed a great deal of repairing. He wanted to have it fixed so that he could use it on Sunday when he goes hunting, and his friend John Pilsulski promised to repair this, because he works in a place where they make bicycles. He was unable to do it by Saturday, and he advised Walter to steal a bicycle from a store. While John was talking to the owner of the store and keeping him interested, Walter took the bicycle. Case came up Monday, and the owner said that, since nothing had happened to the bicycle, he was willing to drop the case.

*October 28, 1919.*—Talked with probation officer about sending Walter to a farm. He was not very much in favor of the plan, but thought the Welfare Agency might arrange this if it seemed best.

*Later.*—Officer of court telephoned that he had found place on farm for Walter and asked visitor to take boy to see Mr. Kaufman, on Wentworth Avenue. He is son-in-law of the farmer who owns the place, and would like to see the boy and decide if his father-in-law would take him.

*October 29, 1919.*—Took Walter to see Mr. Kaufman, who said his father-in-law is willing to take him and that the boy will have a

good place. Mrs. Kaufman's father and two brothers are living on a farm and a sister is keeping house for them. One brother is a graduate of the University of Illinois and very much interested in flowers, and their main interest is in growing flowers. Mrs. Kaufman was present and said that the work is not very hard and that the surroundings are very agreeable.

*October 31, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said that Walter is very happy that he is able to go to this farm. Told her that she must provide clothing which Mr. Kaufman asked boy to have. Left money for this.

*Later.*—Telephoned probation officer and reported result of interview. Officer promised, if Walter does not stay on this farm very long, to put in an application for his admission to the State School for the Feeble-minded.

*November 1, 1919.*—Telephoned Mr. Kaufman. He said that Walter left for the farm yesterday. Mr. Kaufman promised not to send Walter home on a visit for three or four weeks.

*November 12, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola has visited Peter at Braedalbane Farm. Said child has grown and looks very well. He likes it very much and everyone congratulated her for having such a nice son. "The Captain" seemed to be very fond of him.[1]

Mrs. Zuchola showed visitor a letter she had received from Walter. He wrote that he likes his work on the farm, but he has to sleep in a garret, and wishes visitor would have them change his sleeping-quarters; if not, said he would run away. He inclosed directions for reaching the farm and two diagrams of the farm which he asked her not to show to anyone. Diagrams looked very much like the diagrams he drew of the piano which he made while working at Reichardt's.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mr. Kaufman. He said that Walter is doing fairly well, but they have to keep after him all the time.

*Later.*—Probation officer reports she took up matter of sleeping-quarters with Mr. Kaufman.

*December 8, 1919.*—Probation officer telephoned that Walter left the farm December 3 because it was cold. He did fairly good work.

[1] ["The Captain" is the head and heart of the institution, which is a farm school, incorporated to "protect, rear, educate, and provide for homeless and neglected boys." The age limits are ten to eighteen years, or fourth grade to second-year high school. The capacity is one hundred. It is organized after the cottage plan.]

*December 10, 1919.*—Nurse from Dispensary in office to read record. So far they have not made a diagnosis of Mrs. Zuchola's case. She is very nervous, and the results of two Wassermann tests were negative; they have taken a third.

*December 29, 1919.*—New Year's dinner supplied by manager of Gerts and Company, for whom Walter worked in June.

*Later.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office, saying that Walter had come back from the farm and taken a job at Lane and Company's department store and Nicholas had left home December 28. Peter is home for the holidays.

*Later.*—Called at Johnson Wallott Company and talked with Nicholas' foreman. He said Nicholas has been a rather slow worker, but did the work he was asked to do. He told of Nicholas' having lost his lunch one day which he blamed on one of the boys, and the next day, the twenty-fourth, this boy found that someone had broken his tools, and nailed the pieces to his desk. They suspected that Nicholas did this for revenge and told him he would have to pay for it, and he has not returned to work since.

*Later.*—Illinois Avenue Police Station telephoned. Boys were arrested on December 28, on a burglary charge. The case will be up in the Juvenile Court on January 5, 1920. The boys are at the Detention Home.

*Later.*—Reported to juvenile probation officer.[1]

*January 2, 1920.*—Called at Lane and Company, where Walter was employed. He worked there about five days and did what he was asked to do, but foreman told him to go a half-hour later to lunch, which he refused to do, and left.

*Later.*—Talked with psychiatrist at Juvenile Psychiatric Bureau. He will communicate with officer at the Juvenile Detention Home, to decide whether Walter should go to the State Industrial School or to the State School for the Feeble-minded. He will notify Juvenile Court and Welfare Agency.

*January 3, 1920.*—Called on Shepardson and Company, whose shop had been broken into. Man in charge said that Sunday afternoon John Pilsulski and Walter and Nicholas Zuchola and another boy broke in through the basement window by breaking the window and bending the iron bars. The damage they did has not been

[1] [See Jeter, *The Chicago Juvenile Court* (U.S. Children's Bureau Pub. No. 104), p. 32, for account of relations existing between police probation officers and county probation officers.]

estimated yet, but he thinks it will be over $1,000. They cut furs and coats and ruined the furniture. They used the fire extinguisher and spoiled the carpets, etc. They took out the hinges of the safe, but did not find any money, which probably angered them and led them to destroy the articles. The watchman heard them in the store and called for the police, who sent fifteen officers and arrested the boys right in the store.

*Later.*—Telephoned psychiatrist and gave him above report.

*January 5, 1920.*—Case up in Juvenile Court. Walter's case was continued, pending the filing of a feeble-minded petition. Nicholas was sent for three months to the County School for Delinquent Boys. Both boys admitted that they did the cutting and destroying of the articles because they failed to obtain any money. John Pilsulski said the reason they broke in was that he was trying to get money for the Zuchola boys because Mrs. Zuchola would not give them enough.

*January 6, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola seemed rather consoled with the idea that Walter will be away from home. She said that people talked about her because she did not keep the boys in the home when they were mere children, but she said that it was better for them to be on the street because while in the house Mr. Zuchola would always be annoyed by them and beat them unmercifully. They were always hiding in the attic or basement when he was threatening to beat them. Mrs. Zuchola felt very sorry, especially for Nicholas, because he would hide and cry. There was nothing she could do to prevent Mr. Zuchola from beating the children.

*January 10, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said she has been very ill for the last two nights, spitting blood. She went to the Dispensary and the doctor sent her to the County Hospital for an X-ray of her chest.

*Later.*—Sent county doctor to see Mrs. Zuchola (in response to telephone call that she was feeling very badly).

*January 12, 1920.*—Visited. County doctor left note that Mrs. Zuchola should be taken immediately to the County Hospital.

*Later.*—Mrs. Zuchola taken to County Hospital in Police Ambulance (called by Welfare Agency). Victoria and Stanyslava are with their aunt, Mrs. Ostroski, to whom Welfare Agency will pay $2.50 a week for each child.

*January 19, 1920.*—Telephoned County Hospital. Head nurse reported Mrs. Zuchola will be dismissed, as they found no indications of tuberculosis.

*January 20, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola at home. Said she still does not feel well. Mrs. Zuchola seems to be very nervous and sees everything in a very bad light. The woman downstairs is suffering with syphilis, and this caused Mrs. Zuchola to go to Dispensary because she said she had the same symptoms as this woman. Her aunt was suffering with a hemorrhage, and Mrs. Zuchola suspected that she too was having a hemorrhage although she spat very little blood. She still insists that she is very ill and is anxious to go to a doctor.

*January 22, 1920.*—Called at school, and talked with third-grade teacher, in whose room Victoria is. She says Victoria is very poor in arithmetic and reading; feels that she has too much responsibility at home and is therefore behind in her work. She is very regular in attendance.

*January 22, 1920.*—Walter was committed by the Juvenile Court to State School for the Feeble-minded.[1]

*January 24, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said she was feeling miserable. She called on her brother, Mr. Gronowski, who scolded her for having Walter committed to the State School. He told her to take Mr. Zuchola out and that both of the older boys should live with him, apart from her. Mrs. Zuchola's nervousness seems to be caused partly from the constant nagging of her relatives.

*Later.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office with diagnosis from physician, to whom Welfare Agency had sent her. Diagnosis: hyperacidity of stomach. Gave prescription.

*January 27, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola feels much better. The home was immaculately clean, which showed that she is really able to keep a nice home when given a chance. She said that until he was twelve Nicholas would always tell her when Walter, John Pilsulski, "Greeny" Kukulski, and other boys planned to rob a store or do some mischief. He never wanted to join them, but the boys would threaten him with a beating. She thinks that Walter must have told the boys that Nicholas told her everything, and Nicholas because of fear joined the crowd. She said Peter had never had a desire to be with those boys. His friends were of good behavior, and they would play soldiers and Peter would be the captain. Captain Stirling at Braedalbane Farm is very fond of him. For Christmas he gave him a good pair of shoes and stockings. He sits with the Captain at the table and seems to be a general favorite there.

[1] [See below, p. 883, for statute governing commitment to institutions for feeble-minded.]

*February 3, 1920.*—Visited. Nicholas, who has been at home for the week-end from the County School, has gained two pounds in ten days. He is doing manual work at the school and likes it very much.

*February 24, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola had taken Victoria and Stanyslava to the Dispensary. Did not feel that the girls were as nervous as doctor told her. They drink a great deal of milk and sleep every afternoon. They are growing very fast and Mrs. Zuchola has to lengthen their dresses all the time. Nicholas has brought a bookrack and a footstool which he made at the school. He was told that he will not be allowed to leave the school until his tonsils have been taken out.

*March 19, 1920.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office saying that Mr. Zuchola has escaped today from the State Hospital. She told him to return to hospital, but he begged her to hide him for three months. After this time they would not search for him any longer. Mrs. Zuchola does not want to live with him, as she knows that home conditions would be worse, as he is a bad influence on the children and on her.

*Later.*—Telephoned State Hospital. They have reported Mr. Zuchola to the Chicago Police Station.

*March 22, 1920.*—Called on Father Slominski, who knows where Mr. Zuchola is. Said that he realizes that Mr. Zuchola is not quite right but that he is not bad enough to be in an asylum. The reason for escape was that he and some other men were supposed to be taken to some other insane asylum. Mr. Zuchola is staying with a friend, and will go to work, as Mrs. Zuchola refuses to take him back. Father Slominski blames Mrs. Zuchola for the home conditions and for the bad behavior of the boys.

*Later.*—Talked with Mr. Gronowski, brother of Mrs. Zuchola, who said that Father Slominski is very much interested in Mr. Zuchola and will probably get him into a seminary where he can do some work. Mr. Gronowski approves of this plan. Said that he realizes that Mrs. Zuchola has improved, and also the home conditions, but still feels sorry for Mr. Zuchola, whom they look upon as a victim of neglect.

*March 24, 1920.*—Head of social service, State Hospital, telephoned that institution physician gave following report: "Mr. Zuchola got along very well in the industrial shop, and had parole of grounds. He was delusional but not dangerous. He had religious delusions and ideas of infidelity of his wife. If he annoys Mrs. Zuchola, the hospital will take him back."

*April 3, 1920.*—Superintendent, County School for Delinquent Boys, telephones that Mr. Anderson, Warrenville, Illinois, wishes to employ Nicholas on his farm. He is at the school and Nicholas is very anxious to return with him. Superintendent advises this because of boy's apparent interest and need of outdoor life. Asks that a written consent be secured from Mrs. Zuchola. He will keep in touch with Nicholas for a year or so as probation period.

*April 13, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola has not heard from Nicholas. She is very glad that he had the opportunity to go on a farm, which he was always anxious to do. Mr. Zuchola called on April 9 in the evening, and remained for two hours arguing with her. He is begging her to take him back as he is earning $25 and promises to be a different man. He kissed the children's hands and begged them also to encourage their mother. Mrs. Zuchola, however, does not consider his wish, as she is afraid of him. She said that the home conditions have changed entirely with him away, and she is sure that if he returns his influence will have the same effect as before. She told him not to come again and threatened to call the police if he does. Mrs. Zuchola will begin to work.

*April 26, 1920.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office. She is starting work at the Avondale Lunchroom, hours 10:00–4:00. Walter has written that there was an "earthquake" at the State School, and she should take him home immediately. He is in the baking-room as helper.

*May 3, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola likes her work, but it tires her very much. On April 28, Mr. Zuchola called again. He gave her $10 so that she may visit Walter. Mrs. Zuchola is constantly worried over Walter. People have told her that he has to stay in the State School all his life, and under these conditions she does not want him to stay there. Relatives are always telling her to take the children and Mr. Zuchola back and Mrs. Zuchola is becoming quite upset over this, although she agrees entirely to the wisdom of the present arrangement. Mr. Zuchola told her that after his three months' absence from the State Hospital is over he will come and live with her.

*May 12, 1920.*—Called at school for report. Victoria, third grade, does not do written work well. She is slightly careless, her attention is fair. She is neat and clean, large for her age, behavior good, attendance irregular in the last two weeks. Stanyslava, slow mentally, gets lessons slowly, but retains them well. She is a good writer and a hard worker, but her reading is poor. She is clean and

neat, and is a very good child. Irregular attendance this last two weeks.

*May 13, 1920.*—Visited. Victoria and Stanyslava said they were absent from school two afternoons because on one afternoon they were unable to find the keys, and the other afternoon Victoria had a toothache. One day they were absent because it was a religious holiday.

Mr. Zuchola wants to return June 19, and Mrs. Zuchola is positive that "something" will happen.

*May 15, 1920.*—Worker at Dispensary reports that both Victoria and Stanyslava have improved greatly and are in very good health. Doctor advises that Stanyslava's tonsils be removed, also Victoria's but latter is not so urgent.

*May 18, 1920.*—Case up in General Advisory Committee. It was the general opinion that Mrs. Zuchola should not be urged to take Mr. Zuchola into the home, but that if he wishes to contribute toward the support of the children, she accept some small sum from him.

*May 25, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola was much pleased at having seen Walter. He has improved physically, and she is satisfied with the care he is receiving. He still insists that Mrs. Zuchola should take him home. Mr. Zuchola called again on family, and gave Mrs. Zuchola $5.00 and told her he would return June 19. Mrs. Zuchola is not working. She went to County Free Dispensary because of her eyes and is receiving treatment. As soon as she gets eyeglasses she will go to work again.

*June 2, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola said that Mr. Zuchola has lost his position; she does not know why. She is positive that he will cause a great deal of trouble, and if so she will have him recommitted.

*June 7, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola has been ill. She again received two letters from Walter, in which he threatened to kill himself unless taken out, and it seems that this caused her illness. County doctor was called. Mrs. Zuchola went next day to County Free Dispensary, where she was examined and assured that her condition was only a nervous one.

*July 2, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola, Victoria, and Stanyslava have just returned from a two weeks' outing. Neighbors say that Sunday, June 27, Nicholas was at home. Wrote Mr. Anderson asking if Nicholas came to city with his permission.

*July 13, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola was notified by officers of the State School that Walter had escaped on July 4.

*July 21, 1920.*—Visited. In the evening, and by appointment met Mrs. Zuchola's two brothers, Stanley and Alexander Gronowski. The latter is visiting Mrs. Zuchola. He lives in Brooklyn. He has studied medicine, but after returning from the army he studied pharmacy and at present is working in a drugstore. He is a very refined, wholesome young man, with a good education. He has achieved this by working his way through school and college. Mrs. Stanley Gronowski and Mr. Zuchola were also present. Mr. Zuchola wore a new suit which he bought for $50 and looked very neat. He begged everyone to influence Mrs. Zuchola to take him back. Said he would take all the children home and help to make something of them.

After two and a half hours, they all came to the conclusion that Mr. Zuchola ought to stay away from Mrs. Zuchola and should pay about $10 for the children. Mrs. Zuchola, when mentioning some of the things he had done, said that the main reason for not taking him back is the fear that he would kill her. Mrs. Gronowski said she remembered, when calling on the Zuchola family on Evergreen Street, that the home conditions were beyond description. The family lived in a three-room flat, there was no bedding, no clothing, and Mr. Zuchola was always in church. Mrs. Ostroski had to feed the family on what was left from her meals, and Mrs. Zuchola was doing washing for about seven families. Mr. Alexander Gronowski said that they never had enough to eat. He was very pleased to find home conditions improved, and Mrs. Zuchola much younger in appearance. They feel differently toward Mrs. Zuchola, whom they have always blamed for the bad conditions.

Mrs. Zuchola, when she was eighteen years of age, was sent by an industrial school, to which she had been sent by Mrs. Ostroski, to an old noblewoman who is very prominent in the old nobility of Europe. Mrs. Zuchola stayed with her three years and talks of it as the happiest time of her life. She was a companion to this old lady and would take charge of the little household. She lived very quietly and contentedly until her father told her she would have to go to America. After much persuasion she left.

*July 27, 1920.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office saying that Walter came home July 23. He told her that he had been in St. Louis with two other boys and later went to Bushline, Illinois, where he worked in a hotel. Mrs. Zuchola bought him underwear and trousers for $15. She does not wish him to be sent back to the State School.

*Later.*—Visited. Walter has improved physically. Said he did not care to stay in the State School, and promised to work. Mrs. Zuchola received a letter from Captain Stirling, Braedalbane Farm, saying that Peter's behavior is beyond reproach, that he is a very good boy.

*July 28, 1920.*—Telephoned Illinois Avenue Police Station, and made arrangements to have Walter returned to the State School.

*July 30, 1920.*—Social worker, State Hospital, telephones that she is sending a worker to see Mrs. Zuchola. Mr. Zuchola should report to their clinic on Sunday afternoon.

*Later.*—Psychologist, Juvenile Detention Home, telephones that Walter should not be given a release from the State School, but a vacation might show whether there is a possibility of his adjusting himself to his surroundings.

*August 9, 1920.*—Victoria and Stanyslava sent to Bellevue, Illinois, for two weeks' outing. Slips signed by Dr. Holmes.

*August 12, 1920.*—Visited. Peter was at home for one week's vacation. Mrs. Zuchola very happy, as she is extremely fond of him. Peter says that his father wants him to be a priest and does not want him to go back to Braedalbane Farm, but he does not take his father seriously—is anxious to stay until he is through school. He is learning mechanics, and his desire is to go to a technical school and become a mechanic.

*August 16, 1920.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office with letter from Juvenile Court as she was trying to have Walter released. The letter said that the court was unable to do anything for her as the superintendent of the State School reported that there is no question that Walter is delinquent and that he ought to be placed in an institution for delinquent boys, where he should remain from ten to fifteen years. Mrs. Zuchola is discouraged.

*September 2, 1920.*—Worker of Neighborhood House Nutrition Clinic reports that Victoria and Stanyslava are attending regularly. Victoria has gained four pounds and Stanyslava two and a quarter in six weeks.

*September 7, 1920.*—Talked to Father Slominski at Our Lady of Sorrows Church. He does not agree with Welfare Agency plan in regard to money. Thinks if Mrs. Zuchola were not given help she would take Mr. Zuchola back. Father Slominski does not believe that Mr. Zuchola is dangerous, as he tells him everything, and nothing indicated such things as Mrs. Zuchola told. Father Slominski told

him not to give his wife money but he insisted on doing so, as he is too fond of her and the children, and the only advice that he could give is that Welfare Agency should discontinue help and that Mr. Zuchola should return home.

*September 30, 1920.*—Visited. Suggested to Mrs. Zuchola that she should let Victoria go to Neighborhood House Camp. Mrs. Zuchola is not willing to have her go, saying that she worries so much about the children who are away, and this would only add more to her worries. Mr. Zuchola calls every week, giving her $10 in addition to Welfare Agency's weekly allowance.

*October 7, 1920.*—Called on Nicholas at Warrenville, Illinois. He has grown strong; but his face is still anemic looking, and he lacks will power and does just what he is told to do and seems to be satisfied with very little. He does not wish to go back to Chicago but wishes to remain on this farm. He said the work is not very heavy and the food is good. He gets up at 5:00 A.M. and goes to bed at 9:00. Sunday morning Mr. Anderson takes him to the Catholic church. The rest of the day he spends with a boy from a neighboring farm. Walter has written to him asking him to get him a job in Warrenville, but Nicholas did not answer his letter as he did not want him to escape from the State School. His teeth are in bad condition, so visitor provided toothbrush and powder and advised him to see the dentist.

Mrs. Anderson does not seem to be a very capable housekeeper. She is of average intelligence. Said she is unable to keep her six small children and the house very clean because of the heavy work. They rent this farm which covers 126 acres. They are fond of Nicholas. They have paid him $20 a month for the last two months. He is saving this money to buy himself a suit and shoes.

*Later.*—Worker at Neighborhood House reports that Victoria has been examined by Dr. Moore, who recommended that her teeth should be repaired, and Stanyslava's teeth also. Her school hours should be limited to half a day.

*October 13, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola was glad to hear of Nicholas and thinks that he ought to stay as long as he likes it. Suggested to Mrs. Zuchola that visitor will no longer call regularly, as conditions are quite settled at the present time. Mrs. Zuchola said that she had just a few days ago talked to her sister-in-law, saying that the time has come when she can be independent. She appreciates whatever visitor has done and hopes that she can be entirely

independent in a short time. Victoria and Stanyslava had their teeth attended to and Stanyslava will have her tonsils taken out. The children are going to attend a show through Neighborhood House.

*November 10, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola was unable to get any work so far, as most of the tailor-shops are closed. She is doing housework for her sister-in-law, Mrs. Gronowski. Mrs. Zuchola was looking for a mangle, but the cheapest was $350. She doubts if her aunt would buy another one. She is still attending night school and hopes to get a better position. Mr. Zuchola is constantly begging to return, and Mrs. Zuchola is getting rather impatient and threatening to have him put back in the State Hospital again. She wishes she could get a divorce. Mr. Zuchola occasionally gives her extra money and she is getting along fairly well. Her shelves in the pantry are full of canned vegetables, which she raised in her garden.

*January 8, 1921.*—Letter received from Braedalbane Farm stating that Peter is making satisfactory progress. He is a little slow in school work but "strong in effort." Those at the school are fond of him and want to see him graduate and take his last three years in high school.

*January 20, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola is very anxious for Mr. Zuchola to stay away from the home and is still thinking about getting a divorce. She is doing washing for Miss Webb, 2240 La Fayette Avenue, and cleaning for Mrs. Burt, 2657 Bellevue Place [both jobs obtained through efforts of Welfare Agency]. Her income amounts to about $20 a week, including Mr. Zuchola's contribution. The girls are still attending the nutrition clinic at Neighborhood House.

*February 14, 1921.*—Victoria in office, saying her mother is ill.

*Later* (*in evening*).—Called. Mrs. Zuchola was in bed but evidently her sickness was caused by her constant worry over Mr. Zuchola. Mr. Gronowski and his wife were there. Mrs. Gronowski said that when Mr. Zuchola comes to visit family, they all seem to be quite happy; the children seem quite fond of him but get worked up because Mrs. Zuchola gets nervous. Mr. Gronowski said Mr. Zuchola should be allowed to call (he only comes Saturdays and Sundays), but feels that someone should tell him to leave at 9:00. Mr. Gronowski is worried over Mrs. Zuchola's condition, as he is afraid she will become a nervous wreck. Mr. Zuchola is working with him and does satisfactory work and is earning as much as the other men who do the same work.

*February 24, 1921.*—Dr. Bondfield of the Dispensary reports that Mrs. Zuchola is nervous from her trouble and there is nothing wrong organically. Her last call was on February 5.

*Later.*—Social worker from State Hospital and resident of Neighborhood House in office to discuss the situation. They suggested that Mr. Zuchola should be put on three months' probation. He should call Friday afternoon at Illinois Clinic. There he would be told not to see Mrs. Zuchola at all and to meet the children at the home of relatives. They also suggest that Mrs. Zuchola should accept a position which would keep her fully occupied and away from her present surroundings. Victoria is developing nervousness because of Mrs. Zuchola's constant worry and should be sent away from home for a short time.

*March 7, 1921.*—Called at the Reichardt Piano Company and talked to Mr. Zuchola's former foreman in regard to giving Mr. Zuchola employment, as he had worked there for many years and is well known to them. The foreman was interested to know of family's present condition. They will re-employ Mr. Zuchola.

*March 8, 1921.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office, asking if Walter could not be sent home as soon as possible. She has been two days at the State School. He is working too hard, shoveling coal all day. Suggested to Mrs. Zuchola that she accept position as a cook at the Emerald Lake Camp of Neighborhood House. Mrs. Zuchola is very uncertain about it, and thinks that with Walter at home she could make ends meet. She is considering taking Mr. Zuchola home, as she has heard that Walter would have a better chance to be released if his father was in the home.

*March 14, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Gronowski was there. She was rather discouraged about Mrs. Zuchola, who is using all her nervous energy in making plans to get the children home and to keep Mr. Zuchola away. Mrs. Gronowski told visitor that Mrs. Zuchola's father came to America first, bringing with him all his daughters except one who refused to come. His wife followed later with the boys. The daughter who remained in Poland, without being married, went to live with a man of evil reputation. When Mrs. Zuchola's mother arrived here and told of her daughter's behavior, her husband became bitter against her. Two years later he sent her back to Poland to get this daughter. However, when she arrived in Poland, she heard that the man had been shot shortly after she left and that her daughter had disappeared. She wrote this to her husband and he

refused to have anything more to do with her. She went to Bremen, Germany, to wait for her steamer, and her husband, learning of this, arranged with the authorities not to let her come to the United States, reporting to them that she had some eye trouble. She remained there for several months, working. Her money was exhausted and she became physically run down and she wrote several times to the children in the United States to send her money for transportation. Only one of these letters reached the children, and they finally arranged for her to come. When they did this, the husband left New Jersey where they were living and went into Connecticut.

At that time Mrs. Zuchola was already married and upon her mother's arrival she took her into her home. However, she never was very happy there, as Mr. Zuchola was already beginning to show signs of insanity. The mother later followed Mrs. Zuchola to Chicago and gradually became blind and two months before her death she became mentally deranged. She was always complaining of having pains all over her body and used to rub herself constantly with wood alcohol. Here Stanley Gronowski, who was then seventeen years old, married his first wife, who was twenty-eight years old. Stanley got a divorce from his wife but the custody of the children was given to the wife. He kidnapped one child and went to his father, who lived somewhere in Connecticut. When his father heard of Mr. Zuchola's insanity and of the son's divorce, as well as of his wife's death, he died suddenly of heart failure.

*March 21, 1921.*—Talked with Mrs. Gronowski. Said she has no more patience with Mrs. Zuchola, who is preparing their meals and also doing their washing; but Mrs. Zuchola does not ever have the meals ready and does not want to do the washing, although Mrs. Gronowski pays her very well for it. She discourages Mrs. Zuchola about taking Walter home.

*Later.*—Case up before Juvenile Court as Mrs. Zuchola had filed petition for the release of Walter.

The judge dismissed the case. Said he would only act upon the recommendation of superintendent of State School. When the judge asked Mrs. Zuchola why she wants Walter home, she said that the Welfare Agency has discontinued help and she wants him to work.

Mrs. Zuchola considers herself too ill to do any sort of work. However, she does not show any signs of illness but is extremely nervous and this condition she brings upon herself by her constant worrying.

*April 21, 1921.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office, asking advice. She has received a letter from the superintendent of the State School, notifying her that Walter is going to be transferred to another division of the institution. She agreed to have Victoria go to Preventorium if arrangements can be made.

Gave Mrs. Zuchola spring coat for herself from donation.

*May 3, 1921.*—Landlord in office, saying that Welfare Agency should influence Mrs. Zuchola to move. Says that Mrs. Zuchola is inconsiderate and assured visitor that Mrs. Zuchola is "just as bad" as Mr. Zuchola. She does not take care of the flat properly. Mr. Zuchola is paying the rent himself.

*July 6, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola and the children look very well. Mrs. Zuchola said Mr. Zuchola brings them a great deal of food, besides his $10 contribution. Last week he brought her a large bouquet of roses, which embarrassed her very much before the neighbors. Victoria is leaving for Preventorium July 26, and she seems to be very glad to go. Mrs. Zuchola is always very anxious to talk family situation over with visitor, as people tell her that the children are being sent away because she is incapable of caring for them. But after discussing matters with visitor, she realizes that it was her own planning and for the welfare of her children.

*August 1, 1921.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office asking summer outing for herself and Stanyslava. Peter has come home for ten days. Mr. Zuchola is planning to return home as soon as Peter leaves. Landlord asked them to stay, although he raised the rent from $10 to $18, which she is willing to pay until she finds other rooms. Landlord told her that his wife is causing all the trouble.

*Later.*—Peter in office. He is a tall, fine-looking lad. He has finished the seventh grade.

*August 10, 1921.*—Mrs. Zuchola and Stanyslava went to Summer Camp for two weeks. Medical slips signed by Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

*September 1, 1921.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office with Nicholas. Latter decided to come home and work.

*September 16, 1921.*—Secured work for Nicholas at the Economy Electric Company.

*Later.*—Talked to Mrs. Gronowski. She said that Nicholas stayed with her for one week. Mr. Gronowski had taken him to work, but he refused to stay there. Mrs. Zuchola visited Victoria, who has gained eight pounds.

*October 27, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola moved into a nice, light flat. She is working very hard to make the home attractive; is especially interested in making things pleasant for Nicholas. She is doing several washings a week. Mr. Zuchola is still paying her $10. Mrs. Zuchola threw away a large number of booklets which he received from the church. Mr. Zuchola found them in the rubbish and spent a long time picking them out. He took them with him. Mrs. Zuchola and Stanyslava have gone to see Victoria, who is continuing to gain.

*October 28, 1921.*—Talked to director, Neighborhood Center, in regard to Nicholas. She will send an older boy to persuade him to join the classes at the Center.

*November 23, 1921.*—Mrs. Zuchola conferred with Juvenile Court authorities about releasing Walter; but, as managing officer opposed release, official would not file petition.

*December 22, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Zuchola is expecting Peter home for Christmas. Her home is very attractive and immaculately clean. Showed visitor the nice clothing she got for Nicholas with money saved out of his pay. Mrs. Zuchola said that he does go out a great deal with some boys of the neighborhood, but has promised never to get into trouble.

Mrs. Zuchola and Stanyslava attended Christmas party at Neighborhood House.

*April 8, 1922.*—While visiting Preventorium, talked to Victoria, who has gained twenty-seven pounds. She is a very beautiful, strongly built girl, and seems quite sensible and intelligent. Superintendent said that at first Victoria seemed very slow and had the habit of staring at people and acting in a very childish manner. Superintendent took a special interest in breaking her of this habit. She is now very bright in class and the strongest girl in school. She is to go home next week.

*April 13, 1922.*—Visited. Victoria returned home from Preventorium. Mrs. Zuchola was very grateful for the care received by child. The home looked very attractive. There were cretonne curtains on the doors and fresh white curtains on the windows. Each room has a rug and everything is kept immaculately clean. Victoria seemed pleased with the surroundings. Mrs. Zuchola seemed worried about Nicholas, who is very anxious to go back to the farm. Said things have gone pretty well during the winter and she was able to put a little money aside. Without his help, it will be

difficult. She has given up some of the washings, as she felt it was a strain on her heart. Mr. Zuchola calls as usual and still contributes. He continues to beg her to take him home, but she refuses to do so.

Stanyslava is going to attend Nutrition Clinic. She does not look very well. She was very lonesome without Victoria.

*May 9, 1922.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office, asking if Welfare Agency would arrange for Walter to come home for a vacation. She feels very strongly that children have had very little chance, and now, since the home is so attractive, she is anxious for Walter to have a chance under these conditions. She is doing her best to make up for the past and thinks that Walter will do better. However, should he not adjust himself, she is willing to have him return immediately.

Letter written to superintendent, State School for the Feeble-minded, by district superintendent, as follows:

Will you kindly send us a report of Walter Zuchola, who has been at your institution for the past year?

His mother came to our office today, asking whether or not it would be possible to have Walter come home for a visit. She feels strongly that he should be given a chance out of the institution. Should he fail to adjust himself to his surroundings, she would be willing to send him back immediately. Do you advise such a step? Is Walter more stable now than on his entrance to the School, and does he grade any higher? Does he still threaten to "get even" with people?

The home conditions are much improved. The father, who is insane but out of the asylum, does not live with Mrs. Zuchola, but visits the home often and contributes toward the support of his children.

*Later.*—Superintendent, Preventorium, said that Stanyslava could be considered later for admission, but at present they feel it is not necessary, as she is not under weight.

*May 12, 1922.*—The following letter received from the managing officer of the State School for the Feeble-minded:

Replying to your inquiry of May 9 in regard to Walter Zuchola will say that this boy is in very good physical health. A psychological examination at this time gives him a grade of almost two years higher than the psychometrical examination made February 28, 1920. He is now barely feeble-minded; in fact, grading leniently, his intelligence quotient is almost seventy.

He has been working under supervision in our carpenter shop and has been doing quite well. We feel that it would be necessary to give this boy very close supervision to see that he does not associate with bad companions, should he be allowed to go home for a visit.

On one occasion within a year, he, with another boy, broke into our store building. We believe, however, that Walter was led into this wrong-doing by the other boy.

We have not heard of his threatening to get even with anyone during that time.

If the home conditions, as you say, are much improved and this boy could be given the supervision which we suggest, we would have no marked objections to his visit at home.

*May 15, 1922.*—Letter written managing officer, State School for the Feeble-minded:

We were very glad to hear that Walter Zuchola has improved at your institution.

We talked to his mother, who has promised to keep him away from bad companions and do her best for his welfare. As we stated, the home is very attractive and always immaculately clean; we feel that this pleasant environment should have a beneficial influence on the boy.

Mrs. Zuchola is willing to have Walter return to the State School should he fail to adjust himself at home. Could you write us as to what kind of work would be advisable for him, as we are very anxious to have him start working as soon as he begins his vacation?

Will you kindly let us know the exact time of his arrival in Chicago and the length of time he is to be on vacation?

*May 16, 1922.*—Letter written to Walter Zuchola by District Superintendent:

You have probably received word from your mother that you are to come home on a vacation. I am very glad that you are doing so well and I am sure that this experience was a great help to you.

I do hope that you will try your best, while you are at home on your vacation, to be a better boy and that you will work steadily and keep away from bad boys. Your mother has worried a great deal about you, and now you must show her that all her hopes for you were not in vain.

We have been told how you broke into the store building with another boy. You should not have done such a thing knowing that it would only keep you away longer. I hope that that was the last bad deed which you will do. It is now up to you to become a man and make yourself and your family happy.

Victoria has gained twenty-seven pounds at Preventorium. She certainly is now a healthy-looking girl. The girls are very anxious to see you, as are also your mother and Nicholas.

With best wishes to you.

*May 18, 1922.*—Letter to superintendent received from Walter Zuchola:

I have received your letter of May 16. I am very glad to hear that mother is going to take me home for a vacation. I would like to know the month she is going to come out so that I could clean up a little for her and also be ready.

The managing officer asked me if I would be a better boy if he would let me go home for a parole, and I told him that I will do most anything for my mother and also I promised him that I wouldn't get into any trouble or I wouldn't go with bad company if I went home.

These places will learn any boy to be good because he will get tired some and get lonesome for home and he will think it over to himself and then he will feel sorry for what he did. This is the way I feel now. If I should have another chance out in the world I would turn a new leaf and start all over again living a clean life.

I have learnt a carpenter trade while I was out here and I also studied out of his book which he brought from home for me to learn. I am very busy now for two or three weeks to work.

I am glad to hear that everybody wants me home, all but Nicholas he doesn't. I will do most anything for my mother or you.

So I will close for this time and I'm hoping to hear from you soon.

*May 21, 1922.*—Letter to superintendent from managing officer of State School for the Feeble-minded:

In reply to your letter of May 15 in regard to a vacation for Walter Zuchola, will say that with your recommendation, we will permit him to take a two weeks' vacation as specified by law, at any time Mrs. Zuchola or another relative may come for him.

He is assisting our carpenter and seems to do this work fairly well.

You undoubtedly are aware that this boy was out on one occasion in 1920 and could not get along.

*June 7, 1922.*—Visited. Walter came home on a two weeks' vacation. He looks very well, and Mrs. Zuchola says that he accepted a position, but she did not know where. He is very anxious to work, to show that he can do well and so took the first position offered him.

*June 15, 1922.*—Letter written to superintendent, Illinois Free Employment Bureau, Chicago, Illinois:

May we ask you to help us in getting suitable work for our Walter Zuchola. Walter is nineteen years of age, in very good physical health. Two years ago he was sent to the State School for Feeble-minded, as he was somewhat feeble-minded. However, it seems that the poor condition in the home and poverty handicapped him in his development.

We have just had a report from the State School, saying that he has done very well and while there has learned the carpenter's trade. They have given him a vacation, and we are very anxious that he shall get work at his trade, in order to prove that he is able to be out in society. His mother has suffered a great deal of hardship, and at the present time the home conditions are much improved, and we feel that under the present circumstances he will adjust himself. The doctor says that he can hardly be called feeble-minded any more.

We will certainly appreciate your effort on behalf of this family, as Mrs. Zuchola is receiving only $10 a week from her husband. There is, however, a seventeen-year-old boy working, but there are five children in the family.

*June 19, 1922.*—Visited in the evening. Walter has grown considerably and appears to be in very good physical condition. He looks younger than Nicholas, who is tall and heavy-set. Walter is very anxious to do his best, so that he will not be sent back to the State School. He did not go to Illinois Free Employment Bureau to see about the carpenter work, as he likes his work at the Chicago Sales Company. He does not go around with Nicholas, who still associates with John Pilsulski. Mrs. Zuchola is very happy to have the children at home, although she worries about Nicholas, who constantly tells her that he wants to work on a farm. He just brought her $46 which he received as a bonus. Mrs. Zuchola keeps on making improvements in her home and spends much time in caring for her flowers and plants. There is always a bouquet of flowers on the table.

*Later.*—Accompanied Walter to Neighborhood House and to head of the boys' work, who made an appointment with him for following evening. He will make some constructive plan for Walter.

*June 21, 1922.*—Letter written managing officer, State School:

We are writing to you in regard to Walter Zuchola, whom you have sent home on a two weeks vacation. He is trying very hard to do well. Upon his arrival he took the first position offered him, but having in mind to change as soon as he has a better one in view. He finally succeeded in getting a position as an inspector at Chicago Sales Company. He started on June 15. We are wondering if you would prolong his vacation. We will keep in touch with him and his employer, and will report to you in the near future. We also interested him in the Boys' Club at the Neighborhood House, where he spends three evenings a week.

We thank you for the interest you have taken in this boy.

*June 24, 1922.*—Letter received from managing officer, State School:

Your letter of June 21 has been received. In answer will say that Walter Zuchola was committed to the State School and Colony by the Juvenile Court. The law in such cases authorizes a parole or vacation of only two weeks in each calendar year. Under the circumstances we have no authority to extend beyond this period.

It is possible that the Juvenile Court might upon request make some variation in the former order of commitment. If this is done, it will be all right with us. Otherwise, it will be necessary to return him at the expiration of his two weeks' period.

*August 18, 1922.*—Victoria and Stanyslava sent for two weeks' outing.

*October 3, 1922.*—Letter received from managing officer, State School:

On June 23 we wrote you in regard to Walter Zuchola, who was paroled on June 7 for a two weeks' vacation. He is still on our records as out on parole.

Upon your recommendation that home conditions were much better, this boy was given an opportunity of going out on two weeks' parole as specified by law. If Walter is doing well on the outside, we believe that his mother should ask a variation of the Court order and you might explain to the Court that Walter is doing well and perhaps they could make a variation in the order.

Since absence from the institution under present conditions is illegal, it will be necessary for us to notify the Sheriff to return him providing we do not hear from you or his mother within the course of a few days.

*Later.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office. Nicholas is stealing small trinkets from a neighboring firm. She burns up any she finds in his possession. She is afraid he will get into trouble. Is unwilling to have anyone talk to the firm as Nicholas says that would show them what a queer mother he has.

*October 6, 1922.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office. Nicholas was arrested and sent to the Bridewell. Officer of court intimated that Mrs. Zuchola was as bad as Nicholas. She is very much upset over the matter and scarcely knows what to do.

*October 9, 1922.*—Letter written managing officer, State School:

I have talked with the Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court, in regard to the case of Walter Zuchola. It is his suggestion that Mrs. Zuchola file petition requesting Walter's release and that the matter come up for final decision before the Juvenile Court.

I am asking you to extend the time for returning Walter to the School, as the case worker, who has always handled this situation, is now on her vacation in Europe. She will not return to the organization until the first of November. As soon as she is back in the city, we will have this matter taken up immediately. You will be glad to know that Walter is doing very well at home, that he works every day, and that his mother feels he is a very helpful member of the family.

*October 12, 1922.*—Letter received from managing officer, State School:

Replying to your letter of October 9 in regard to the extending of the parole of Walter Zuchola, I beg to state that we have no authority to extend the parole of any patient, as the law specifically states that the patient may be paroled for two weeks of each calendar year. If he is making good, we would have no objection to his permanent release if his case is taken up before the Court.

We are exceedingly glad to know that Walter is doing as well as he is.

*November 6, 1922.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office with Walter, who has been discharged from Chicago Sales Company. He is anxious to return, as he thinks there was no serious reason for his discharge. Nicholas is working. Mrs. Zuchola felt that Nicholas did only what the other boys who worked with him were doing, and, therefore, she does not feel that his offense was so serious. She had warned him, but he would always say that the other boys were doing it.

Telephoned Walter's employer in regard to him. He said that Walter broke the rules and spent too much time in the washroom. They warned him several times, but he does not seem to comprehend. Under no circumstances will they re-employ him, as he is of very little use to them.

*November 7, 1922.*—Talked to Walter in regard to work. He still seems quite childish. However, he is making an effort to work steadily and so far has never held a position as long as the last one at the Chicago Sales Company. He has found other work, in a plumbing concern. He joined some clubs at Neighborhood House.

*November 11, 1922.*—Superintendent of Preventorium, sent the following report:

Victoria was eleven years old on entering and her mental condition was equal to a child of nine years. She improved rapidly and before leaving she was one of the best helpers. She was in excellent condition.

*November 24, 1922.*—Case up in Juvenile Court in regard to releasing Walter permanently from the State School (at Mrs. Zuchola's

request). Walter was put on probation, and Mrs. Zuchola has to appear in court again in May, 1923.

*December 19, 1922.*—Victoria and Stanyslava will attend Christmas party at Neighborhood House.

Peter is at home on a week's vacation from Braedalbane.

*March 1, 1923.*—Mrs. Zuchola in office asking advice. Said that Walter and Nicholas have told her that from now on they are going to pay her board and try to save up some money. Nicholas said that some day he wants to marry and be able to make a home. Mrs. Zuchola said that she would be satisfied with this arrangement if she were positive that the boys would open up bank accounts. They are both working regularly. Advised Mrs. Zuchola to open up bank accounts for them and keep close watch over them. She is still thinking of getting a divorce from Mr. Zuchola, but she realizes that she has no ground.[1] He still pays his contribution to the household regularly, but becomes very troublesome.

*April 2, 1923.*—Mrs. Zuchola invited to her home for Easter a neighbor, whose husband had deserted, who has several small children and was having a hard time. She also gave this neighbor (whom she had met through the Welfare Agency) all the clothing her children had outgrown.

*Later.*—Letter written to Captain Stirling, Braedalbane Farm.

Would you kindly send us a report of Peter Zuchola? We are very interested to know what his plans are for the coming year. Is he returning home? If so, would you advise us to get a scholarship for him so that he may attend high school?

We would appreciate your suggestions in this regard.

It may interest you to know that the home conditions are much improved. The two oldest boys, Walter and Nicholas, who have caused so much trouble in the family, are now at home and so far have been working regularly and contributing toward the upkeep of the home. Mr. Zuchola, since leaving the Chicago State Hospital, is not living at home, but visits there.

*April 5, 1923.*—Letter received from Captain Stirling:

I am just in receipt of your letter of April 2, and in reply I am glad to say that Peter Zuchola has, this last year, made the very best kind of progress.

We are deeply interested in his future plans, and we are more than sorry to see him go out from Braedalbane. If you feel that the home conditions

[1] [See below, p. 895 for statute enumerating grounds on which a claim for divorce can be based.]

will in any way interfere with this boy's progress, we would a great deal rather keep him right here, and enter him in one of the country high schools.

If, however, you think it advisable for him to go to the city, I sincerely hope that he can continue his high-school work—preferably at a technical school. He has considerable mechanical ability, and I should very much like to see this developed.

Should his mother feel that she is not able to let him continue high-school work, I would be very glad to assume the responsibility myself, and have him complete his course.

*April 9, 1923.*—Letter written to Captain Stirling, Braedalbane Farm:

We have talked to Mrs. Zuchola in regard to the plan which you suggested for Peter. She was very pleased about his progress and certainly is most appreciative of your interest in him. She thought it would be very wise to have Peter continue his schooling in a country high school near Braedalbane, as you suggested, as she is afraid that he will not be able to continue his good work in Chicago. She is very anxious to have him go on in school and we are sure that she will be able to provide him with whatever is necessary.

Mrs. Zuchola receives $10 a week from her husband.[1] She herself is making on an average of $5.00 a week. The two oldest boys are paying for their board.

Mrs. Zuchola is sometimes worried that Peter will forget his family. However, she realizes that his education would be rather uncertain were he in the home and therefore she appreciates this opportunity for him.

We want to thank you for your untiring interest in the boy.

### 7. The Family of Jendrick Novotny

(*A Moravian Immigrant in the Hospital for the Insane*)

*April 24, 1918* (*Wednesday*).—Czecho-Slovak Relief Society telephoned reporting family. Mr. Novotny has recently been sent to the insane asylum.[2] Mrs. Novotny has three small children, one under one year of age. The Visiting Nurse Association, the Zion Hospital, the County Agent, and the County Bureau of Social Service are registered.

[1] [It is easy to foresee recurring difficulties for Mrs. Zuchola and for the visitor in connection with Mr. Zuchola's continued desire to return to the family group. That will constitute the unbroken thread of the later chapters in the record to which Peter, Victoria, and Stanyslava make their contribution.]

[2] [The records of the County and Probate Court, consulted by the editor, show that Jendrick Novotny was adjudged insane April 18, 1918; that August 10

*Later.*—Visited but could not make woman understand English.

*April 26, 1918.*—Visited. Family, Mrs. Novotny, Anna (born September 24, 1911), Andrew (born May 2, 1915), and Joseph (born February 25, 1917), live in two clean and fairly good rooms. The rent is $7.00. Mrs. Novotny seemed dull of comprehension and a trifle erratic. Said Mr. Novotny was never a steady worker. Was last at Schmidt's in the Stockyards for two weeks. She knows no check number nor any other name of firm. Has done very little work during the entire year. He drank to excess, and finally she was obliged to have him sent away. [One previous address in an adjoining block was obtained.]

Mr. Novotny came to this country six years ago from Moravia, Mrs. Novotny following two years later with Anna. Said they have no relatives at all in this country. She had one brother in Europe; doubts if he is living, on account of the war. She receives county supplies. There is little food in the house. Gave $2.00 grocery order.

*April 27, 1918.*—Talked with Visiting Nurse. Anna had an operation one year ago at Zion Hospital. The wound is still draining. The doctor at the hospital said that nursing care in the home will not cure her trouble and wishes child to come to the hospital. Mrs. Novotny is unwilling. Nurse asks our help in getting her consent.

*April 30, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Novotny was washing at the home of Mrs. Marek, who interpreted. She said that Mrs. Novotny is Bohemian and that she does not attend any church. Mrs. Novotny promised to take Anna to the hospital tomorrow. She has no coal or milk.

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Mary Novotny petitioned for the appointment of a conservator for an estate of $927.19; that the People's State Bank was appointed so that letters of conservatorship were sent out August 19, 1918; that Mr. Novotny died at the institution October 11, 1918, and October 28 the same bank was appointed administrator; and that a final accounting was rendered December 15, 1919.

This case introduces the problems faced by the Family Welfare Agency when mental disturbance or mental defect constitutes the occasion of the Agency's being called in. In this instance, the complicated procedure of having the husband and father committed to one of the hospitals for the insane had already been successfully completed. (See below, p. 872, for text of the statute under which that is accomplished.) Very often this process is a part of the treatment in which the Agency co-operates. Here, commitment has been already accomplished. It will be noted, however, that the records of the County Bureau of Social Service, the records of the institution, and the records of the County and Probate Court, were not consulted by the Agency.]

Mrs. Marek said she has known Mrs. Novotny for four years. She has lived two years at present address. Previous to that she lived one block north. She is sure that Mrs. Novotny has no relatives in this country. Mrs. Novotny does two days' washing a week in the neighborhood, earning $1.25 a day.

Visited landlady [a Bohemian social worker], who said she feels very sorry for Mrs. Novotny. She knows of no relatives.

*May 1, 1918.*—Telephoned County Agent asking to have coal sent. He said that contract with coal company is out and he can order no more coal. Ordered one-fourth ton of coal.

*May 2, 1918.*—Met Mrs. Novotny on streetcar with two children. She said she was taking Anna to the hospital. All were very clean.

*May 6, 1918.*—Visiting Nurse reported that she visited Mrs. Novotny as requested by Welfare Agency. The doctor told her he is not sure that Anna would need an operation.

*May 7, 1918.*—Visited while in the neighborhood. Mrs. Novotny had gone to hospital. A neighbor said the coal was delivered on the third. Explained Infant Welfare work and left card for Mrs. Novotny to take the baby to Infant Welfare Station on the ninth.

*May 10, 1918.*—Telephoned Infant Welfare Station. Mrs. Novotny was there yesterday. Nurse will take up with County Agent the matter of supplying milk for the baby.

*May 22, 1918.*—Visited County Agent and read record. Found that Rations No. 3 [worth $4.70] were issued for the first time April 15, 1918. Record very short and corroborated statements of Welfare Agency's record and gave income as $2.50 a week—Mrs. Novotny's earnings from washing and ironing. Rent given as $5.50 a month.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Novotny has rather an attractive manner but has absolutely no control over the children. Joseph, fifteen months old, cried constantly; and Andrew, three years old, Mrs. Novotny claims, runs away, in the neighborhood, and she has to spend most of her time looking for him.

Mrs. Novotny said that Mr. Novotny has no relatives except a brother, who lives in Europe and is now in the war. She herself has no near relatives, and her more remote relatives are living in Europe.

Mrs. Novotny insists that she is unable to give the names of any previous employers of Mr. Novotny. Said that in all the time they have lived in the United States he never kept a job for more than two or three weeks at a time. Just before he went to the hospital he worked at one of the packing-house establishments sorting potatoes;

worked there one month only. Before that, he worked for a month in a freight house, address unknown.

Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Novotny carries any insurance. Mrs. Novotny washes for a Mrs. Pyterek, living on Western Avenue; cannot give her address. Earns $2.50 a week.

Mr. Novotny went to hospital—as nearly as she can remember—about the end of March. She visited him May 19 and found that he is very much better.

She has been living on county supplies, she says, and $10 which she saved up after Mr. Novotny went to hospital. She also receives a pint of milk a day from the Infant Welfare Society; and on May 15 the Czecho-Slovak Relief Society sent her $10, out of which she paid the rent and used the rest for food.

Offered her work in the Welfare Agency offices, which she refused, because she said she had no one with whom to leave the children. Suggested to her going to Mary Crane Nursery[1] two days a week to learn to cook. She offered various excuses but finally decided to accept the plan; said that she would go Tuesday and Friday. Told her visitor would call for her May 28. There was a pudding on the stove, which looked well cooked.

Mrs. Novotny stated that Mr. Novotny had a friend, Mr. Kabat, living on Western Avenue, address unknown, who can probably give his places of employment. She will bring his address to the office. Also her previous addresses. She washes and irons beautifully. Anna went to Zion Hospital May 2.

*May 25, 1918.*—Letter received from State Hospital for the Insane:

Replying to your inquiry regarding Jendrick Novotny, I will state that this patient is suffering from paresis and is quite demented and is

[1] [The Mary Crane Day Nursery and Training School was established in 1907 and is administered by the Family Welfare Agency. It is for the day-time care of children of working mothers. It also provides training in housewifery for mothers in families receiving relief. It is supported by private subscriptions. The nursery is about thirty-eight blocks from Mrs. Novotny's home and a transfer would be necessary in taking the surface car line.

There is evidently no meeting of the visitor's and Mrs. Novotny's minds in this interview. The visitor does not get into Mrs. Novotny's mind, and she puts forth an impractical suggestion. Just after proposing the long journey to be taken so that Mrs. Novotny may learn to cook, she testifies to her successful housewifery in baking a pudding and in washing and ironing. It is possibly the deterrent influence of the trip that recommends it to the visitor. The Mary Crane Nursery seems to supply to her mind something like a "work-house test."]

both destructive and untidy. We do not expect any improvement in this case. He is also in rather poor physical condition and is being treated in bed most of the time.

*May 28, 1918.*—Visited Czecho-Slovak Relief Society. Talked with visitor, who said that family came to their attention April 11, 1918. Mr. Novotny was sent to the Psychopathic Hospital April 4, 1918. Their record shows that neither Mr. nor Mrs. Novotny has relatives in America, nor does either carry any insurance.

Mrs. Novotny told visitor that Mr. Novotny worked for three years at the Jones Baking Company as a barn man. Visitor has not found any evidence of Mr. Novotny's being a drinking man; he seems to have supported his family adequately. This organization has given rent money for April and May. Last check was given May 8. Visitor thinks the Society will continue to pay the rent for some time to come.

Talked over with her plan of sending Mrs. Novotny to Mary Crane Nursery, which she thinks is a very good one. She will help out by giving family shoes. Arranged that visitor from Family Welfare and visitor from Relief Society visit together some day after June 7. Left copy of budget proposed by Welfare Agency.

*Later.*—Visited Jones Baking Company and talked with the manager, Mr. Frank Allen, who stated that Mr. Novotny worked in their yard, cutting wood, caring for the horses, etc., from April to September, 1915, at $15 a week. Some time previous to that (did not know exact time) he worked there for two years. Mr. Allen states that Mr. Novotny was a good workman, did not drink, seldom missed a day. Could not remember whether he quit of his own accord or whether the company discharged him.

*Later.*—Visited Mary Crane Nursery with Mrs. Novotny. Left her to work for the day. There is no regular cooking class at present, but she will be given a place in the laundry and an opportunity to help get lunch.

*May 30, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Novotny says she will not go back to Mary Crane Nursery. Said it rained very hard and that she lost her way coming home; did not get home until after 7:00 P.M.

*June 5, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Novotny seemed unusually pleased to see visitor. Rooms were not especially clean. She says that she did an extra washing last week for a neighbor and manages that way. Does not wish to go back to Mary Crane Nursery; it is too far and it is extremely hard to get off and on the cars with the children; also she finds it hard to find her way around.

Asked her to come to work in the Welfare Agency offices June 8th. Said that she would be glad to do it and will try to leave her children at the St. Mary's Nursery. Thinks that if she once learns to find her way about she would like to leave the children in a nursery and go to work.[1]

Anna came home from the hospital June 3. Gave Mrs. Novotny $1.25 grocery order, as she could not understand why she was not paid at the Mary Crane Nursery. Told her we would not insist upon her going to the Nursery at present, but she must come to the office at least one afternoon a week to work. She promised to bring address of Mr. Novotny's friend and her own previous addresses on May 8. She wishes to go on summer outing.

*June 10, 1918.*—Letter received from Zion Hospital stating that Anna was admitted to the hospital May 2 and discharged June 2. Diagnosis, old empyema. She came to the hospital with discharge from old sinus. Prognosis, good. Needs dry dressings when there is any discharge from sinus. Would be benefited by visit in country.

*June 12, 1918.*—Visited. Found house unusually neat and clean. Mrs. Novotny put Joseph to sleep. Said that she did not come to work on June 8 because the St. Mary's Nursery refused to take the children on Saturday afternoon. Promised to come tomorrow, Thursday afternoon. Also to go on summer outing June 20.

*June 13, 1918.*—Mrs. Novotny in office. Brought address of Mrs. Kadel, a friend for whom she washes.

Mrs. Novotny worked four hours in the building. Gave her $1.50 grocery order and clothing for the children.

Made arrangements with her to go to Summer Camp June 20. She is not receiving Infant Welfare milk now.

*June 15, 1918.*—Mrs. Novotny in office, did cleaning. Said she had decided that she would not be able to go on summer outing June 20 as landlady is asking her to move.

*June 17, 1918.*—Visited with summer outing director. Urged Mrs. Novotny to go to Summer Camp. She refused; says she is unable to control her children and thinks it will be much harder to do so among strangers.

[1] [There is the prospect of eight years before the time when Mrs. Novotny will be able to rely on her children for support. Mr. Novotny had not taken out his first papers, and the old naturalization law did not permit a woman to take out citizenship papers herself while her husband was insane. A mother's pension was therefore not available. The question was as to her domestic skill, the possibility of obtaining aid, and the desirability of her working for wages.]

Explained to Mrs. Novotny that office felt that she had this opportunity to go to country and that we did not feel the responsibility for her care if she did not accept it during this time.

*Later.*—Visited landlady who said that she would like to use the rooms in which Mrs. Novotny was living, as she is in need of the rooms. Wishes to have her move as soon as possible.

*June 19, 1918.*—Telephoned Infant Welfare Station. Nurse said that she cannot understand why Mrs. Novotny is not getting milk. Asked that she be sent to station tomorrow at 2:00 and the nurse will see that she gets a quart of milk a day.

*June 21, 1918.*—Mrs. Novotny in office stating that County Agent had refused to give milk. Showed visitor green card from Infant Welfare Station stating that Mrs. Novotny might have a quart of milk a day.

*Later.*—While Mrs. Novotny was in the office, telephoned to County Agent, who stated that he had refused milk tickets because she did not bring her yellow card; however, he will issue them without card today. Asked that Mrs. Novotny be sent back to County Agent's office.

*Later.*—County Agent telephones, saying that he cannot understand what Mrs. Novotny is saying; asked that we send down interpreter.

*Later.*—Visited County Agent's office. Mrs. Novotny has enough pint tickets to last until July 15. County Agent cannot therefore issue tickets until that time; will then give her tickets for one quart milk a day.

Mrs. Novotny thinks she will come back this afternoon to clean. Also asked if she might go on summer outing later. Promised to take up the matter. She expects to move right away.

*June 21, 1918.*—Mrs. Novotny did not come to work.

*June 24, 1918.*—Resident of neighboring Settlement came to the office and reported that Mrs. Novotny was at the Settlement yesterday asking to go to the hospital to see her husband. As there was no interpreter there, no full interview could be taken. Resident did not know Mrs. Novotny was known to Welfare Agency.

*July 1, 1918.*—Another resident of the Settlement, a nurse, telephoned asking what Welfare Agency is doing for family. Gave report of our plans and how they have failed. The nurse said that Mrs. Novotny was there June 29, and she accompanied her out to see Mr. Novotny. Mrs. Novotny is eager to have her husband come home from the hospital. Nurse at hospital said he is mentally fit now but is

fast losing his eyesight. The nurse will talk to Mrs. Novotny about working in the office. Thinks that she is very stubborn and childish.

*Later.*—Visitor of the Czecho-Slovak Relief Society telephoned saying that she will visit Mrs. Novotny today. Asked if Welfare Agency's visitor will meet her there. Promised to do so.

*Later.*—Visited. No response. Later Anna came in from playing on the street. She said her mother had left early in the morning to visit her father.

Mrs. Novotny did not leave food for children, nor did she leave the children in care of a neighbor.

Anna talked freely. Said she had four aunts. Two are her father's sisters. One aunt gave her a doll and dress for Christmas. Another gave them assistance until Mr. and Mrs. Novotny became angry. These aunts (whose names she could not give) have moved out of the city. There are two others on the North Side.

Talked with a neighbor—owner of notion store next door. She corroborated Anna's statements regarding Mrs. Novotny visiting her husband. She also said Mrs. Novotny frequently leaves the children alone and is responsible for their bad behavior, as they are dependent upon themselves the greater part of the time.

*Later.*—Visitor from Czecho-Slovak Society arrived. Visitor mentioned Anna's conversation as to relatives. She ridiculed this, as she thinks these are women friends. As Welfare visitor had to leave before Mrs. Novotny's return, Czecho-Slovak visitor promised to talk with her regarding relatives and notify Welfare Agency.

*July 5, 1918.*—Mrs. Novotny in office asking work in building. Gave $1.00 cash for four hours' work.

[*July 12, 1918–December 19, 1918.*—During this period relations of the same general character continued between Mrs. Novotny and the Welfare Agency. Mrs. Novotny is anxious to bring Mr. Novotny back from the hospital, and hears rumors of his failing eyesight, etc. The authorities write in reply to inquiries that he is well and that his eyesight is good.

The year passes with her working from time to time in the office, doing supplementary jobs, getting milk from the county, and finally there is an interval of three months from August 27, 1918, when the children go to a beach party provided by the Agency, until November 23, 1918, when she comes to work at the office and reports that Mr. Novotny had died five weeks before (October 15, 1918) at the hospital, during which the Agency has no contact with Mrs. Novotny. No more vigorous action follows his death. Milk is provided,

Mrs. Novotny's name is given to a church for Thanksgiving dinner, and December 19 she comes to the office for clothing.]

*February 4, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Novotny was cleaning after she had finished her washing. Anna was studying her primer—said she is in second grade at school. Baby looks much better. Mrs. Novotny still takes him to Infant Welfare Society. Mrs. Novotny is washing for Mrs. Clay (case). Received only $1.00 last week as the latter is also in needy circumstances. Does not know amount of undertaker's bill, as she was not asked to pay same. Thinks there was a collection made to cover expense. Mr. Novotny died at hospital of pneumonia; and, at time of death, she was notified by telegram that he was seriously ill. When she went there, she found the body in the morgue.

Asked Mrs. Novotny to come to office to clean. She is very willing to do so, but has no one to leave children with, and is afraid to have them stay alone with fire in the kitchen stove. Thinks she can manage to leave them with a neighbor on the morning of February 8.

*February 6, 1919.*—Visited undertaker, who showed itemized account of Mr. Novotny's funeral as follows: coffin, $50; embalming, $15; bringing body from State Hospital, $15; hearse, $18.50; auto, $16; crepe and candles, $3;—total, $117.50.

He expects to be paid through the Probate Court, as the money in the People's State Bank, amounting to about $200, is in Mr. Novotny's name and cannot be transferred to Mrs. Novotny.

*February 8, 1919.*—Mrs. Novotny in office. Gave $2.50 grocery order.

*February 11, 1919.*—Visited People's State Bank with letter of introduction. No record of account is carried in name of Jendrick Novotny. There were accounts under names of Anton and Ann Novotny, but neither address is address of this family.

*February 13, 1919.*—Accompanied Mrs. Novotny to Superior Court for first citizenship papers. She did not know the name of the steamship on which she came over so was advised by clerk to go to S.S. Office, 125 N. LaSalle St. Paid 50 cents for information and $1.00 for papers. She seemed most grateful for this. Said she would come to office to work on February 15 to pay back money advanced.[1]

[1] [A permanent plan, involving a grant from the Mothers' Aid Department of the Juvenile Court can now be made. It is initiated by her taking out her first papers, after which, if otherwise eligible, she can receive an allowance for the two younger children (American-born). A considerable interval often elapses, however, between the date of application for a pension and the date when it is granted.]

Mrs. Novotny registered for Mothers' Pension in Mothers' Aid Department, Juvenile Court.

[During the following summer and autumn Mrs. Novotny worked in the office for part of the allowance, which was paid in grocery orders. Milk was supplied from a special fund. She never understood the plan of the Agency, which was quite complicated. She supplemented her allowance by doing washings. She learned to sew and she had a summer outing. The Czecho-Slovak Relief Society paid rent and gave Thanksgiving money. School records of the children were quite favorable. Finally November 28, 1919, a bank account was discovered.]

*November 28, 1919.*—Visited People's State Bank. Found that Mrs. Novotny has following account:

April 30, 1919, open account with $200. Has withdrawn as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| June 2, 1919 | $ 30.00 |
| July 3, 1919 | 10.00 |
| September 15, 1919 | 10.00 |
| | $ 50.00 |
| November 13, 1919 deposited | $332.19 |
| November 20, 1919 withdrew | 35.00 |
| November 26, 1919 withdrew | 447.04 |

*November 29, 1919.*—Visited County Agent. There is no record of insurance. Mrs. Novotny received two pair shoes November 11, 1919, and Rations No. 3 November 15, 1919. Has received one ton of coal each month since last year.

*Later.*—Mrs. Novotny in office to work. Superintendent talked with her, and she stated that she did not pay the undertaker, since the estate went through the court and she received no insurance. Mrs. Novotny insisted that she had no money and did not take any out of the bank on November 26. Showed her the report from the bank—then she stated the money was her husband's, which he had saved before they were married. Superintendent asked what she was going to do with money, and explained that she could not get Mothers' Pension while she had it. Told her to put money back in the bank and draw out a certain amount weekly. Mrs. Novotny said that the reason she did not tell Welfare Agency about the money was because she knew other women who had money and were getting help. When questioned further she said she did not know of any specific instance of this. Mrs. Novotny said she did not know how

much money there was in the bank since her husband could not tell her. Said that she waited a long time after his death before she got it. Said she went to the bank after he died and asked for the money; the man at the bank told her she could not get it because it was in Mr. Novotny's name and was advised to take matter to a lawyer. She said she went to Mr. Otto Brewer. Said he did not charge her anything for getting the money for her. She said she did not want to put the money back in the bank and wants to have a day to think over the matter, and let the Welfare Agency know on December 1 what she is going to do.

*December 1, 1919.*—Telephoned Mr. Otto Brewer. He remembered the case and stated that Mrs. Novotny came to him some time before her husband's death and asked about the money. Stated that he lent her $25 since she was badly in need of clothes and that he took matter up with Probate Court—People's Bank was appointed administrator of the estate—that Attorney Rebee has record of case, but he has no records.

*December 2, 1919.*—Telephoned Attorney Rebee, of the People's Bank. He stated that the bank had closed out the estate on November 13. Said $332 was paid to Mrs. Novotny. Stated that payments to Mrs. Novotny had been as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 8–28–18 | $ 70.00 |
| 8–28–18 | 40.00 |
| 9–27–18 | 40.00 |
| 10–29–18 | 40.00 |
| 12– 4–18 | 40.00 |
| 3– 7–19 | 40.00 |
| 4–30–19 | 200.00 |
| 11–13–19 | 332.19 |
| Total | $802.19 |

Stated that the Docket number at Probate Court is on page 79, Vol. 40. *Insanity* case file transferred to *Deceased* case file.

*December 4, 1919.*—Notified Czecho-Slovak Relief Society and County Agent that Mrs. Novotny has bank account.

*January 8, 1920.*—Case up before Mothers' Aid Committee, Juvenile Court. Application for pension dismissed as applicant has $437 in the bank.

*January 23, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Novotny stated that she has not kept written account of expenditures but remembers how much

she has spent so far and will keep account in future. Children look well. Home extremely clean. Mrs. Novotny has not been doing any outside work.

*February 24, 1920.*—Probation officer on request visited Probate Court and obtained report as follows:

When Mr. Novotny was adjudged insane, $927.19 was in the bank. The funeral bill was allowed, amounting to $117.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8–28–18 | Living expenses | $ 40.00 |
| 8–28–18 | Coal and payment of borrowed money | 70.00 |
| 9–27–18 | Living expenses | 40.00 |
| 9–27–18 | Appraisers' fee | 2.00 |
| | Bill for advertising | 4.00 |
| | Proof of heirship | 2.00 |
| 10–29–18 | Living expenses | 40.00 |
| 12– 4–18 | Living expenses | 40.00 |
| 3– 7–19 | Living expenses | 40.00 |
| 4–30–19 | Widow's share | 200.00[1] |
| 10–28–19 | Final accounting | 332.19 |
| Notation—all court costs remitted. | | 927.19 |

*October 13, 1920.*[2]—Visited with regard to re-applying for mother's pension. Mrs. Novotny is living in two rooms. The kitchen, which is the living-room, is large and light, but the bedroom is dark. There is a basement room, which Mrs. Novotny uses as a washroom. This adjoins the woodshed, which was half-full of coal and old boxes. Mrs. Novotny explained that she has been picking up the coal on the railroad tracks and getting all the old boxes from the shop for her winter's supply.

She had just finished a big basket of clean, well-ironed clothes. Mrs. Novotny has kept no receipts but states that all her money is gone and so far as she remembers, she spent the money as follows:

*Expenditures:* coat for self $35; coat for Anna $12; moving $5; stove $10; shoes for self $6; waists and aprons for self $6; three pairs overalls $4.50; suit for Andrew $8; rent from January to June $48; rent from July to October $24; total $158.50.

[1] ["Widow's share," see below, p. 890, *Illinois Revised Statute*, chap. 3, sec. 73.]

[2] [A bank account meant interruption of the Society's care for the family until the money was gone, supposedly thriftily expended. Then the plan for a Mothers' Pension is revived. In the meantime, no preparation for second papers has been made. The family has again moved, this time into a two-room apartment, for which Mrs. Novotny pays $6.00 rent.]

Besides this she bought curtains, slippers, four pairs shoes for each of the children, stockings, underwear, etc.

From January to July she earned as follows: For washing and cleaning at Mrs. Clay's, $10 a week and some pastry every day. Bundle washings average $1.50 a week.

In July a dog bit Andrew, and she was obliged to stay at home. Meanwhile Mrs. Clay hired other help, and she lost her job. From July to October she earned about $7.00 a week. Is willing to go to work if she can take the youngest child with her. The other two children go to school. The children were clean but look puny. Visited Mrs. Clay and verified above.

*October 14, 1920.*—Took Mrs. Novotny to Juvenile Court and made application for pension. Visited Depositors Bank and Iroquois Bank. Mrs. Novotny has no account.

*October 22, 1920.*—Mrs. Novotny started to clean offices of Dispensary in Welfare Building at $7.00 a week.

*November 1, 1920–December 1, 1920.*—Mrs. Novotny has cleaned offices regularly and received her $7.00 a week.

*December 8, 1920.*—Probation officer in office to read record for investigation *re* mother's pension.

*January 17, 1921.*—Mrs. Novotny asked county doctor for Andrew and Joseph, who she thinks have measles.

*January 19, 1921.*—Probation officer reports that investigation of Mrs. Novotny's application for Juvenile Court will not be completed for several weeks.

Mrs. Novotny's second papers are due February 13, 1921. For this reason probation officer will not take case into court until Welfare Agency has made arrangements for same.

*February 1, 1921–March 3, 1921.*—Mrs. Novotny has been scrubbing office in afternoons, for which she was paid $7.00 a week. County supplies were given to Mrs. Novotny. These she will receive on the twenty-sixth of the month.

Telephoned Czecho-Slovak Relief Society, who formerly assisted Mrs. Novotny. They are now giving aid.

When visited, Mrs. Novotny's home was very clean and her children apparently happy and well cared for. Preliminary papers for taking out her second citizenship papers were sent to Washington. Mrs. Novotny must wait for an answer to these before taking out second papers. Made arrangements for her to go to Settlement for English lessons Tuesday morning at 9:30 and Friday afternoon at

2:00. One of the residents will see that Mrs. Novotny is given special lessons in English and will try to get Mrs. Novotny sufficiently prepared for her naturalization papers within the next six weeks.

*March 21, 1921.*—Notice from Mothers' Aid Department: "Application dismissed, second papers overdue."

Telephoned Miss Denton, visitor for the Charitable Corporation. They agreed to pay rent. Are continuing investigation with purpose of giving cash grant.[1]

### 8. The Family of Francesco La Boda

*(An Insane Cigar Worker)*

[This family was first called to the attention of the Welfare Agency on June 26, 1912, when the General Office reported to the district secretary that a neighbor, Mrs. Penelle, of 3276 Fulton Street, had asked food for them, saying that Mr. La Boda, who is a Spanish-American cigar-maker, was quite out of his head and unable to work. The address was visited June 28, was found to be outside the jurisdiction of the Chicago society, and was referred to the president of the Oak Grove Charities, who sent a visitor in, supplied the needs of the family, and arranged for Mr. La Boda to make cigars at home and for Mrs. La Boda to sell them and thus provide for the wife and two children, Carmelita (born May 2, 1903), and Lenora (born June 10, 1906), until August 1, when they said their relatives could assist them. Several previous addresses were obtained, as well as the address of Mr. La Boda's parents, who were living in Chicago. On July 4, 1912, a letter from the Oak Grove Society asked the Welfare Agency to visit the former landlord and the parents of Mr. La Boda; and in a letter of the following day it was reported (1) that the former landlord spoke well of them, although the family left with rent in arrears and he was prepared to learn of mental disturbance; (2) that Mr. La Boda's parents told of a long separation from this son, of the death of another son in an "asylum," of property on which Mr. La Boda owed his father $800, and of a third brother, Vincenzo, who is interested in the same property. They also say that the parents of Mrs. La Boda are

[1] [The second papers not having been obtained, the Mothers' Pension plan failed. The Welfare Agency obtained co-operation from the Charitable Corporation and entered into a long-time arrangement according to which the Organization and the Agency jointly contributed to the budget, while Mrs. Novotny continued to clean offices and to attend classes at the Settlement.]

well-to-do. Her family is German, and her grandparents and a brother live in Rochester, New York. Mr. La Boda is a Catholic, while Mrs. La Boda is Protestant. The children are being brought up in the Roman Catholic church. Nothing more is known of the family until March 16, 1916, when the following record begins.]

*March 16, 1916.*—Miss Dabney, forelady of the C. A. Buckner Novelty Company, telephoned reporting that Mrs. La Boda works for that company; family (wife and two children, Carmelita [aged twelve] and Leonora [aged ten]) have been quarantined. Man is ill, and family are in need of assistance.

*Later.*—Visited.[1] Mr. La Boda has been ill for the past year; was in the Jefferson Hospital for several weeks with blood poisoning, and later had a nervous breakdown, from which he is at present convalescing. Leonora has just recovered from scarlet fever. Quarantine was lifted about a week ago. Dr. Moore is the physician who has taken care of the family. Mrs. La Boda is employed at present; was out of work for two months, owing to the illness in the family. Mr. and Mrs. La Boda were married in Chicago in 1902. Previous to his illness, Mr. La Boda was in business for himself, making cigars. The family managed to get along when he was ill, because of the money he had saved. When their funds were exhausted, Mrs. La Boda went to work. Mr. La Boda has tried several jobs but has been unable to keep them because of his health. He is anxious to get light work. Family moved to present address, on Monday. Are not settled yet. Had lived at the same address a year ago. Vincenzo, a younger brother of Mr. La Boda, who came in while visitor was present, stated that he is working in a cigar factory. Thought Mr. La Boda might be able to do some light work; did not advise his returning to the cigar business; family received county supplies last month. Mr. La Boda has tried to obtain employment at the United States Free Employment Bureau. Gave cards to Illinois Free Employment Bureau and Public Welfare Employment Bureau of the city.

*Later.*—Called on Dr. Moore. Was not in. Mrs. Moore stated that Mr. La Boda had been suffering from nervous trouble for some time. She thought the doctor would be back and would talk with visitor.

[1] [The clues are (*a*) hospital, (*b*) Dr. Moore, (*c*) employer of Mrs. La Boda already known from Miss Dabney's reporting, (*d*) former address, (*e*) Oak Grove record containing former addresses of the parents of Mr. La Boda and grandparents of Mrs. La Boda.]

*Later.*—Called at previous address. Family moved away last week. Had been in quarantine for scarlet fever; neighbors thought they broke quarantine as the sign was still up when they moved. Landlord had called to learn the present address of the family, but no one in the building knew it. Mrs. La Boda worked most of the time the family lived there, but they understood that Mr. La Boda was suffering with some nervous trouble and was unable to do any work.

*Later.*—Telephoned Dr. Moore, who said that he had attended Leonora during her siege of scarlet fever. The children are both well now, and he sent notice to the Board of Health to lift the quarantine about a week ago; did not know the family had moved. Said that Mr. La Boda was a neurasthenic; was on the verge of insanity. Spoke to him of a job we had in view on the Elevated; he thought the noise of the trains would be more than Mr. La Boda could stand. Thought it would have to be some light work where he could be very quiet.

*Later.*—Telephoned Miss Dabney to give report.

*Later.*—Letter written Oak Grove Society asking for record.

*March 23, 1916.*—Letter received from Oak Grove Associated Charities giving record.

*March 30, 1916.*—Visited. Mrs. La Boda is still working at Buckner's making $7.00 a week. Mr. La Boda said he would go crazy if he did not find work soon. Said he was very depressed now. Has offer of position in cigar factory, but he is afraid he could not stand that work now in his condition. Said that a year ago he had over $1,100, but that he had had an expensive operation for blood poisoning and that he had not worked regularly since.

*April 5, 1916.*—Visited Mr. Vincent La Boda, father of Francesco. He and his other two sons, Vincenzo and Alfonso, have been out of work for a long time; and although they own their own home, he has been unable to help Francesco this winter. He said that Mr. La Boda had a fire, April 3, in which he lost everything in his room. Fire started from a pile of rubbish burning in the yard next door. Mr. La Boda seemed very fond of his son. Said he had had a nervous breakdown once before; the last time was about three years ago.

*Later.*—Letter written superintendent of the Illinois Free Employment Bureau, urgently asking help in securing work for Mr. La Boda because of his unhappy mental condition.

*Later.*—Visited Father Flood (visitor for St. Francis Society). He did not remember Mr. La Boda but knew his father. St. Francis

Society is not helping family.[1] Said that the La Boda family was well off and that the sons could always get work in the cigar business. He suggested that we obtain work for Mr. La Boda in one of the municipal parks.[2]

*April 7, 1916.*—Letter received from superintendent of the Illinois Free Employment Bureau, telling of two positions open for experienced gardeners near Chicago and suggesting that Mr. La Boda apply.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. La Boda very much upset over fire. His furniture had been insured, and he was waiting for agent. Gave him letter from Illinois Free Employment Bureau to park supervisor. He said he was not an experienced gardener but would go down to see the supervisor as soon as the agent from insurance company had been there.

*April 17, 1916.*—Visited. Mr. La Boda very nervous and indignant toward his wife. He said he thought if his wife were more companionable he would get well. He did not go to the Illinois Free Employment Bureau, because he did not feel able to do the work offered. He expects some insurance for furniture this week.

*Later.*—Called on Dr. Moore. He said that Mr. La Boda was physically able to work but that he worried so much about himself that he believed he was unable to do a day's work. He further said that the La Boda family were expert cigar manufacturers and that they could obtain employment at any time. Says that Mr. La Boda worries a great deal over the indifference of his wife. Dr. Moore spoke to Mrs. La Boda about her attitude; she admitted that she did not care as much for him as she had a year ago. Dr. Moore said that Alfonso, Mr. La Boda's brother, who had been out of employment for a long time, has recently found work.

*April 18, 1916.*—Called at C. A. Buckner Company. Talked with Miss Dabney; said that she felt that Mr. La Boda was perfectly able to work if he wanted to; that he had got into a condition where he depended upon his wife. Of late he has been sending notes to her when she has been at work, asking her to come home immediately, and, when she would go home to him, there would be nothing the matter with him at all, but he would insist that she remain with him. Miss Dabney spoke very well of Mrs. La Boda—said she was a steady worker, but the nervous strain has been very hard on her. Her wages

[1] [This Society did not register with the Confidential Exchange.]

[2] [The proposal about park employment recalls Mr. Chiesa's experience, above, p. 33.]

were recently raised to $8.00. Mrs. La Boda has been in their employ for the past four years; has been working simply because Mr. La Boda did not support the family. Mrs. La Boda was home this afternoon, having been sent for by her husband.

*April 19, 1916.*—Miss Dabney telephoned asking when Mrs. La Boda could talk with visitor. Said she would send her to the office immediately.

*Later.*—Mrs. La Boda at office. She said that she could not understand why people said that Mr. La Boda was able to work. Dr. Leslie of the Jefferson Hospital told Mr. La Boda that if he did not have an operation he would be a raving maniac inside of two years. Mr. La Boda has been suffering with intestinal trouble, which causes him a great deal of pain. On her way to our office she passed her house and found her husband lying on the stairs moaning with pain. He did not see her until she came up to him and helped him into the house. She put him to bed. She does not know whether he would consent to an operation or not. Feels that if convalescent care could be provided, it might benefit him. She asked that visitor call this afternoon and talk to both of them. She thought some arrangement could be made in this manner.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. La Boda in very nervous condition. Is willing to go to Convalescent Home if place can be provided. Mr. La Boda went to State Hospital for Insane as a volunteer patient in December, 1915, but remained only a short time. He also went to County Infirmary a couple of times but did not remain more than a night. He was in County Hospital for a time, but his condition did not improve.

Mr. La Boda has had this same trouble for several years and does not think an operation is necessary. Dr. Moore has not advised it. He is anxious to go to Convalescent Home. If his condition does not improve with this treatment, he will then consent to an operation. Mr. La Boda very much in need of a suit.

*April 21, 1916.*—Letters written to County Infirmary asking for record and to State Hospital asking diagnosis.

*April 24, 1916.*—Letter written North Shore Winter Camp for Men, asking if convalescent care for Mr. La Boda was possible.

*Later.*—Letter received from State Hospital for Insane telling of Mr. La Boda's coming as voluntary patient but staying only five days. Complete diagnosis impossible. General paralysis of the insane suspected.

*Later.*—Called at the Jefferson Hospital. Mr. La Boda was there from May 21 to June 15, 1915; he was under the care of Dr. Richard A. Lemon. Diagnosis refused without doctor's permission.

*April 25, 1916.*—Visited. Took suit, overcoat, and two shirts to Mr. La Boda. He seemed to be in a very nervous condition so that he could not sleep. Is very anxious to go to Winter Camp.

*April 26, 1916.*—Superintendent North Shore Winter Camp telephoned. She will take Mr. La Boda to Camp tomorrow morning. Will meet him at the North Western Station, gate 12, at 10:10 A.M.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. La Boda will meet superintendent at North Western Station tomorrow; was quite delighted at the prospect of going to the Camp.

*Later.*—Letter written to Dr. Richard A. Lemon asking information and diagnosis.

*April 27, 1916.*—Letter received from County Infirmary saying that Mr. La Boda had been admitted four different times. The last time he stayed only four days. He was reported as hypochondriac, very morbid, with attention concentrated on himself. He will probably need institutional care—a psychasthenic.

*April 28, 1916.*—Letter received from Dr. Lemon; the trouble had been septicaemia—abscesses on the lower leg.

*April 29, 1916.*—Letter received from superintendent of North Shore Camp telling how Mr. La Boda had started with her for the Camp, but had left the train before reaching there without letting her know.

*Later.*—Visited. Found no one at home. Left card requesting Mrs. La Boda to come to the office.

*May 1, 1916.*—Visited. Found Mr. La Boda leaving the house with a traveling bag; said he was going to Nashville, Tennessee; that friends[1] had sent him transportation. He was in a very nervous condition and unable to carry his bag. He went back to the house on request of the visitor. He said that on Thursday when he started for North Shore he got off too soon by mistake. He returned to the city and went out again the following day. He did not remain, however, as he did not receive any medical attention there. He said he could not stay in his house another night, and that he felt positive he would have a stroke of apoplexy today.

[1] [Note the disorganization of the entire relationship between visitor and family that results from this kind of contribution on the part of someone outside the plan.]

*Later.*—Telephoned Miss Dabney, and asked that Mrs. La Boda be allowed to come to office.

*Later.*—Mrs. La Boda in office. She said that friends had sent Mr. La Boda money to go to Nashville and she thought it might do him some good. She said that twenty years ago he had a similar attack; at that time his parents had money and sent him from one place to another, but without any good results. After this he visited the friends in Nashville and stayed with them nine months, after which he was greatly improved in health. She said that he started for North Shore on Thursday but got off by mistake at the wrong station; that he returned to the city but did not go home Thursday night; that when she got home from work on Friday at noon she found him at home. He took an early train on Saturday morning but remained at North Shore only a few hours, returning at two in the afternoon. She feels quite worried about him and thinks that he ought to be placed in an institution but she is unwilling to file the petition for his commitment. She said that his brother, Anselmo, had died in an asylum; she did not know whether or not any other members of the family had ever had any mental trouble. She said Mr. La Boda became very nervous about three years ago at which time he had some business trouble and a lawsuit against his father regarding some property. She said at present the father and Mr. La Boda were perfectly good friends. Recently Mr. La Boda has been abusive, which is something unusual for him. She said that she was afraid to go to bed at night, she never knew what he might do.

Accompanied Mrs. La Boda to Dr. Moore's home. He said that Alfonso La Boda had filed petitions for Mr. La Boda about sixty days ago. He asked Dr. Moore to get some papers, among which was Mr. La Boda's mailing list of customers, but Dr. Moore refused to do this and Alfonso asked the court to recall the action. Dr. Moore still believes that Mr. La Boda should be committed, and urged Mrs. La Boda to file papers if the first ones could not be of use.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mental Hygiene Society. Secretary said that petition was void after thirty days, and new one would have to be filed.

*May 2, 1916.*—Called on Dr. Moore. Got statement regarding Mr. La Boda's condition that he suffered from delusional insanity and needed hospital care.

*Later.*—Visited Mr. La Boda's brother Alfonso,[1] who was not at home. Saw Mrs. Alfonso who seemed reluctant to give much infor-

[1] [There was confusion about this brother's address. Mr. and Mrs. Alfonso were separated.]

mation about the family. She said, however, that Mr. La Boda had been placed in an institution several years ago, and they thought that was where he should be at present.

*May 5, 1916.*—Visited. Mrs. La Boda was at home; has not been feeling well. Mr. La Boda continued to complain of condition and insisted that he could be cured if he could go to sanatorium. Mrs. La Boda promised to come to office May 6 to talk the matter over with visitor. She could not give Alfonso's address, said she felt pretty sure that his stepmother knew where he was living.

*May 6, 1916.*—Mrs. La Boda in office. Said that Mr. La Boda had been very much quieter since visitor's last call. She felt that he probably was exhausted after the nervous spells he had had in the last few weeks. Said she felt quite discouraged about his condition and wondered whether or not the intestinal trouble did not have something to do with his condition. At times, he was not in so much pain; at other times, he would have one of his raving spells. She said that she would like to give him an opportunity to have this trouble treated and if this did not benefit him, she would then file her petition for his commitment. Gave her card to the Dispensary. Mrs. La Boda agreed that if he did not improve inside of a week or two she would call at the office for Dr. Moore's letter before the thirty days have expired.

*Later.*—Letter written West Side Free Dispensary introducing Mr. La Boda and asking diagnosis.

*May 26, 1916.*—Visited. No one at home. Spoke with woman downstairs who said Mr. La Boda went to the hospital a week ago. Left card for Mrs. La Boda.

*May 29, 1916.*—Interviewed Mrs. La Boda at Buckner's Novelty Company. Mr. La Boda was committed to State Hospital for the Insane May 18. He became very depressed, and, at the suggestion of Dr. Moore, begged to be committed. Mrs. La Boda filed the petition. He was taken to Psychopathic Hospital May 12. Mrs. La Boda has been out to see him twice. On the twenty-eighth he begged to come home, but the doctor urged her to keep him there at least two months, stating that he would probably recover with proper treatment. She has rented one of her rooms to help out with rent and food.

*June 5, 1916.*—Telephoned Buckner's Novelty Company asking that Mrs. La Boda come into office on the way home.

*Later.*—Mrs. La Boda in the office. She is anxious to go to Holiday Home for two weeks. She thought that the children could

stay with their grandfather. She said she would try to make arrangements with the Buckner Company so that she might go; promised to notify office.

*June 6, 1916.*—Mrs. La Boda in office. Buckner Company are willing that she should go to Holiday Home, but Mrs. La Boda feels that she is unable to do so because of her financial condition. Her rent, which is $15 a month, must be paid promptly, and besides that she is paying $5.00 a month on her back rent. She feels that she needs a rest but cannot afford to go. Would be very glad if the children could be sent to the country after school closed. Mrs. La Boda has been going out to the State Hospital every Sunday. She thinks that Mr. La Boda has improved somewhat, but he begs to come home every time she leaves him. The doctor has suggested that it might be easier for both of them if she did not go so often. She says that the doctor's diagnosis at the Psychopathic Hospital was paresis and that Dr. Moore said before he left the home that these spells that he had were epileptic fits. He was picked up by the police in the loop after he had one of these spasms, shortly before he went to the hospital.

*June 6, 1916.*—Letter written State Hospital asking diagnosis.

*June 16, 1916.*—Letter received from State Hospital, giving diagnosis as melancholia, prognosis doubtful.

*July 25, 1916.*—Met Mr. La Boda on street. He returned from hospital two weeks ago. Insisted that doctors did not understand his condition. Roomer is still at house. Is anxious to have Mrs. La Boda and children go on outing.

*August 5, 1916.*—Met Mrs. La Boda on the street. She said that Mr. La Boda was much improved; that he has been making cigars and went down town today to sell a box. He has not spoken about his condition since he returned from the hospital, and she feels that he is improving rapidly. Roomer is still living with them, but he has been out of work for the past two weeks. Expects to get job next week. Mrs. La Boda seemed to be very much more cheerful than usual.

*October 19, 1916.*—Mr. La Boda in office. Said that since the change in the weather he has grown weak and was anxious to go to Biloxi, Mississippi. The fare is $30. He has friends there with whom he can make his home. He asked that the Welfare Agency make them a loan on the furniture. He has been offered a job as a cigar-maker in Pensacola, Florida, but he has no friends there. He has been making

cigars all summer but at present he feels too nervous to continue the work. Was not dismissed from the hospital—he ran away.[1]

*October 20, 1916.*—Carmelita in office with note asking that visitor call as soon as possible.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. La Boda. She said she knew that Mr. La Boda had been to the office. She promised to come to office and talk with visitor on twenty-first.

*October 21, 1916.*—Mrs. La Boda in office. Said she thought that it would benefit Mr. La Boda to go South. He could buy a skiff and fish and be able to support himself. He is easily irritated and is annoyed when Mrs. La Boda is near him. She tried to get a loan on furniture but could not do so. She thought that if he failed to be happy in Biloxi she would not permit him to return home. Asked that the Welfare Agency obtain transportation for him. Visitor told her it was impossible to do this. Mrs. La Boda said they would write to friends in Biloxi and ask that they pay transportation. Mr. La Boda has made application for job as cashier at a station on the Elevated Railway but has heard nothing.

*October 24, 1916.*—Leonora in office. Said that Mr. La Boda would like visitor to call.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. La Boda seemed much discouraged. Said that he was no longer able to make cigars because the man from whom he bought the tobacco refused to give him credit, because his brother Alfonso had told him that Mr. La Boda could not be responsible since his mind was affected. He feels neglected, thinks Mrs. La Boda unsympathetic. Said that they received a little over $100 insurance for the fire which they had last spring. He begged Mrs. La Boda to stay home from work for a month when they had this money, but she refused to do it and spent most of the money for clothing on herself and the children. About three years ago, the case that he had against his family was settled for $1,100. At that time there was no necessity for Mrs. La Boda working, but she insisted on doing so, refusing to stay home with him. Most of that money was spent for doctor and hospital bills and living expenses. Mrs. La Boda has threatened to obtain a divorce. Mr. La Boda feels that she is anxious to get rid of him. He said that in the last few months he has had several convulsions. Said that when he asks Mrs. La Boda to do anything for him she refuses. The children, too, refuse to have anything to do with

[1] [Note below, p. 877, for statute naming conditions under which patients are discharged from the institution.]

him; will not even take a walk with him. He tried to get some work addressing envelopes at home, but was refused as they said they did not give work to men. He is anxious to get some sort of work that he can do at home. Mr. La Boda had telegraphed to Biloxi hoping that his friend would assist him to go South, but he has heard nothing.

*November 3, 1916.*—Called at Mental Hygiene Society. Secretary thought that Mr. La Boda might be greatly benefited by work. She thought he might be interested in carpentry. She asked that he be sent to her on Monday the sixth, and that a written report of the case be sent.

*November 4, 1916.*—Mr. La Boda in office. Asked to see visitor. Was very nervous. Said he could not wait for visitor to come in but would return.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. La Boda seemed quite upset. Said that during the week a policeman came to the house to arrest him, saying that he had attacked a little girl in the neighborhood. The child was brought over to his house and said he was not the man, so the policeman did not arrest him. Mr. La Boda seemed quite discouraged and thought that everyone was working against him. Said he had gone to the Elevated Railway Company regarding job that he had applied for, and they told him they could not use him. He promised to go to the Mental Hygiene Society on Monday.

*November 6, 1916.*—Letter written Mental Hygiene Society reviewing case and asking work for Mr. La Boda.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mental Hygiene Society. Mr. La Boda had not yet come to their office.

*November 7, 1916.*—Visited. Mr. La Boda went to Mental Hygiene Society yesterday and was told to return but he went to Riverside this morning, instead, and tried to borrow $30. A dog bit him while he was out there. Showed visitor the wound. Said that he would go to Dr. Moore and have it cauterized. He promised to return to the Mental Hygiene Society tomorrow. Seemed to be in a brighter frame of mind than usual.

*November 8, 1916.*—Telephoned Mental Hygiene Society. Secretary said that Mr. La Boda reported on Monday for work and was told to return on Tuesday. He reported at the office at 4:00 P.M., and she told him that he must come in the morning if he expected to work. She said that he ran away before she got through talking with him. Said that he seemed to think that his wife was persecuting him.

*November 13, 1916.*—Letter written State Hospital asking how Mr. La Boda had been able to leave the institution and how his return could be arranged.

*November 18, 1916* (*Saturday*).—Mrs. La Boda in office. Said that Mr. La Boda went to Chattanooga, Tennessee, Wednesday, November 15. Some friends had loaned him the money to pay transportation; a friend living in Chattanooga, who is in the liquor business, promised him employment if he came down. She said the reason he was so anxious to leave Chicago was, that upon coming out of the State Hospital, he had resumed the cigar business and bought tobacco from an old friend of his, without first taking out a license. This friend protected him by not entering the sale on the revenue books. Mr. La Boda went to another man to buy tobacco and he made a note of the sale, and the government authorities were trying to locate him. She said she could not understand why he did not take out a license since it cost only $1.00. She said for this reason she felt confident that he will not return to Chicago for some time. She is hard pressed for funds at present. She owes a gas bill of $3.60, milk bill of 50 cents which she has owed for several weeks, and $4.00 on her furniture to the instalment company, who have threatened to sue her if she does not make a payment. Mrs. La Boda is earning $8.50, and this would leave her a balance of 40 cents on which to live until next pay day. She is without food and asks assistance during this week. Promised visit.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. La Boda was crocheting yokes which she hoped to sell. She said that during the election campaign she was given work to take home and thus averaged $14 a week. Gave $2.00 cash.

*November 24, 1916.*—Letter received from State Hospital saying that Mr. La Boda had escaped, been returned, paroled, parole had expired, and recommitment would be necessary.

*November 25, 1916.*—Mrs. La Boda in office. Said that Mr. La Boda returned from Chattanooga Friday night, the twenty-fourth. She asked assistance with food.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. La Boda applied for a job with an express company in Chattanooga, and they submitted him to a physical examination. When the doctors saw the wound on his leg where a dog had bitten him, they hurried him to the Chattanooga City Hospital. The doctors there wished to send him to Cincinnati to the Pasteur Institute. Mr. La Boda asked to be sent to Chicago instead, and the mayor got him transportation home.

Visitor told Mr. La Boda that we expected him to go to the Mental Hygiene Society for work on Monday morning, to be there at 9:00, and that he was to continue to go there until his brother who expected to obtain work for him on the Eastern R. R. Company had done so. He promised to do this. He said that Mr. Ageley gave him $20, but he did not use this for transportation to Chattanooga but instead bought tobacco. He paid for his transportation to Chattanooga out of money he received from the sale of cigars. Mrs. La Boda was surprised to hear this and told him that he had not been fair to her in not telling her what he did with his money. She paid the agent $7.50 on rent for her flat and had paid 50 cents on the insurance so that she had only 50 cents left. The visitor gave her $2.00 cash.

*November 28, 1916.*—Telephoned Mental Hygiene Society. Mr. La Boda had not been there. The secretary will send visitor to the house.

*December 15, 1916 (Friday).*—Mrs. La Boda in office. Says Mr. La Boda left home on Monday and she has not seen him since. He has been quite disagreeable about the house of late. Leonora is ill; she has called in Dr. Moore. Says she has not coal enough to last over night. Will not be paid until tomorrow noon. She gets neither supplies nor coal from the county.

*Later.*—Visited. Leonora was sick in bed. Dr. Moore had called and gave Mrs. La Boda money to have prescription filled. Mrs. La Boda said that she had a serious talk with Mr. La Boda last Sunday. She told him that he would either have to go to work or she would take him into the Court of Domestic Relations.[1] She gave him until Monday noon to decide. Monday morning when she was at work, Mr. La Boda telephoned asking her to go to the depot with him—that he was leaving town. Mrs. La Boda did not go, and Mr. La Boda would not tell her where he was planning to go. When Mrs. La Boda went home to lunch on Monday, Mr. La Boda had gone. Mrs. La Boda thinks that she will hear from him within a week. If she does not, she will inquire among his friends. Mrs. La Boda went to Mr. La Boda's father, last night, and told him that she had no food nor coal in the house. They sent over an order of groceries but did nothing about the coal. Gave her card to County Agent for supplies, and 50 cents for fuel and milk.

[1] [See below, p. 891, for statute under which non-supporting husbands are prosecuted.]

*January 17, 1917.*—[General Office slip received forwarding letter to superintendent of Welfare Agency, inclosing letter from Mr. La Boda to one of the benevolent and rich business men of the city returned by his secretary with a request for investigation and report.]

*January 25, 1917.*—[Letter written reviewing case for the gentleman to whom Mr. La Boda had appealed.]

*March 1, 1917.*—Mr. La Boda in office asking transportation to New Orleans. He seemed very nervous and complained bitterly of his wife's treatment. Said she had him in the Court of Domestic Relations[1] six weeks ago for non-support and abusive treatment. The judge refused to send him to the Bridewell but told him to go to a mission and rest up. He went to a mission, and they sang hymns all the time which made him so nervous that he returned home. Has been making cigars recently at home. Gave his wife $8.00 last week, and now she denies that he gave her any money.

Told Mr. La Boda it would be impossible for the Welfare Agency to send him to New Orleans.

*March 8, 1917.*—Mr. La Boda in office, asking assistance in renting a room. Says that the judge of the Court of Domestic Relations on Monday had ordered him to stay away from his home and he has been spending the last three nights at the Salvation Army Headquarters. There is so much noise at night that he cannot sleep. Says he has done no work and has no money. Suggested that he go to the Mental Hygiene Society, talk the matter over with the secretary, and do the work which she will provide for him.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mental Hygiene Society and gave report to date. If Mr. La Boda appears, the secretary will put him to work. Will communicate with Court of Domestic Relations and get their report on recent proceedings.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. La Boda at home after working hours. She confirmed Mr. La Boda's story about the court. On New Year's Day he called her names and struck her, and she decided that she would stand no more. She took him into court, but the judge evidently sympathized with Mr. La Boda. He continued the case, and when it came into court last week ordered Mr. La Boda to get a room away from home, and pay his wife what he could earn each week. Mrs. La Boda declares that she will never live with him again, cannot believe that he is mentally unbalanced, and thinks if he stays away from her she will get along all right. She has been unable to

[1] [The Court did not "clear."]

pay her rent this month and the landlord asked her to move last Tuesday. She hates to do this because the location is so convenient for her work and has made an arrangement by which she can stay there. A married couple whom she knows have taken over the flat, furnished, and paid the March rent. They will move in on Saturday and allow her to occupy one room and have the use of the kitchen in return for the furniture. She will also pay half the gas bill.

She borrowed $40 on the furniture about two months ago, and the payment to the loan company ($6.20) is due this week. In all, she will have to pay about $60 for this loan. Told her when she had paid the $40 borrowed, to come to office and we would give her card to the Legal Aid Society.[1]

There was no fire in the house and no fuel, and no food except a loaf of bread. Mrs. La Boda is now earning $9.00 a week, but the furniture payment has left her without money.

Urged her very strongly to take out commitment papers for Mr. La Boda. He has been coming back to the house during the daytime but leaves when it is time for her to come back at night. She will think the matter over. Says that his family do not think he is insane and would not commit him if they did. Gave $1.00 cash for food and coal.

*March 12, 1917.*—Mrs. La Boda in office with letter from Mr. George of the Citizens' League. Mrs. La Boda appealed to the judge on Saturday, the tenth, to have Mr. La Boda kept away from the house. The judge recommended that he go to New Orleans, where he says he has cousins, and asked Mr. George to secure transportation for him. Mr. La Boda could give neither name nor address of relatives in New Orleans. Told him we would confer with the judge and see what could be done.

*Later.*—Interviewed Dr. Moore, who thinks that institutional care is the only thing which will help Mr. La Boda. Has known the family for many years. Mr. La Boda's grandfather was a Spaniard living in Cuba and emigrated to New Orleans. His son and grandsons have all had excellent educations and were at one time very prosperous. Mr. La Boda is a graduate of Tulane University. They are all highly neurotic in temperament. Alfonso, a brother, for example, is separated from his wife.

Dr. Moore feels that if Mrs. La Boda had a little more strength and persistent courage, she might be able to handle the situation and

[1] [See below, p. 519, for statute governing organization of loan companies.]

bring Mr. La Boda through all right. He has given her careful directions as to treatment, but she has never been able to carry them out completely.

*Later.*—Interviewed Mr. La Boda's father at his home. He felt that his son would not stay anywhere he was sent or placed, except under compulsion. He has always been a source of grief and trouble. He has such an erratic disposition and ungovernable temper that it would be impossible to keep him with them even if he would stay. They have tried again and again to plan something for him. At one time went to expense to cure him of the drug habit, but they cannot succeed in any plan for him; therefore felt it was useless for him again to make application to have the son examined as to mentality. Although Mr. La Boda felt that probably it would be best if his son were in the State Hospital and would be glad to have the step taken, he was unwilling to make any move himself.

They had received a letter that morning from the only cousin in New Orleans whose address was known to them, saying that there were three in the family seriously ill, and this would not be a good time for them to take Mr. La Boda in.

*Later.*—Interviewed Mrs. La Boda at her place of employment. Mr. La Boda had continued to come to the house in spite of the judge's order. She had reported this on the tenth, and the Court had taken out a habeas corpus for him. Mrs. La Boda was unwilling to take any steps to have Mr. La Boda committed to the State Hospital. She feels his mentality does not warrant it. But she would like to have him gotten away from Chicago because he bothers her so much. Also she believes that her nearness is like a flame to him and keeps him constantly stirred up.

*Later.*—Interviewed Father Furlong, St. Matthews Church. Mr. La Boda had been to see him recently. He believed that institutional care was what Mr. La Boda needed, but he had no special influence as Mr. La Boda has not been an active Catholic and Mrs. La Boda is not Catholic at all. Mr. La Boda had asked him for fare to New Orleans, but he had advised Mr. La Boda to work in order to take his mind off himself.

*Later.*—Met Mr. George, of the Citizens' League, by appointment in the chambers of the judge of Domestic Relations Court. When the judge found that it was not feasible to send Mr. La Boda to relatives and that Mr. La Boda was in the habit of returning when sent away, he decided to send Mr. La Boda as a voluntary patient to some hospital.

*March 15, 1917.*—Talked with social worker at the court. She stated that Mr. La Boda had been recommitted to the Psychopathic Hospital and that his case would come up soon.

*March 16, 1917.*—Talked with social worker, Psychopathic Hospital. She stated that case had come up the fifteenth and had been continued to the following Thursday because Mrs. La Boda had appeared and asked that he should not be sent to State Hospital. Requested a report and that a representative of the office come to the hospital when the case is heard.

*March 19, 1917.*—Letter written social worker, Psychopathic Hospital, reviewing the entire case in detail and urging commitment.

*March 20, 1917.*—Visited. Mrs. La Boda stated that she had no plan in particular for Mr. La Boda if he was not sent to a hospital, except she had thought of trying to raise money for him to go away. A friend is expecting to go on a farm in the spring in Wyoming, and she thought Mr. La Boda could go there with this friend. She expected to be present at the examination on Thursday but stated she had rather put the matter of Mr. La Boda's release into the hands of his brother. Mrs. La Boda seemed to think the authorities were cruel in trying to arrest him, speaking of it as "hounding him." She seemed unable to see that this was necessary if he was allowed freedom and was still to be kept away from her.

*Later.*—Telephoned social worker, Psychopathic Hospital. She asked visitor to see that the elder Mr. La Boda come to the hospital to talk with her.

*Later.*—Interviewed the father. He did not wish to go to the Psychopathic as he seems to fear that his daughter-in-law will consider that he is interfering. However, he said he would be glad to see his son receive treatment in a hospital. He thought perhaps it would be better to send him to a hospital farther away from the city. He finally promised to go to see social worker.

*Later.*—The following letter received from the Registrar of Tulane University:

> Acknowledging your letter of March 13, it does not appear that we have had a student in any department of the University within recent years by the name of Francesco La Boda. If he came originally from one of the Central American countries it is possible that he may have registered under his mother's maiden name. We have had some difficulty in past years in identifying men for that reason. If you can give me more definite information as to the department or course of study he attended, and his mother's maiden name, I shall be glad to look into the matter further.

*March 22, 1917.*—District Superintendent and visitor in court as witnesses. The father and brother of Mr. La Boda had written a letter to the court requesting that Mr. La Boda be committed. Mrs. La Boda did not oppose the plan, and the judge committed him.

Mrs. La Boda says that she is getting along very nicely with the new domestic arrangement. The woman is very kind to the girls and takes good care of them when they are home from school. Her tenant's husband works at night and leaves the house before Mrs. La Boda gets home from work and does not get home until after she and the children are gone in the morning, so there is no collision at meal time.

*May 1, 1917.*—While visiting in the neighborhood, discovered that Mrs. La Boda's flat is vacant. Neighbors did not know where she had gone.

*June 21, 1917.*—Mrs. La Boda in office, asking advice. She moved early in May, as the people who sublet her house and she did not get on well together. The man drank and was generally disagreeable, so Mrs. La Boda stored her furniture and went into furnished rooms. She has paid $24 on the $40 loan, and now the Discount Company is threatening foreclosure. There is still $11.50 due on the original furniture bill, and Mrs. La Boda is afraid she will get into trouble for having given a mortgage on furniture which was not paid for. Told her to consult Legal Aid about this.

*September 8, 1917.*—Letter from New Orleans Family Welfare Organization saying Mr. La Boda was there begging to be returned to Chicago and asking prompt investigation.

*September 12, 1917.*—Two letters received from New Orleans, making further inquiry, and also stating that Mr. La Boda's cousin is arranging for his return to Chicago.

*Later.*—Report by telegram to New Orleans Family Welfare Organization reporting that Mr. La Boda is a mental case.

*September 13, 1917.*—Telegram from New Orleans Family Welfare Organization telling of Mr. La Boda's leaving New Orleans on fruit train, time of arrival uncertain.

*Later.*—Further letter from New Orleans saying that he had left.

*Later.*—Telephoned judge of Domestic Relations Court apprising him of contents of telegram from New Orleans Family Welfare Organization and asking if Mr. La Boda could not be met at the train. He said he was not concerned about having man met at train since he was sure that man would "bob up" somehow and then could be apprehended and returned to the State Hospital.

Telephoned social worker, Psychopathic Hospital, contents of same telegram and suggested to her that she get in touch with Illinois Central Railroad officials to see if they would take the trouble to have man held on train until it reaches a certain point in Chicago tomorrow morning and if they will do this, social worker to arrange to have man met and returned to State Hospital. She promised to take up the matter as suggested.

*November 24, 1917.*—Mrs. La Boda in office, to ask for Thanksgiving basket. Mr. La Boda returned from New Orleans September 16, came directly home, and made so much trouble that the next day Mrs. La Boda went down to court and complained. The judge said that Mr. La Boda was not insane but was lazy, and as soon as he could apprehend him he would send him to the Bridewell. Mr. La Boda found out that Mrs. La Boda had been to court and he went down to see the judge to plead his cause and the judge sent him to the Bridewell for a year. Mrs. La Boda showed visitor her skirt which was the only one she had and was almost in rags. Gave skirt from office donation.

*December 6, 1917.*—Letter written State Hospital for the Insane asking if they have information concerning Mr. La Boda since he left the institution.

*December 11, 1917.*—Letter received from managing officer of the State Hospital, dated December 10, 1917:

> Replying to your communication of the 6th inst. with regard to former patient, Francesco La Boda, beg to say that he was admitted as patient here, March 30, 1917, and was considered to be suffering from presenile psychosis.
>
> He escaped July 24, 1917, and was dropped from the rolls three months from date of escape. I regret to say we have had no communication from Mr. La Boda since our last communication with you.

*June 15, 1918.*—Mrs. La Boda in office to ask for assistance with grocery bill. Explained that visitor would call on the seventeenth at 12:15.

*June 17, 1918.*—Visited at 12:15 while Mrs. La Boda was home from work at lunch. Clean cloth on table, and lunch consisted of bread, butterine, and coffee. Mrs. La Boda says since the five-day shutdown for fuel-saving she has not been able to meet her expenses. Her debts have been accumulating, which worries her so she is unable to sleep. This week she has not been able to meet her rent. About five weeks ago St. Matthews Church gave her a $3.00 grocery order.

Mr. La Boda's stepmother gave Leonora her outfit for her first communion as she was anxious that it should be made this year. Friends keep the children almost entirely in clothes.

Mrs. La Boda went to the Bridewell to see Mr. La Boda two weeks ago. Neither thinks there is any use trying to live together again.

*June 20, 1918.*—Called on Father Furlong, St. Matthews Parish, who gave visitor letter for Mrs. La Boda to take to the Relief Agent of the Parish to obtain "any necessary groceries."

*June 21, 1918.*—Visited. Gave Mrs. La Boda letter from Father Furlong. Gave her $3.00 cash to pay on her rent. She said that after school closed Carmelita would probably be able to work in a department store and earn $8.00 a week.

*July 18, 1918.*—Visited. Offered Leonora an outing. She is visiting in Oak Grove. Carmelita finished eighth grade in June. Had not secured employment yet but hoped she would soon.

*July 23, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. La Boda said Carmelita did not secure work in the department store, as she was not sixteen years old. Mrs. La Boda said she could not leave work to look for a place for Carmelita but that so far had kept out of debt. Case closed. Family is self-supporting.

*March 29, 1920.*—Mr. La Boda in office. He has been living at the St. Anthony Mission House for the last few weeks. Since his discharge from the Bridewell about a year ago, he has been doing odd jobs. Asked if the Welfare Agency could advance enough money so that he could start his cigar-making again in the shop where he left cigar boxes and labels.

*April 5, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. La Boda and Carmelita are working in the jewelry repair department of a department store. Woman in the house said that Mr. La Boda had been coming around making trouble and wanting to live there, so Mrs. La Boda took out warrant for him last week.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. La Boda, Sr., said that they all felt very badly about the way Mr. La Boda has been acting. He wants to live with his wife but does not want to work. Mrs. La Boda, Sr., likes his wife and feels sorry for her. The brother feels the same about the situation, but they all feel that there is nothing they can do. Mr. La Boda never comes there, and they do not tell his father much about him, as he is a very old man and it worries him.

The stepmother is of French and Spanish descent. She came from New Orleans to Chicago thirty-three years ago. The father is from

Spain. Her family is from Lorraine, France. The father and two brothers make cigars in a shop back of the house.

*Later.*—Telephoned House of Correction. Mr. La Boda committed there April 2 for six months unless fine of $100 is paid.

*April 6, 1920.*—Letter to Superintendent, House of Correction, asking for mental examination of Mr. La Boda, who had been again committed to the Bridewell, this time for six months, for non-payment of fine on charge of disorderly conduct.

*April 8, 1920.*—Letter received from superintendent, House of Correction, sending blank to be signed by relative of Mr. La Boda asking examination.

*April 9, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. La Boda does not want to fill out application for mental examination of Mr. La Boda. She says she did it once before when he begged her to send him to the State Hospital and has never heard the last of it. She is perfectly willing for anyone else to fill it out, and she thinks the only thing for Mr. La Boda is to be in the State Hospital, where he will get care and treatment. Mrs. La Boda has applied for a divorce. Mr. La Boda said that he did not believe she could get a divorce, but if she does, he will stay away from her. Mrs. La Boda knows she cannot get the divorce if he is sent to State Hospital but would rather have him there.[1]

She said that when they were married, Mr. La Boda provided fairly well for her. He never gave her money, however, but bought everything himself. Mrs. La Boda's relatives in Rochester and Mr. La Boda's parents always provided coats for the children. Mrs. La Boda feels badly because Mr. La Boda is so careless of his appearance now and looks like "a bum." When they were first married, he was most particular about his personal appearance. Mrs. La Boda always wanted to buy a little place either here or in New Orleans, but Mr. La Boda said he would not have anything if he could not have fifteen or twenty acres of land.

*April 10, 1920.*—Letter to superintendent, House of Correction, saying that Mrs. La Boda will not fill out the blank, although she would like Mr. La Boda committed to State Hospital.

*April 13, 1920.*—Letter received from superintendent, House of Correction, saying that Mr. La Boda had been examined and was neurasthenic, not insane.

[It must be remembered that agencies for dealing with nervous maladies were in 1920 far less developed than at the present time

[1] [See *Illinois Revised Statutes*, chap. 40, "Divorce." See below, p. 594, note.]

and far less ample than those intended for the treatment of the insane. The helplessness of the welfare worker in the absence of the expert medical and nursing service is illustrated by this record.]

### 9. The Family of Joseph Jenkins

*(An Insane Printer, Whose Wife Is Subnormal)*

[The Jenkins family came to the attention of the Family Welfare Agency, July 25, 1914, when Mrs. Jane Jenkins came to the office asking help. She had been for two months living in a furnished fourth-floor room, for which the rent is $1.50, which they pay by doing some work for the landlord. Mr. Jenkins, she said, was a printer whose health had failed so that he had to give up indoor work and he had procured a horse and wagon and taken their three-year-old son Bobby (born January 17, 1911) with him and started out selling notions. In Alabama, near Montgomery, he had left the child with some people living on the road he traveled while he went into town to church. While he was gone, someone beat the child; but he was asleep when Mr. Jenkins returned, and he did not discover the fact until he had got too far away to go back. He therefore drove on to a village and left the child again while he went this time to sell his goods. When the bruises on the child were discovered, he was put in the county jail and was still detained. Mrs. Jenkins said that Mr. Jenkins had always provided well for his family, earning $20 to $25 a week. He had always been a good father, and she believed him innocent. She was just about to be confined when his health broke down. Little Ellen was born at the County Hospital June 24, 1914, not long after Mr. Jenkins started out. There had been a little boy, James, born in June, 1912, who had died in the County Hospital of pneumonia a few months ago. This nearly broke Mr. Jenkins' heart. She was entirely without resources and asked for help.

At that time the family were known to the Legal Aid Society, who had collected wages once for Mr. Jenkins, and to the County Hospital. No other agency was registered.

Mrs. Jenkins was only twenty-three years of age, while Mr. Jenkins was nine years older than she. The Welfare Agency visited, corresponded with the authorities in Alabama as well as with the relatives and friends whose names were learned from Mrs. Jenkins at the time of an interview in her room the following Monday (July 27, 1914). The investigation brought out the fact that her parents

were alive and in a home for ex-Confederate soldiers and their wives in a neighboring state, that Mrs. Jenkins had four brothers, a sister, and an uncle, and that Mr. Jenkins was said to have always been very unkind to her and to Bobby. One of her brothers, Harry Brown, living in St. Paul, offered to care for her and the baby if she would go to St. Paul, and after a time in the Home for the Friendless and after much effort to secure Mr. Jenkins' release, she went to St. Paul.

After a brief period there, however, she returned in January, 1915, to Chicago. Mr. Jenkins was found not guilty of beating the child and so was released, while Bobby was put in an orphan asylum in Alabama where he remained until 1921. Mr. Jenkins had spent much of his childhood in an industrial school, and there was a general belief that he was cruel to his child. There was at this time an unsuccessful attempt to have Mrs. Jenkins examined by the psychiatrist. From this time until April, 1917, there were at intervals brief contacts or inquiries regarding the family with the constantly renewed suggestion that the children were neglected, that Mrs. Jenkins was of poor mental equipment, and that he was unkind.

From April 21, 1917, until December 14, 1922, there was no contact. On that date, however, Bobby, now almost twelve years old and released the year before from the Alabama institution, applied at the office for help.

There were now four children besides Bobby: Leila (born August 27, 1916), David (born August 30, 1918), Joseph Lee (born July 9, 1920), and Richard (born August 27, 1922). The record continues with Bobby's interview and the appropriate investigation. (Ellen is no longer in the family, see below, p. 209.)]

*December 14, 1922.*—Bobby in office (referred by Vocational Guidance Bureau). He has been down to apply for a work certificate but is refused because he is only twelve and in the fifth grade. Mr. Jenkins drinks and works so little that the whole burden is left on Mrs. Jenkins. Bobby wants to help. He is sure his father will refuse to come to office, but he will ask his mother to come.

*December 15, 1922.*—Telephoned Vocational Guidance Bureau (Miss Zener). Bobby reported there that his father would not work. Mrs. Jenkins does what she can but is unable to be away much because of the baby. Worker has reported the family to the Goodfellow Department of the *Courier* for Christmas.

*January 24, 1923.*—Visited Mrs. B. M. Messer, who lives on the same floor with the Jenkins family and is on good terms with them.

The Jenkins' use the Messer telephone very often. Mrs. Messer has a club foot and gets about with difficulty. It was by merest chance that she was visited. The entrance was dark, and visitor went to the wrong door. Mrs. Messer is a woman of intelligence and has a very comfortable home. It is simply but tastefully furnished. She lives with an unmarried daughter, who is employed. At first she was non-committal. She knew of the Jenkins' affairs, knew that there was a great deal of quarreling in the home, and knew that Mr. Jenkins was severe with Bobby, but it was not until she had been promised that her name would not be used in any way that she became willing to tell what she knew. She says that she believes Mr. Jenkins would kill her if he knew she told anything. A promise was given Mrs. Messer that her name would not be used without her consent. She offered, then, to make affidavit to the facts as she gave them if it became necessary for a prosecution of Mr. Jenkins.

The family is living in a five-room apartment, well lighted but dirty, in which there is a bathroom. The rent is $30. Mr. Ralph P. Drake rooms there, but he has been ill and is not paying his rent.

Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins have lived in the present rooms about two years. [Previous addresses were secured.] Their roomer is an old man about eighty years old. Mr. Jenkins talks religion with this man considerably and also with a young man who frequently visits the house. Last winter Mrs. Messer used to have Mr. Jenkins take care of her stove—bring in coal and remove ashes. He stole some coal now and then, but Mrs. Messer does not hold that up against him as she believes he was pretty hard up. Mrs. Messer says that Mr. Jenkins has his good streaks and is likable.

About two years ago Mr. Jenkins was superintendent of a Rescue Mission at 277 California Street. Mrs. Messer showed an announcement of a Mission party which gave this information. This party was to be held in the rear basement of the First Methodist Church. Mr. Jenkins has since become estranged from the church, and, although a good many visitors have been coming to his house of late—probably church visitors—Mr. Jenkins is not on friendly terms with them and refuses to let Bobby go to the Sunday school. Mrs. Messer also showed a telephone card gotten out by Webster Brothers, old employers of Mr. Jenkins. She knows, too, that he worked for a printing company at 611 Wells Street just before Christmas. She believes he lost his job there. About a week ago he began work again and is employed by some printing company.

Mr. Jenkins' greatest trouble is drink. When he is drinking he is violent. The last spree began before Thanksgiving. He had been painting for the landlord and when he had finished the work the landlord took him to a store and treated him. (This store presents a front of groceries and fruit, but there is a bar in the rear where anyone can get a drink.) When Mrs. Jenkins found out that her husband was drinking there, she went to the store and asked that drink be refused him. Mr. Jenkins became very angry about it, and there has been a great deal of trouble. About two weeks ago Mrs. Jenkins had her husband arrested because he was drinking and was not supplying his family with food. Quite recently he beat her with a leather strap. Another source of trouble is her poor housekeeping. Mr. Jenkins is really quite clean and is a good cook. Mrs. Jenkins is slovenly. Before the last baby was born, Mr. Jenkins attempted to get his wife committed to the State Hospital. He showed Mrs. Messer the report of a mental examination conducted at the City Hall. Mrs. Jenkins was described in this report as being of low mentality, but not committable.

Bobby is another source of trouble. Mr. Jenkins thinks he is "weak-minded." He beats him unmercifully. Sometimes he beats him because of stealing. (Bobby steals money from home and has stolen some from Mrs. Messer, but she believes that he has only stolen when he wanted something to eat.) But more often he beats him for slight disobediences or for poor school reports. Three times Mr. Jenkins has, to the knowledge of Mrs. Messer, taken Bobby to a forest preserve west of town, has stripped him, and has beaten him. Mr. Jenkins has told of it and so has the boy, and either the boy or his mother could probably be induced to tell of this again. Another favorite punishment of Mr. Jenkins is to make Bobby stand up all night. Mr. Jenkins orders him to stand up and sees to it that he does it. He also makes the boy scrub and do other housework all day Sunday when he expresses a desire to go to Sunday school. All of the children are punished occasionally, but Bobby gets the most. Mr. Jenkins seems to feel some affection for Leila.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Jenkins. It was next to impossible to get in. Mrs. Jenkins talked from behind the door and insisted repeatedly that Bobby wasn't going to work and that she didn't want any help. After long conference at the door and much persistence, Mrs. Jenkins consented to visitor's coming in—the argument that won being that any conversation at the door might be heard by the neighbors.

The rooms were unspeakably dirty. There were dirty rugs and dirty clothing everywhere about, the beds that could be seen were filthy, and the kitchen table was covered with dirty dishes.

Mrs. Jenkins could not be approached on anything pertaining to family life or to their movements of the last few years. She is decidedly erratic and wild-eyed. She would talk about the seven years' separation from Bobby, but only from the standpoint of her husband's having won from all the people who would have kept Bobby away from her. She frequently referred to the attorney who had finally succeeded in restoring Bobby to her. (Mrs. Jenkins would not give the name, but Mrs. Messer had already given it.) Mrs. Jenkins says that her husband does not expect Bobby to work and feels that it is a reflection on him for Mrs. Jenkins to have allowed Bobby to go to Vocational Guidance Bureau for a working certificate. She knows he would be furious if he heard that a visitor had come as a result. She says that Bobby misrepresented when he said that his father was not trying to get a job. At this remark, Bobby answered, "But he did go to shows all the time when we had nothing to eat." Mrs. Jenkins was not at all in a mood to admit anything against her husband. She did state at the end of the interview that she and her husband would be willing to accept anything that was given them, but that they would never ask for anything. The children seem bright and well nourished. Leila, who came in during the interview, was recognized as a child seen a few days before at St. Boniface's School Kindergarten when the Sister in charge had said of her, "The poor little thing has an insane mother and her father is out of work." Leila recognized the visitor as having been at St. Boniface's School. She added that she attends Catholic school but is not a Catholic and that she attends Catholic church (even though she is not a Catholic) in order to get some of the meanness out of her.

Several times Mrs. Jenkins alluded to the presence of her mother and one brother in Chicago. The mother lives with the brother, but Mrs. Jenkins would not give the address.

*January 25, 1923.*—Letters written to: (1) The Charity Organization, Montgomery, Alabama [asking history of episode in 1914]; (2) Associated Charities of St. Paul [asking their record on the case].

*January 29, 1923.*—Telephoned Dr. Robertson of First M.E. Church. He recalls Mr. Jenkins only very faintly. His real connection was probably with the Joseph Lee Mission, and he thinks it went out of existence two years ago with the death of Mr. Joseph Lee.

Dr. Robertson's only recollection of Mr. Jenkins is that he was unfriendly toward the church, but he believes he can find out something more of the man through church people who were more directly connected with the Mission. He will try to do this and will report to Welfare Agency.

*January 30, 1923.*—Bobby in office. His mother had sent him over to report that Mr. Jenkins became angry on January 28 and has left no money for food since that time. He is getting his own meals outside of the home and buying no food for Mrs. Jenkins or the children. He became angry because Mrs. Jenkins allowed Bobby to go to the home of his grandmother (address given by Bobby). The grandmother gave Bobby an overcoat, a shirt, a sweater, and some trousers—all army clothes—which had belonged to her son, Leslie Brown, with whom the grandmother is living. Mrs. Brown also gave a jar of jam. When Bobby came home with these things, Mr. Jenkins was furious. He slashed the clothes with a knife and threw the glass jar of jam on the floor breaking it. Then he made Bobby stay up all night—scrubbing, mopping, and dusting until 4:00 A.M., when he allowed him to just stand until 6:30 A.M. It always makes Mr. Jenkins angry to find the family has received any help from the outside. Miss Flournoy, the nurse, who lives on the fourth floor of the building in which the Jenkins' live, has given Bobby clothes at various times, as have also the janitor and Mrs. Moore. It always makes Mr. Jenkins angry, but this time he was particularly violent.

A great deal of trouble between Mr. Jenkins and Bobby seems to be over Bobby's dirtiness. His face and hands are black, and his clothing is dirty and tattered. He said that his father never does buy him any clothing. About a month ago Mr. Jenkins brought home a can of lye which he mixed with hot water and used to scrub Bobby's face, ears, neck, and arms. He started to make Bobby get into a tub of lye, but Mrs. Jenkins "raised Ned" and he stopped. The skin came off the parts scrubbed. January 27, Mr. Jenkins was again angry because Bobby was not clean and he made him sit for two hours in a tub of cold water. When Bobby got out he was so stiff and cold that he sat most of the night behind the stove. Mr. Jenkins frequently compels Bobby to wear an old dress of his mother's about the house. If, at these times, it is necessary for Bobby to go to the store, he has to wear the dress. He tries to tuck it under his coat so no one will see it, but it is long and torn and gets out in spite of him.

Three times within Bobby's memory, his father has taken him to a forest preserve and has taken off all clothing but his underwear and has beaten him. He beats him with a horse whip (which Bobby showed when the home was visited) after tying his hands behind him with a leather dog strap and fastening his feet together with a chain. The last time he was beaten was January 20. There seemed to be no marks of this left. Bobby likes to go to Sunday school, where Mr. Smith is his teacher, but his father refuses to let him go.

The old man who lives with the Jenkins' is Ralph P. Drake. He is about seventy-five years old. Bobby does not know how long his people have known this man, but he has been living with the family since Bobby came back two years ago. He pays only $4.00 a month. He offered to pay $10, but Mr. Jenkins would not take it. Often, however, when Mr. Jenkins does not provide for the family Mr. Drake buys food for them.

Bobby is slightly hunched over and seldom looks directly at his listener. He has the details of his story remarkably well in mind, but there is some possibility of his romancing. He says that he does not believe Mr. Jenkins is his own father. He believes he must be a stepfather because an own father would not be so abusive. He has never known of a stepfather who was abusive. He knew one boy who had a stepfather, but the man was quite good to the boy. He has read of stepfathers but has never read anything like the punishments he receives. He has read of one boy whose parents died, leaving him with an uncle. This uncle cheated the boy out of money and was mean to him in that way, but he did not subject him to beatings. Bobby stated that his father had threatened to take him to the forest preserve that night (January 30). When he was asked to come to the Welfare Agency office the next day and show his bruises, he said he would do so if he was able to walk. When asked if he ever had been beaten so he could not walk, he said that he had not been recently but that the expected beating was to be worse than any he had yet received—that his father had said he was going to make blood come. When asked if his father had made blood come, Bobby said he did not remember but that he had heard that when he was a small boy in Alabama, his father had beaten him until blood came and until he could not walk. It was suggested to Bobby that it might be made possible for him to stay with his uncle, Leslie. Bobby said he would like to do this, but that his father would kill his uncle for taking him in. Asked if his father had ever killed any-

body, he said that his father killed a negro in Alabama. The negro did not die immediately but died within a week, and his father was in jail eighty-seven days for the offense.

Bobby cannot say "th." He says "muvver," "favver," Mr. "Smif."

Visited the Jenkins home with Bobby. Mrs. Jenkins did not hesitate to admit visitor, but she was still non-committal as to her relatives in Chicago and as to Mr. Jenkins' work place. She stated, however, that since Bobby had gone to the Welfare Agency office, her sister-in-law had come to the house and had left $8.00 for her. Mrs. Jenkins seems almost at the mercy of Bobby when any questions as to the abuse of Bobby are asked. Bobby at first gave all the answers, and Mrs. Jenkins echoed his words. When it was insisted that Bobby keep still and Mrs. Jenkins do the talking, she corroborated his story of being taken to the forest preserve for beatings, of being scrubbed with lye, of being compelled to sit in a bathtub of cold water, and of being compelled to work or stand up all night. She stated, however, that the beatings at the forest preserve were not so severe as Bobby had said and she denied that Mr. Jenkins had threatened a beating for this night. Bobby interrupted then, saying that his father had put the leather strap and chain in his pocket. Mrs. Jenkins laughed at that and pointed to the leather dog strap hanging in the corner. Bobby acknowledged this to be the strap he had referred to and said that his father must have changed his mind. Mrs. Jenkins says that Bobby is a disobedient boy and that he needs punishment, but that when his father is brutal she often interferes. The possibility of taking Mr. Jenkins into Court of Domestic Relations for not contributing to her support was discussed with Mrs. Jenkins. She seemed to be willing to do that but is afraid of any action that might "break up her family." She has heard that at one time Mr. Jenkins threatened to put her in an insane asylum, put Bobby in some institution, and turn the other children over to relatives. She seems to feel that she is at the mercy of Mr. Jenkins, and has to be careful that she does not rouse him to any such action.

During the visit an officer from the Protective League came to the door and tried to gain admittance, saying that he had heard there was trouble in the family and that a twelve-year-old boy was being abused. Mrs. Jenkins denied everything and refused to let the man in. When he had gone, she accused Bobby of having reported his father to "Juvenile Court." The idea could not be dislodged.

*January 31, 1923.*—Telephoned Mr. Stowell of the Protective League. He had heard of Mr. Jenkins' brutality to Bobby and had asked the Protective League to investigate. He could not, however, name the person from whom he had heard this (see below, p. 216), but he will attempt to get the name and send it to the Welfare Agency.

*February 2, 1923.*—Letter received from St. Paul.

*February 4, 1923.*—Letter received from Birmingham saying that when Bobby was released from the orphanage in Alabama he was to be under the supervision of the Wanaki Club of Chicago. Attorney T. V. Speakman had handled the case for Mr. Jenkins.

*February 12, 1923.*—Telephoned T. K. Bragg of the Wanaki Club. Mr. Bragg has seen Bobby off and on at lodge affairs and had supposed that he was happy. There has been no regular supervision of the Jenkins' home but lodge people have visited there. Personally, Mr. Bragg has no faith in Mr. Jenkins. He cannot be depended upon as he does not keep his word.

*February 15, 1923.*—Telephoned Dr. Thornton, who had had Mrs. Jenkins under observation several weeks. He diagnosed her as "manic depressive early stage." He found suggestions of syphilis and thought her a moron. Telephoned Juvenile Court. Officer has talked with Mr. Jenkins, and while he admits beating Bobby he insists that it is necessary in the discipline of the boy and that he does not beat severely. He says that Bobby is a great problem and too much for him. He is willing to have Bobby placed and can pay $15 a month for his care. Mr. Jenkins expects to move to another neighborhood as soon as possible and will secure a housekeeper. He says that Mrs. Jenkins is unable to do the housekeeping and that this is a great trial. Mr. Jenkins did not seem willing to consider having his wife committed. He seemed to be satisfied that with a housekeeper the home could be managed.

*Later.*—Mrs. T. V. Speakman in office to attend Advisory Committee meeting. Mrs. Speakman says that she and her husband first became acquainted with the Jenkins family through the Joseph Lee Mission. Later, when Mr. Jenkins wanted to secure Bobby's release, he asked Mr. Speakman's help. Mr. Speakman was persuaded of Mr. Jenkins' conversion, Mr. Jenkins was earning and wanted Bobby, and workers at the Mission recommended that Mr. Speakman work for Bobby's release. About six months after Bobby returned to his family, Mr. Jenkins broke with the church because of a dis-

agreement with another member and the Speakmans have seen nothing of him since that time. He is no longer connected with the Mission. Bobby has gone to Mr. Speakman many different times, and Mr. Speakman has helped him. A few months after Bobby arrived in Chicago there was some suspicion of his having removed something from the pocket of a coat in the church, but this was not proved.

Mrs. Bledsoe will make preliminary inquiries concerning the possibilities of getting Bobby into Braedalbane. Mrs. Speakman consented to ask Mrs. Joseph Lee to talk to Mr. Jenkins about plans for having Mrs. Jenkins sent to a sanitarium and the children cared for out of the home. If Mrs. Bledsoe finds it possible to get Bobby into Braedalbane at any time she shall have power to put him there, and the Committee will be responsible for the money.

*February 16, 1923.*—[Letter written to Juvenile Court, giving Dr. Thornton's diagnosis and suggesting action looking toward the commitment of Mrs. Jenkins.]

*February 20, 1923.*—Visited St. Francis Asylum. Ellen was brought to St. Francis on June 25, 1915. She was accompanied by both parents, who stated that they were unable to care for her and wanted her adopted. It was explained to the parents that they would forfeit all right to her in taking such a step and that they might better consult with relatives and friends as to ways and means of getting through their difficulties, but the parents answered that they had already done this and that no help was forthcoming. They were quite confident that they were doing the only possible thing they could. Ellen remained in the Asylum for four months, when she was placed for adoption in a Chicago physician's family. She was legally adopted August 1, 1916. Several pictures sent to St. Francis after her adoption were marked with her new name. Nothing has been heard of her in the past few years but the Sisters will have the home visited and report as to present conditions. Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins have never inquired about Ellen since placing her in St. Francis. They know nothing as to her present whereabouts.

*February 21, 1923.*—Visited Mrs. Messer, a neighbor. Mr. Jenkins has been working nights and Sundays and is now earning from $60 to $70 a week. He hates Bobby now worse than ever and will kill him if he comes home. Leila is beginning to steal too. She took nickels from Mrs. Messer's telephone box this morning.

The break with the church came as a result of a statement supposed to have been made by Mr. Jenkins that Bobby was not his own child.

Another man in the church quoted Mr. Jenkins as having made this remark, and Mr. Speakman upheld the man who had quoted him. Mr. Jenkins denied having made the remark.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Jenkins to ask for clothes for Bobby. Mrs. Jenkins said she would like to send them to him, but that she was not the "boss" and that she had very little "say." She would be afraid to give them.

*February 23, 1923.*—Bobby was sent to Braedalbane Farm. The place was secured for him through Mrs. Bledsoe of the Advisory Committee and through the Good Will Club, which voted $400 to maintain him a year.

Captain Stirling asked his immediate entrance so that he could give him personal attention for the next two weeks before he leaves for a vacation. Bobby was outfitted with new clothes by Mr. Henry Bledsoe, Jr. Mr. Jenkins signed a release to the Juvenile Court "for three years" or until Bobby "has reached his majority."

*March 2, 1923.*—Visited. Mrs. Jenkins was wearing a new black sateen apron, and the house was somewhat straightened. She says that Mr. Jenkins is much more agreeable now that Bobby is gone. Mrs. Jenkins, however, blames Bobby for most of the trouble in the home and feels that it was impossible to manage him without corporal punishment. She tells of how comparatively easy David is to manage. On February 28, David played with matches and started a fire. When Mr. Jenkins came home at between 10:00 and 11:00 at night, Mrs. Jenkins, as is her custom, told him of the children's behavior during the day. Mr. Jenkins got David out of bed and talked with him. Mrs. Jenkins believes the talk made an impression and that David will never repeat his offense. In speaking of Bobby's conduct, Mrs. Jenkins tells of how he once demolished a new chair. He smashed it up with a hammer. Later she found that Mr. Jenkins had ordered Bobby to do this because he was angry with his wife. He had left word with Bobby that the chair should be demolished by night and that if it was not Bobby would be whipped.

*March 5, 1923.*—Visited Mrs. Messer in response to a telephone call from her. Mr. Jenkins earned over $80 last week, according to his own story. He is tired when he gets home and is much more peaceable than formerly. He seems to be willing for Mrs. Jenkins to get treatment in a sanitarium, and Mrs. Messer believes that he would be willing to have Mrs. Jenkins' mother come to the home to care for the children. She is pretty old, but in Mrs. Messer's opinion, it would

be a dangerous job for any other decent woman. Mrs. Messer tells of how following an impulsive threat of hers to report Mr. Jenkins if he continued to abuse Bobby, a report did get out which Mr. Jenkins attributed to Mrs. Messer. He was very angry, and she felt that her life was in danger. He was finally convinced that this particular report did not come from her, and he took the first occasion to fall down on his knees and beg her forgiveness. At the time a Mr. Jones of the Garden Mission was visiting the Jenkins home, and Mrs. Messer felt that Mr. Jenkins' performance might have been for his benefit.

*March 9, 1923.*—Juvenile Court officer telephoned. Mr. Brown is unwilling to sign for Mrs. Jenkins' commitment even though a doctor's statement has been secured. The Mental Hygiene Society is not sending doctors into the homes, and it will be necessary now to get a neighborhood doctor to make a statement on Mrs. Jenkins.

*March 12, 1923.*—Read County Hospital record, which shows that a boy was born to Mrs. Jane Jenkins August 27, 1922.

*Later.*—Visited Bureau of Vital Statistics and secured verification of the birth of Richard Jenkins. The registration number is 96572–5.

*March 30, 1923.*—Telephoned Braedalbane in response to a report from Mrs. Messer that Bobby was to come to the city for his Easter vacation. Mr. Jenkins had heard that the boy expected to call upon Mrs. Messer and had threatened to kill him if he saw him around there. Mr. Johnson of Braedalbane said that Bobby had been provided with money for the trip to Chicago by his uncle, Leslie Brown, in whose home Bobby expected to stay. The boy had already started for the railroad station, but Mr. Johnson, after consulting with Captain Stirling, agreed to have him brought back.

*April 10, 1923.*—Mrs. Messer telephoned reporting that Mrs. Jenkins has her house shining and that Mr. Jenkins is very much more agreeable about the home. He bought $100 worth of clothes for Mrs. Jenkins at Easter. On Easter Sunday, Mrs. Jenkins dressed up the children and herself and although Mr. Jenkins was working that day, he stopped long enough to take her and the children out to dinner. In the afternoon she took the children to a "movie." Later Mr. Jenkins met them and all came home together.

Leila is the chief difficulty now. She lies and steals, and whipping and putting her to bed are having no effect upon her. She stole $1.00 from her mother only a few days ago.

*April 18, 1923.*—Telephoned Dr. Grossman, who had gone in to see Mrs. Jenkins at visitor's request. He reports that Mrs. Jenkins is subnormal, but not committable.

*April 26, 1923.*—Juvenile Court officer telephoned to report that conditions in the Jenkins' home do not warrant bringing the children into court. Mr. Jenkins is working and contributing, and there is apparently no opening for court action at the present. The Juvenile Court will therefore drop the case unless a new complaint is entered.

The officer visited again yesterday and found conditions much better than formerly. Mrs. Jenkins has brightened up considerably. On April 22 Mr. Jenkins took her and the two younger children to Milwaukee, while the two older children stayed with Mr. Drake. During the visit yesterday Leila came home from school, saying she did not feel well. Mrs. Jenkins said that she had been ill the day before and was using that as an excuse to stay from school. She insisted upon Leila's return and accompanied her to the school.

*April 30, 1923.*—Telephoned Mrs. Messer. Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins had a violent quarrel yesterday. Mr. Jenkins did not work and got up late. When he started to build a fire, he found no kindling and blamed Mrs. Jenkins for it. Later he became angry because a button was off his shirt. He tied his shirt in knots and hit Mrs. Jenkins over the head with it. Then he threw a shoe at her, striking her in the leg, so that she is bruised and limping today. Mr. Jenkins also blames Mrs. Jenkins because Leila stole 40 cents last week. He has punished Leila for this, but has not been over-severe with her. He threatens now to cut up the new clothing he bought for Mrs. Jenkins at Easter. Mrs. Jenkins has reported all this to Mrs. Messer. Mrs. Jenkins believes that the main trouble now is that Mr. Jenkins is drinking moonshine. Mrs. Messer reports that Mrs. Jenkins continues to do better in her housekeeping.

*May 10, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in office in answer to letter. He is a small, slight, blond man with a very sloping forehead, dressed in a fairly neat dark suit. As he talked his lips trembled. His attitude was at first antagonistic, and he said that all he asked was that his family should be let alone, that three or four organizations were interfering.

Later, his manner became conciliatory and he explained at some length that he had always had a very hard time. He was brought up in an industrial institution in Alabama, where he was taught only as far as the third grade. He says that he has read and studied a

great deal and has tried to educate himself and that he believes that he will yet "amount to something." He works in a printing-shop as pressman but is planning to open a printing shop of his own within the next few weeks and says that he is sure that he will make a success of it as he knows where he can get business. His salary is $55 a week with extra for overtime.

Mr. Jenkins denies he was guilty of beating Bobby in the South when he was a small child and attributes all that trouble to his brother-in-law, Leslie, whom he accuses of writing numerous letters, which he had friends in Buffalo, St. Paul, and other towns mail for him, purporting to come from themselves. These letters were to the Alabama institution in which Bobby was held, and all accused Mr. Jenkins of being unfit for his guardianship. He admits that he had been beating Bobby before he was sent away and believes that he was right in doing so. He says Bobby was an extremely bad boy, that he lied and stole, and took indecent liberties with Leila himself and also asked neighboring boys to do the same thing; that he frequently struck the younger children and several times threw stones at women on the street. He admitted that beating did Bobby no good and says that the only disciplinary measure he discovered that did have a good effect was dressing him in girl's clothing. That kept him straight for about three weeks. He says that he tried to "chum" with Bobby, taking him to picture shows, etc., but Bobby "threw him down." He now wishes never to see him again, but that it was a great mistake for him to be sent to Braedalbane. He should have been sent to the State School for Delinquent Boys. Mr. Jenkins says that he seldom whips the other children, but that he does sometimes do so. "The Bible enjoins us to spare the rod and save the child." He thinks the reason for present-day juvenile delinquency is that people are not permitted to whip their own children. He says that he is going to have his children baptized into the Roman Catholic church, although he himself will not join it as his faith remains that of a Methodist. He ascribes the present complaints against him to Mr. Joseph Lee, and the reason for his enmity is his sending the children to a Catholic school.

Mr. Jenkins says that Mrs. Jenkins was mentally unbalanced when he married her and that he did not realize it until about three months after their marriage. He has left her numerous times, but she has always begged him to come back. At times he has felt that he must place his children and break up the home, but all organizations

opposed him in this plan. Now when his wife is improving and better able to make a home than formerly, they want him to do it. He will never consent to put them in institutions as his own experience in institutions makes him very bitter against that. After he was grown up he worked in several institutions for a short time and in Mississippi was offered the assistant superintendency of one. Neither will he consent to have his children adopted. Explained to him that we would not advise either of these plans but that boarding-homes could be found for them. He says that if it becomes necessary for his wife to go to the sanitarium he will find a housekeeper. Failing in this, he will arrange his business in the same building with a flat for residence and take care of the children himself. He knows he can do this as he did do it once before when his wife was in the hospital and he took them daily to the nursery and did the washing at night. He feels that he deserves a great deal of credit for the help he gives his wife with the housework and says that he often washes and mends at night.

The only help he wishes to accept from any organization is to have someone come in and supervise his wife's housekeeping. He says that she can cook well, but that she does not do it and does not give the children regular meals. She will not clean or do anything in a systematic way. He wants her to send her washing out, but she will let it go sometimes for as much as three weeks before getting it ready. He does not give her a regular weekly allowance, but asks her each day how much she wants and never denies her anything. He complains that she spends too little money. He would also like to have her go back to see Dr. Thornton, whose treatment helped her very much when she went there before. He said that he paid Dr. Thornton $25 for each treatment and that she took one each week for about two months. Mr. Jenkins says that he loves his mother-in-law and would like to have her come to live with them. He thinks she might consent to do this if it were not for Leslie Brown.

Arranged with him to have a visiting housekeeper take up work with his wife, and visitor promised to talk with Mrs. Brown, Sr., about coming there to live. Mr. Jenkins offered payment for these services and when it was refused, insisted upon giving the organization a dollar.

*May 11, 1923.*—Mr. Drake in office. He feels that the whole trouble in the Jenkins' home is Mr. Jenkins' neatness and Mrs. Jenkins' carelessness. Mr. Jenkins is "two-fifths" Cherokee on his mother's

side. His father was German. He has a violent temper and is brutal, but his whole idea is to have his children do right and to have his home well kept. He does not make allowances for Mrs. Jenkins. He seemed to try to make something of Bobby and often took him to theaters, but when Bobby disobeyed Mr. Jenkins was abusive. The children are untrained and Mrs. Jenkins can never hold them in place, but argues with them as if she were talking with people of her own age. The children become impudent and pay no attention to her comments. The house is unspeakably dirty. Mr. Drake has lived with the family for five years. He is a solicitor for a towel supply company. He knows that Mrs. Jenkins has no friends, but he had not thought that friends might be a stimulus to her to keep her home looking better. He will make this suggestion to Mr. Jenkins.

*May 12, 1923.*—Visited Mrs. Brown, Sr., to talk with her about going to live in the Jenkins' home. She at first thought that she could not consider it, but finally said that if the home were cleaned up it might be possible. She mentioned the fact that there is no hot water in the house and no gas. Mr. Jenkins has had the gas turned off because he says that Mrs. Jenkins had the gas on at all hours and ran up a bill of as much as $30 a month even in summer. Mrs. Brown, Sr., promised to talk with her son about going to the Jenkins' and to give her decision later.

*May 13, 1923.*—Visited Leslie Brown. (While Juvenile Court had been on the case it had been agreed that the court would confer with Mr. Jenkins and the relatives.) Mr. Brown is a chef and works from 2:00 to 12:00 P.M. He has a frail little wife and one little girl of twenty months. Both Mr. and Mrs. Brown are intelligent-appearing people and seem to have good ideas on food and discipline of children. Mr. Brown is gentle and kindly and seems to have the warmest interest in his sister and her children. He dislikes to see her suffer but feels at a loss as to what to do. Mr. Jenkins has been unfriendly since the time Bobby was taken over by the authorities in Alabama. He feels that Mr. Brown was in large part responsible for the fact that there was so much trouble in getting the boy released. Mr. Brown has not seen Mrs. Jenkins in twelve years. He lived in Chicago several years prior to 1918, but did not know where the Jenkins' were living. In 1918 he went to New York to live. In 1920 he returned for three months and during that period he met Mr. Jenkins on a car. Mr. Jenkins was very unfriendly and repulsed all overtures of Mr. Brown, who tried to remind him that "the war was over."

Mr. Brown left the car in order to avoid a scene. In December, 1922, Mrs. Brown, Sr., came from Waterloo, Iowa. She had been staying there with her daughter, Mrs. Grace Bird. Mrs. Bird is a widow, who has two daughters. She keeps boarders and is making every effort to save what little was left by the children's father for their education. When Mrs. Brown, Sr., came to Chicago, Mrs. Bird wrote Mrs. Jenkins to announce this fact to her. Shortly afterward Bobby came to the Browns' home to get his grandmother and take her to his home. The Browns were not at home, but Bobby left his address. Mr. Brown immediately looked up the Jenkins family but did not find them at home. He left his name at the Jenkins' home as Leslie Somerville. Somerville is his middle name, and he had felt that it might avoid trouble with Mr. Jenkins if he used that name. Mr. Jenkins, however, came to the Browns' home and not finding Mr. Brown there, he talked to his wife about him and denounced him in no uncertain terms. Since then Mr. Brown has felt that it would only make trouble for him to go to the Jenkins' home, but Bobby came out often and was very friendly with him. When his mother gave Bobby some of his clothes and a jar of jam, Mr. Jenkins broke the jar of jam and cut up the clothing and forced Bobby to bring the things back. He had to carry the broken glass jar as well as the clothing. His father accompanied Bobby to the Browns' home, but stood out in front until he delivered the things. James Adams, who was then living in the same building with the Browns, saw the boy and heard his complaint and was so incensed that he reported the matter to the Protective League. Mr. Adams was the source of the report of January 30, 1923. His wife has several times taken his mother to the Jenkins' home, but it is hard for them to get very far with Mrs. Jenkins, as she tells her husband everything. Mrs. Brown, Sr., who was also seen, is very unhappy over the situation but does not know what to do. Mrs. Bird sent clothing to Mrs. Jenkins while Mrs. Brown, Sr., was with her, but Mr. Jenkins refused to let Mrs. Jenkins keep the clothing.

Harry, the brother in St. Paul, to whom Mrs. Jenkins went in 1914, died of tuberculosis.

Mrs. Jenkins went to school in Brownsville, Missouri, until 1905. She always held her own with the other school children and never allowed herself to be bossed around. She never worked outside of her home as there was nothing for a girl to do. Mrs. Brown, Sr., believes now that it would have been better if she had worked away

from home. Mrs. Jenkins met Mr. Jenkins at a mission in Joplin. He was a pressman in the city and came out to the mission and gave good talks. Mr. Brown, Sr., hated him from the start and never had any faith in him. Mrs. Brown had a letter from Mrs. Jenkins a few days ago in which she told of having received $100 worth of clothes for herself at Easter and $50 worth of clothes for the children. She added in the letter that she had been ill and her husband had told her that if she died he would bury her and never notify her relatives.

Leslie Brown is much pleased with Braedalbane and is doing all he can to encourage the boy. Bobby expresses his desires easily and wrote this week asking for a fish rod, cocoa, and sugar. He wanted the cocoa and sugar to make fudge. These things were all sent to him. When Leslie was told that it might be possible to keep Bobby through high school and perhaps college, he was enthusiastic and said he would do all in his power to impress the boy with the advantages of an education. Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Brown would very much like to have Leila in their own home, but they did not believe that Mr. Jenkins would consider giving her up, especially to them. Mrs. Leslie Brown and Mrs. Brown, Sr., will, however, visit the Jenkins' home and suggest that in view of the difficulties Mrs. Jenkins is having with Leila they might take her in hand for a while.

*May 14, 1923.*—Visited with visiting housekeeper. The plan for renovating the rooms and for getting a woman in to help with this work was discussed with Mrs. Jenkins. It was explained that while her mother might be persuaded to come to her home if conditions were improved, it would be hard to get her to do so under present conditions.

Mrs. Jenkins did not seem to feel that her husband would be willing to pay for the help of a woman, but she agreed to try it.

*May 18, 1923.*—Visited with Zella Burke (case) to begin to clean. Mrs. Jenkins refused to allow anything to be done, saying that her husband did not wish it and could not afford to pay.

*May 22, 1923.*—Zella Burke returned to the Jenkins' home to do cleaning after Mr. Jenkins had assured visitor that he did wish to have the home cleaned and that he was willing to pay for a woman. Zella went early in the morning and worked one-half day. She reported that Mrs. Jenkins co-operated very well. The front room and part of the bedroom were cleaned. Clean clothes were put away and bureau drawers were repaired and put in order. Zella also combed out Leila's hair and planned to clean a ribbon for her.

*May 28, 1923.*—Visited. Mr. Jenkins was at home. He has lost his job and believes it was partly due to the fact that he stayed away so many days last week. Work is slack and his employer would not make allowances. Mr. Jenkins does not think it will be hard to get another job. Meanwhile he will help with the housework himself, and it will not be necessary to send in the cleaning woman this week. She worked two and one-half days last week, but it was necessary for Mr. Jenkins to stay home and insist that the cleaning was to be done. Mrs. Jenkins asked her husband to telephone the office last week saying that the work was done and even if it was not she could herself get help if it was necessary. Mr. Jenkins had to threaten to burn up all the clothes before he could get Mrs. Jenkins to send them to the laundry.

The house is cleaner than it has ever been. The windows were clean and there were clean curtains. The front-room furniture is covered with cretonne. Cretonne also covers the base burner which still stands in the middle of the front room, and cretonne is draped ungracefully over the mantle and bookcase. Mr. Jenkins has swept down all the walls and has washed the ceiling of the hall and kitchen. He expects to paint the kitchen and hall. The back room, which has been reported by Mrs. Messer and by Mrs. Brown as filthy, has been cleaned out. Mr. Jenkins burned up three soiled mattresses and replaced them with new ones. He has his things in the back room now and is sleeping there on a cot.

Mr. Jenkins' father died when he was five. His father was a carpenter and building laborer, and while he provided well for his wife and child during his life he was able to save nothing. Immediately after the father's death Mr. Jenkins was sent out selling papers. His mother was an invalid, and he lived with her in one room when he was at home (most of the time he bummed). He had very little schooling. When he went to school, he usually managed to get himself into some scrape and get expelled. When he was expelled, he was as good as dead so far as the schools were concerned. No attempts were made to get him to return to school. On the streets he also got into trouble. Following some street scrape in which he was involved, it was decided to place him in some institution. This was when he was fourteen. Mr. P. A. Caldwell, who had known him as a newsboy on the streets of Savannah, came to the front at this time and offered to pay for his care in a good school. The Southern Industrial School of Alabama was recommended as the right place, and Mr. Caldwell paid $150 a

year for the next six or seven years for his care in this school. He evidently had no idea what sort of place it was. Mr. Jenkins is very bitter about this experience and says he learned only deviltry while in this school. His mother died one year after he went to the school. Mr. Jenkins gave his mother's name as Mrs. Eleanor Ellis Jenkins but while he talked Mrs. Jenkins was muttering: "Her name was Mrs. Blackburn; she didn't even give Joe his right name."

Mr. Jenkins declares that Leslie Brown is a bad man. He says that while Mrs. Jenkins lived in Joplin (before she married), Leslie used to urge her to go out on the street soliciting. Mr. Jenkins knows this because Mrs. Jenkins has told him. He knows positively that Leslie lived with his first wife for several years without any pretense of marriage. Mrs. Brown then began to go out with another man, and there was trouble between Leslie and that man. There was some shooting, and Leslie was picked up by the police. Mr. Jenkins heard of the trouble and went to the station to help his brother-in-law out. The trouble was settled by getting them to marry. It was later learned that the wife had been previously married and had no divorce. Leslie then had his marriage annulled and was married to the present Mrs. Brown.

When Bobby was first taken over by the Montgomery authorities he was placed in a Baptist orphanage. He stayed there for about three years and was then placed in the Southern Industrial School. According to Mr. Jenkins the transfer was made because Bobby was too bad a boy for the Baptist orphanage. From the time Mr. Jenkins learned that he was in the Southern Industrial School, he began to work for the boy's release. He was confident that he would learn no good there. When he finally went to get the boy he was determined to stop at nothing. He went prepared to shoot if that was necessary. Mr. Jenkins is glad Bobby is out of there but he feels confident that the School for Delinquent Boys is the only place for him. Everything that could be done for him at home was done, and still he was so bad that he could not be touched by kindness. He had to have severe punishment. Mr. Jenkins says, however, that the punishments were never so severe as reported. He did not scrub the boy with lye but with white naphtha soap which he calls "lye soap" and which Bobby probably thought was lye. He did take him to the forest preserve and beat him, but he did not beat him hard. This was the punishment Mr. Jenkins gave Bobby for calling his mother a liar. It was given on two different occasions, but Bobby called his

mother a liar a great many times. Mr. Jenkins' idea in beating the boy was to instil respect for his mother. In this connection it was observed that Mr. Jenkins shows no respect whatever for Mrs. Jenkins. He talks to her as to an exasperating child. During the visit one remark to her was "Tuck up your underskirt. I have told you over and over not to go around with your underskirt showing." Then he turned to the visitor and commented on Mrs. Jenkins' behavior as if she were not in the room. Several times during the interview he reprimanded her sharply and sent her to the kitchen on one errand or another.

Mrs. Jenkins talks most of the time. She rambles on with what she has to say whenever she wants to talk and regardless of whether or not someone else is speaking. Several times Mr. Jenkins and visitor waited for her to stop, but it was next to hopeless; she does not come to the end. At several times when Mr. Jenkins and visitor continued in conversation Mrs. Jenkins went right on talking. She is not particular that she has an audience. Once she went to the window and began to sing.

Mr. Jenkins told at length of how affectionate the children are with him and how they love to kiss him. He called little David to him, put him on his lap, and had David kiss him. There was no spontaneity about the child, but he did everything Mr. Jenkins told him to do.

Mr. Jenkins feels it was a mistake for him to have married a woman with mental trouble and that it was graver to have had children. He does not want more children and is confident that there will be no more. . . . .

He would like to have Mrs. Jenkins go away for at least two weeks' vacation this summer and would like to have her go without the children so that she can have more rest. He would also be willing to have her take another two weeks with the children.

*June 1, 1923.*—Visited. Mr. Jenkins had gone out to look for work. None of the children was dressed, although it was after nine. Mrs. Jenkins put an underwaist many sizes too large on Joseph Lee and then brought out some clean but unironed trousers for him. When she put them on she fastened the middle front hole of the trousers on the side button of the underwaist. The child could hardly walk and the trousers finally fell off. Mrs. Jenkins let him run around without them for a little while and then put them on again. This time she buttoned them in the right place, but the button holes

were too large and they fell off again. She went through this performance three times during the interview. Once she brought some safety pins and put them on the couch beside her. Later she opened the safety pins and put them on the floor.

The baby's face was burned a fiery red. Mrs. Jenkins took the children to the park on Memorial Day so that Mr. Jenkins would have the house to himself and could paint the kitchen. During the day the baby fell asleep on the grass and the sun was in his face. Mrs. Jenkins did not think to move him.

The kitchen has had several coats of paint. Mr. Jenkins washed the walls and ceiling before he painted. The work was very neatly done, and the room is much brighter than before. Mr. Jenkins has put one coat of paint on the hall and expects to give that another coat.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Messer. She is moving. She had a bundle of clothing which Miss Flournoy had left with her to be sent to Bobby.

*June 8, 1923.*—Visited. Mr. Jenkins has finished painting the hall and has also papered the living-room. The paper is light gray with a rose border and brightens up the room considerably. Mr. Jenkins is still out of a job. According to Mrs. Jenkins, Mr. Drake has paid no room rent in several months. He is doing very little work. Mrs. Jenkins was told she might go for a two weeks' vacation, but she was not enthusiastic. She said her husband would not allow her to go.

*June 9, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in office. He is to begin work on June 11, but will not have so good a job as before. He believes the story of his washing Bobby's hands with lye, which was told by the Juvenile Court officer, had something to do with his losing his position. He is beginning to doubt the wisdom of Mrs. Brown's coming to live in the family. She is seventy years old and "her mind is not exactly right."

Mrs. Jenkins is doing better in the home now than she has ever done before during her married life. Since Mr. Jenkins has been at home she has also told him more about her family than ever before. She says that her father died in the State Hospital for the Insane in Iowa. She says, too, that an aunt on her mother's side died insane.

*June 12, 1923.*—Visited. Mrs. Jenkins did not open the door for a few minutes and when she did she had put the baby in the bedroom and shut the door. Joseph Lee was in another bedroom with the door shut. He came out once, but his mother made him go back to bed even though it was 10:15. David had been bathed and was

playing about the house. When Mrs. Jenkins was asked why she would not let the children get up, she said that they were not exactly well and that they did not go to bed until 9:30 or 10:00. Several times she suggested that her husband was in need of money, but that he would not take anything as charity, that he would only accept money with the understanding that it was a loan.

*Later.*—Mr. Jenkins in office, saying that he would not be paid until June 23 and that he will only get one week's pay then. His finances are exhausted and he would like a loan of $20 or $25, which he could pay back at the rate of $5.00 or $10 a week. Mr. Jenkins says that Mrs. Jenkins kept the children out of sight because they have had a skin eruption and she was ashamed to have them seen. All the children had it, but Leila and David are free from it now. Mr. Jenkins says that the two youngest children are in bed at 7:30 or 8 and the oldest two at 8:30 or 9:00. He is heartily in favor of the idea of Mrs. Jenkins' taking the children to the Infant Welfare Station. He believes that it might be effective in helping her raise her standards for the care of the children. He asks that visitor urge her to do this. Mrs. Jenkins takes directions better from visitor than she ever has taken suggestions from Mr. Jenkins.

*June 14, 1923.*—Met Mr. Jenkins for evening appointment. He had telephoned saying that he was hard pressed for money. Mr. Jenkins explains that he had to pay $50 to rejoin the Union. He had his Union card with him. The particular local to which he belongs pays $12 a week during periods of unemployment after the member has paid dues for one year. After one year's membership Mr. Jenkins will also be entitled to sick benefit at the rate of $15 a week. Mr. Jenkins' wages are $48 a week. He is paid every two weeks but as one week's pay is held back he will have only $24 on June 23. He was given $20 as a loan.

He says that while Leila gave considerable trouble a little time back, she gives no trouble now. He believes that her stealing and lying were a result of Bobby's influence.

Mr. Jenkins said again that Mrs. Jenkins had never during her married life done so well as she is doing now. Mr. Jenkins says that David and Joseph Lee need treatment and that he would like to have all the children vaccinated. He felt, too, that it might be well to have thorough physical examinations for Mrs. Jenkins and all the children.

*June 20, 1923.*—Visited. Two appointments have been made with Mrs. Jenkins to go to Illinois Dispensary with the children, but she

has backed out both times. The first time she seemed to feel very much abused. Mr. Jenkins had told her to be ready at a certain time and had been angry when he found that she had no clean clothes for the children. She had not sent out her laundry for the past few weeks because of the shortage of funds. Mrs. Jenkins says that her husband supplies clothing for her, but does not realize that the children ought to have a great many changes of clothing. He wants his children to look just so, but he does not want to get clothes for them. Mrs. Jenkins refused offers of help in getting the children ready to go and as a last excuse said that David was wearing old shoes of Leila's and that his father would wish to buy new shoes. During most of this interview Mrs. Jenkins was attempting to wash in a kettle placed on the floor. It was too small for the washboard, which extended over the sides. It was suggested that Mrs. Jenkins might put it on a chair, but she said she was used to using it the other way. There is a stationary tub in the kitchen, but this stains the clothes. Mrs. Jenkins' attitude toward her children is not at all that of a parent. Several times she called Leila to verify the truth of some statement she made or to give her advice. Once she said to the child, "I just don't blame Bobby for leaving. Do you, Leila?" She then went on to tell how Bobby had had to work all the time. He used to go out picking up wood which he later split and sold to neighbors. This money he used to turn over to his father.

All the children except David were dirty and only partially clothed. David had been bathed and was playing outdoors in a clean suit. Mrs. Jenkins finally said that she could not go to the Dispensary today. She will telephone visitor when she is ready to go. The breaking-out on her children was chicken pox, but she did not say anything about it before as she knew Leila would be excluded from school and the home would be in quarantine. Mrs. Jenkins will try to have the children cleaned up and ready to go to the Dispensary on June 27.

During this visit, Leila came in with a pail of ice she had just secured from an ice wagon in front of the house. She said that the ice man threw it out and that a boy picked it up and gave it to her. Mrs. Jenkins seemed to feel that it was all right to allow Leila to go out with the pail in the hope that she might get some free ice.

*June 27, 1923.*—Acompanied Mrs. Jenkins and four children to Illinois Dispensary, where the children were given thorough examinations. Mrs. Jenkins was given only a cursory examination as a great

deal of time had been taken with the children and Mrs. Jenkins and the doctor were both impatient to get away. Mrs. Jenkins was found to be in need of dental work.

[Here follows transcript of medical history and findings, see below, p. 232.]

The doctor regards David's physical development as fair. David was intelligent and responsive throughout the examination.

Aside from the circumcisions there were no other recommendations for the children. The general findings are remotely indicative of syphilis. The physician advises a Wassermann on Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins and blood tests on the children later if the parents' tests are positive.

Mrs. Jenkins was stolid and gay by turns. Sometimes she appeared not to hear the doctor's questions and at other times the questions would strike her as being extremely funny. She was on the whole co-operative.

*July 2, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in visitor's home at night by appointment. He had telephoned several times saying that he wished to get a report on the physical condition of the children. Arrangements were made for operations for David and Joseph Lee at the South Side Hospital on July 10, and Mr. Jenkins agreed to this. He also stated his willingness to go himself and to accompany Mrs. Jenkins to Social Hygiene League for Wassermanns.

He says that the feeding of the children has been largely his problem. Joseph Lee does not talk yet, but Mr. Jenkins says that he did talk at one time and was set back by a beating he received from Bobby.

Mr. Jenkins is working only a day here and there as he can get work. He lost his job because there were other Union men who had been out of work longer than he. He mentioned this as the reason for his inability to begin payment on the $20 loan.

*History.*—Mr. Jenkins' father died either from ptomaine poisoning or a blow on the head. He was ill in bed at the time a collector came to the house. He got into an argument with the collector, and the collector gave his father a blow on the head, from which he died two hours later. The mother died of typhoid malaria. She had been a cripple from "child-bearing and rheumatism." She was "four-fifths Cherokee." She lived in an Indian settlement in the hills eighty-seven miles from Savannah. She had never lived in a house until she was married. Mr. Jenkins' father had lived in the neighborhood of the

Indian camp. When he married he took his wife to Savannah. Just before her confinement his father and mother walked back to the Indian camp and Mr. Jenkins was born there. The mother's maiden name translated meant "Overbrook." Both mother and father were illiterate. The mother was one of thirteen children, but only one sister grew up. She still lives in old neighborhood. Mr. Jenkins' father has some relatives—one in Chicago—but Mr. Jenkins does not "claim kin."

Mrs. Jenkins' father was filthy, but Mrs. Brown was always clean.

Mr. Jenkins always thought that his wife was clean, too, at the time he was calling upon her. Now he realizes that her people cleaned her up when he was coming. There are times now that she does not comb her hair for days.

He spoke of Ellen and took a long time to tell how he had brought himself to the point of actually giving the child away. When he was released from imprisonment in Montgomery, he bummed his way to Chicago only to find that his wife had gone to St. Paul. He then bummed his way to St. Paul and found that his wife had gone to a sister in Iowa. He then bummed his way to Iowa. Shortly after his arrival in Iowa, Mrs. Jenkins made an extremely vulgar remark, about her relations with other men during his absence. Mr. Jenkins does not believe it at all, but at the time was so disgusted that he left his wife and came back to Chicago, taking up quarters in a bachelor rooming-house. A few months later Mrs. Jenkins and Ellen followed him here. She arrived about 11:00 P.M. and was brought to Mr. Jenkins by a social worker who had met her at the train. She wanted to stay in the same building, but Mr. Jenkins explained to her that no women were allowed in the building. The social worker then volunteered to get a room for Mrs. Jenkins, and she did so. Mr. Jenkins soon found out that the place to which his wife had been directed was an immoral place. He then secured other rooms and began to live with his wife again. This was during the winter of 1914–15, when there was a period of great depression. Mr. Jenkins found it almost impossible to make a living. Several times he heard of positions open to a man and wife and asked Mrs. Jenkins to help him by taking such employment with him. She always refused to do so, saying that she did not get married with any idea of earning her own living. Mr. Jenkins finally told her that he could not take care of her and the baby, too, and that the best thing for the baby

would be to give her away. Mrs. Jenkins preferred this to helping her husband earn a living.

In speaking of his discipline of David, Mr. Jenkins told that he had recently given David strict orders not to go on the street until he had been cleaned up. When Mr. Jenkins later came home he found David on the street dirty. He asked him why he was there and David said his mother had given him permission. Mr. Jenkins took him upstairs and attempted to verify the story. Mrs. Jenkins said that she had told David not to go out and that he had gone in spite of her order. Mr. Jenkins then ordered David to stand in the corner with his arms folded. When Mr. Jenkins thought he had been sufficiently punished, he said to him, "Come over to papa, put your arms around his neck, kiss him, and tell him the truth." Mr. Jenkins proudly tells that David obeys him implicitly when he gives such a command. When such methods are disapproved and suggestions are made that commands should be positive and punishments should be, so far as possible, consequences of wrong doing, Mr. Jenkins is inclined to argument. He politely resents any question of his methods. He is thoroughly familiar with child psychology and discipline, has tried everything, and is convinced that the methods he employs are the only effective methods.

Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins and the children have been going to the beaches or forest preserve every Sunday since warm weather began. Mr. Jenkins talks about going all week, but in order to have the children presentable it is necessary to keep Mrs. Jenkins up until 12:00 or 1:00 the night before. The children's clothing is not in order, and Mr. Jenkins insists upon having it in order before Mrs. Jenkins goes to bed. Mr. Jenkins bobbed Leila's hair last Saturday. It has been very scraggly. He cut the hair of all the other children, too, and has suggested to Mrs. Jenkins that it might be well for her to bob her hair, as she so rarely combs it.

*July 10, 1923.*—Visited to accompany David and Joseph Lee to the hospital. Mrs. Jenkins has her hair bobbed. Mr. Jenkins is now working at the Diversy Printing Co. That is why he was unable to accompany the children to the hospital. The children were entered and David had his operation. Joseph Lee had a temperature and was not operated upon. The superintendent advises that he be brought in on July 16, and the nurse will then see that he is in condition for an operation on July 17. The children are very well liked at the hospital. Their obedience is pathetic. If they are placed on a

chair, they stay there and continue to face in the direction in which they are placed.

*July 12, 1923.*—Telephoned Visiting Nurse to report that David is home from the hospital and needs dressings. A nurse will visit and attend to this.

*July 16, 1923.*—Accompanied Joseph Lee to hospital as Mr. Jenkins had telephoned saying that he would be unable to take the child. Joseph Lee was entered and will be operated upon July 17.

Mrs. Jenkins states that the reason that Mr. Jenkins could not go with Joseph Lee was that he has effected a reconciliation between Mr. Drake and his family. Mr. Drake was formerly a drinking man and, because of this, his wife refused to have anything to do with him. She died a few years ago without having seen him in over twenty years. Mr. Drake has two very beautiful daughters, who are college graduates (Mr. Drake had pictures of his daughters as children with him when he came to office on May 11). Through Mr. Jenkins' intercession, one of the daughters came from St. Louis to visit her father. She has been in the Jenkins' home. They gave her the front room for a sleeping-room. The daughter is leaving the city tonight, and Mr. Jenkins wants to go to the train with her and her father.

Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins have both been to Social Hygiene League (verified).

*July 19, 1923.*—Visiting Nurse went in to care for Joseph Lee, who came home from hospital yesterday.

*July 20, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in office with all four children at 6:15 P.M. He has been interested in getting their weights and heights. He cleaned up the children after his return from work, and all wore new suits.

[The details as to weights and heights are omitted.]

The children were beautifully clean, and their clothing was in good taste. Joseph Lee wore new sandals which were given him with some new underclothing at the hospital. (The underclothing he wore to the hospital was in very bad shape. Mr. Jenkins was ashamed of it, but had nothing else clean.) Mr. Jenkins did not seem to resent the clothing having been given to the child and asked visitor to thank the superintendent of the hospital for the things. He did not say anything when he went to get Joseph Lee because he believed the things had been given by visitor. Mr. Jenkins was eager to talk about his care of the children and about their good physical condition.

Mr. Jenkins traveled a great deal before he was married. He went to England on a cattle boat. At other times he went to South America, Central America, and Mexico. He hoped to go to Alaska and Japan; but, when he stopped off at Joplin, Missouri, to work, he met Mrs. Jenkins and was married.

When Mr. Jenkins left the office he took the children to walk by the lake.

*July 21, 1923.*—Telephoned Miss Ridgeley, superintendent of hospital, as Mr. Jenkins had requested, to thank her for the sandals and underwear. She says that Dr. Jonas Payne of the staff has a friend in the country, who is comfortably fixed and who would like to take both David and Joseph Lee if the Jenkins' home is ever broken up. The friend has two children of his own and wants two more. If any foster home becomes necessary notify Dr. Payne or Miss Ridgeley.

*July 24, 1923.*—Visited at the request of Mr. Jenkins, who had telephoned, saying that Mrs. Jenkins had been quite peevish at Social Hygiene Dispensary and that she was not at all persuaded as to the need for treatment. Mrs. Jenkins was quite willing to talk and at first said that she was disgusted with the Dispensary. Later, she said that she guessed they talked to her for her own good and that she would follow instructions.

Mr. Jenkins left the Diversy Printing Company July 17. "There were some things done that he did not like." Nothing was done directly to Mr. Jenkins. He left on account of what was done to other men. He has another job. Mrs. Jenkins does not know where.

Julia Drake, who visited her father in the Jenkins' home recently, suggested to Mr. Jenkins that bus rides would be splendid for the children. Mr. Jenkins took her advice and last Sunday took all the children for a long ride on the bus. He has bought earrings for Leila. . . . .

During the interview Leila and David were playing in the street. Several times they were noticed darting between automobiles to an ice wagon.

*Later.*—Telephoned Social Hygiene League. Although the Wassermanns on Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins were negative, Mrs. Jenkins is to return July 27 for further diagnosis. There is a condition which may not be venereal but should be cleared up. Worker at Dispensary had told Mrs. Jenkins that if after a week she fails to care for herself properly, she will be forcibly hospitalized.

*July 26, 1923.*—Visited to accompany Mrs. Jenkins to Infant Welfare Society. She was ready to go but looked worn. She had great circles under her eyes. Without waiting for a question she began to talk of Mr. Jenkins and, while she was talking, Leila piped up, "Papa hit mama last night." Mr. Jenkins became angry because the lamp chimney was not cleaned and because he found some dishes on the floor from which the children had been eating. Mrs. Jenkins had also placed a chair across the doorway in order to keep the baby in the kitchen, and he was angered about that. He threatened to break up everything he found on the floor. He smashed the lamp chimney. He hit Mrs. Jenkins on top of the head with a piece of wood and he slapped Leila but he was "not too severe with her." He was angry at Leila because she went down on the street dirty. When Mrs. Jenkins went to bed, Mr. Jenkins was still "raving" and said she could not stay there. He made her get up and said she should leave the house. At that point Mr. Drake interfered and said if she left the house she could not leave without money. He offered her $2.00, but Mr. Jenkins would not let her accept it. Mr. Drake told Mr. Jenkins that he was doing and saying things he would be sorry for and Mr. Jenkins finally said that Mrs. Jenkins might stay in the house, but that she would have to sit on an organ stool all night. Mrs. Jenkins took her place on the stool, but as Mr. Jenkins continued to fuss and swear, she finally slipped out of the house and spent most of the night on the stairs, in the basement, and under the sidewalk to the south of the building in which she lives. The sidewalk extends around a vacant lot used as a dump. A part of the area under the sidewalk is used for horses. About 4:30 A.M., she came in and went to bed. Mr. Jenkins left the house this morning still angry and swearing, and he did not go to work. Mr. Drake warned him that it was risky to stay away from work, but Mr. Jenkins said he was too upset to go.

During the interview, it was observed that Leila had on nothing but a soiled dress. She had been playing on the street with only the dress on. When Mrs. Jenkins' attention was called to this, she was angry at the child, but Leila protested that her mother had made her put her bloomers with the soiled clothes and that she did not know where to look for others. Mrs. Jenkins found a soiled underwaist and some torn bloomers.

Accompanied Mrs. Jenkins to Infant Welfare Society, where Richard was registered. Mrs. Jenkins wore long green earrings. . . . .

*August 27, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins telephoned in response to message left at their home asking permission for Welfare Agency to have any necessary dental work done for Leila and David before the opening of school. Mr. Jenkins was more than friendly and said visitor need never hesitate to take his children to doctors or dispensaries at any time; that he felt he could even put decisions as to minor operations in her hands; that she might sign his name for permission for such operations.

Mr. Jenkins has taken a position at the Alpha Printers and Engravers' Company. He began a week ago. He hopes soon to get a position with the May Flower Towel Supply Company. This is the company for which Mr. Drake is working. It is difficult to get work with the company as their employees stay on for years. If Mr. Jenkins gets this work he will earn $36 a week and a commission. The work will be largely soliciting, and Mr. Jenkins will be outdoors a great deal and will be able to keep better track of the home.

David is to begin school on September 4, and Mr. Jenkins rather plans to send him to the parochial school. He has told the Sisters that he is willing that his children be taught catechism, but that he does not want them to join any church until they are old enough to know what they want to do. A great many of his friends protest against his sending his children to the parochial school, but Mr. Jenkins has not decided to make a change as yet.

*August 29, 1923.*—Visited to accompany Leila and David to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary, where both children were registered and dental work on Leila was begun. The dentist examined David and said his teeth did not need attention. David was found to have a temperature of 102. Dr. Portage felt that this might be attributable to his tonsils and recommended tonsillectomy, but said that it was not urgent and might not be necessary for several years to come. David should return for re-examination in a few months.

Mrs. Jenkins and all the children went to Leslie's home for a birthday party about two weeks ago. It was the birthday of Leslie's little daughter. Mr. Jenkins was invited too, but did not want to go. He was, however, willing that Mrs. Jenkins should go, and he helped her to take the children out there. David spent one week in Leslie's home in August.

*September, 1923.*—On September 4 Mr. Jenkins came to the office, saying that he was ready to give up. While the housekeeping has been

a little better at times during the past few months, he believes there is on the whole no real improvement. Recently Mr. Jenkins sent the family away on a Sunday and did the washing himself. Mrs. Jenkins seems to take these things for granted and merely remarked when she came home that night that it seemed good to sleep in a clean bed. (The visiting housekeeper plan did not work out, as Mr. Jenkins lost his position and could not afford to hire help one day a week and about the same time the visiting housekeeper left the Welfare Agency and the position has not yet been filled.) Mr. Jenkins finds himself getting more irritable all the time. He is doing about one day's work a week. He throws over a job for any slight irritation. Mr. Jenkins believes now that it would be best to get hospital care for Mrs. Jenkins for at least several months. Mr. Jenkins has a hernia and can meanwhile get medical care for himself. If it is necessary to go to a hospital, he will do so and the children can be placed temporarily. If it is not necessary to go to a hospital, Mr. Jenkins would like to place the children in a day nursery and care for them himself at night. On the basis of this request, Dr. Lucey, county doctor, made two visits to the home. He reported that he regarded Mrs. Jenkins as a committable type, but he advised voluntary commitment. This was later discussed with Mrs. Jenkins, and while she was reluctant to go where there are "crazy people," Mrs. Jenkins was in this as in any discussion rather at the mercy of Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Jenkins' manner with Mrs. Jenkins was kindlier than usual, but he said himself that he knew he had only to order Mrs. Jenkins to put on her hat and come and she would do so. Mr. Jenkins finally told Mrs. Jenkins to take the calendar and go into another room and mark the day when she would be willing to go. Mrs. Jenkins marked the twentieth of September and came back giggling. Dr. Lucey reported, too, that Mr. Jenkins would probably have to be committed. He noticed a very "peculiar" look in his eyes.

After several conferences and several night visits, it was arranged that both Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins should be examined.

On September 10 Leslie Brown came to the office. He was worried because Mr. Jenkins had not been working regularly and he feared that the children and Mrs. Jenkins were suffering. The family came to the Browns' home for dinner yesterday, and Mr. Brown felt that the children were ravenous. The day was cool, and they came without coats. Mr. Jenkins is more friendly than he used to be and he at least helps Mrs. Jenkins to take the children out to the Browns'

home. Recently Mr. Brown gave Mr. Jenkins two chickens, and he did not object to taking them. Mr. Brown is now working in the mailing division of the post-office and is doing extra work as chef on Sunday. His wife is expecting confinement about September 20. The matter of hospitalization of Mrs. Jenkins was discussed with Mr. Brown and, when the object was explained, he seemed very willing to co-operate. He had been rather alarmed because he thought Mrs. Jenkins was being forced by her husband to go to an insane asylum. Mr. Brown again expressed willingness to take Leila into his home if that becomes necessary. He would prefer Leila to the younger children because of the expected new baby and because his own child is so young.

*September 14, 1923.*—[The following statements concerning Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins were sent to the Dispensary.]

MRS. JANE JENKINS

I. REASONS FOR REQUESTING EXAMINATION:

Mrs. Jenkins is filthy about herself and her home and shows very little interest in the care of her children. Mr. Jenkins has a violent temper and is continually quarreling with his wife. Is Mrs. Jenkins amenable to treatment? If so, what treatment is recommended? Is it reasonable to expect that she will recover sufficiently, so that, with teaching and the help of a visiting housekeeper, she can keep a fair home?

II. SOCIAL AGENCIES:

See attached report on Mr. Jenkins.

III. INFORMANTS:

Mother of Mrs. Jenkins, Mrs. Brown. *Impression:* Mrs. Brown is a neat, kindly appearing woman of far better standards of dress and thought than her daughter. She does not condone her daughter's housekeeping methods but she does not attribute them to a low mentality. She blames present conditions to Mr. Jenkins' long-continued abuse and neglect. Mrs. Brown and her daughter are very much alike in features, and Mrs. Brown, like the daughter, is highly distractible. She acknowledges no mental taint in the family.

Brother of Mrs. Jenkins, Leslie Brown. *Impression:* Mr. Brown is a frank, intelligent-appearing man. He is at present in the mailing division of the post-office service. He would be very willing to have his sister committed to an institution, if that is the recommendation of the doctors who examine her. He attributes her decline to her life with Mr. Jenkins, rather than to any "hereditary taint." He is willing to co-operate in any way to get the Jenkins' home on a happier and sounder basis. He offers

to care for one child in his home, if it is necessary to place the children while Mrs. Jenkins goes to an institution. Mr. Brown has, at all times, shown the greatest interest in his sister and her family, and even when persecuted by Mr. Jenkins, has not broken relations with the family.

Roomer in the Jenkins' home, Ralph P. Drake. *Impression:* Mr. Drake is a solicitor for the May Flower Towel Supply Company, for which he has worked over twenty-five years. He appears thoroughly honest and most impartial in his judgments. He never hesitates to tell Mr. Jenkins when he is in the wrong. He is very kindly in his attitude toward the children and is altogether a cohesive force in the home.

A neighbor who does not wish her name given out. This woman is crippled, and for a time lived in the rooms adjacent to the Jenkins'. Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins and Bobby all confided in her. They came into her rooms often to use the telephone. The woman has known so much of the brutality of Mr. Jenkins, that she is frightened at the idea of his ever learning that she had "betrayed him." She has had a very intimate knowledge of the family, and while of the gossiping type, we have found that her reports are founded on fact.

IV. Family history:

Heredity not known.

*Paternal and Maternal Siblings.*—Mr. Jenkins reports that an aunt of Mrs. Jenkins' on her mother's side died insane.

*Parents.*—Mrs. Jenkins' father was, for a number of years, in a Confederate Home in Iowa. Mr. Jenkins reports that the father was removed to the State Hospital for the Insane and died there. Mrs. Jenkins' mother is about seventy years old (described above).

*Siblings* (order not known).—Leslie Brown (described under Informants) has a wife and one child.

*John C. Brown*, 2420 Columbus Avenue, Davenport, Iowa. A report from the Davenport Welfare Agency, dated September 8, 1914, states that John C. Brown is a furniture finisher, earning fairly good wages and paying for a four-room cottage. He and his wife cared for the mother and father six years before they entered the Confederate Home.

*Harry Brown*, died three or four years ago of tuberculosis.

*Mrs. Grace Bird*, Waterloo, Iowa, is a widow with two daughters. According to Leslie Brown, she is planning to send her daughters to college, and is keeping boarders in order to save money for the children's education.

2. *Children.*—See report on Mr. Jenkins.

3. *Family life.*—The children have little or no respect for the authority of Mrs. Jenkins. When she gives a command, the children argue with her or disregard it. She talks with the children as with equals. One day, she said to Leila: "I don't blame Bobby for running away, do you, Leila?"

4. *Home and Neighborhood.*—See report on Mr. Jenkins.

V. Patient's personal history:

1. *Birth and Development.*—Mrs. Jenkins was born in 1891, in Brownsville, Missouri. According to Mrs. Jenkins' mother, Mrs. Jenkins was normal as a child and "held her own" with other children at school. She did not allow herself to be bossed and would even fight with her fists.

2. *Past illnesses.*—Dr. F. B. Thornton kept Mrs. Jenkins under observation from September 7, 1921, to October 8, 1921. His diagnosis was "Manic depressive—early state." The pathological conditions at the time of examination were: Teeth infection, anemia, greatly diminished leukocyte count, and enlarged liver. The general findings were extremely suspicious of syphilis. There was sugar in the urine and a trace of albumin. There was also a heart lesion and a serious disturbance of the glands of internal secretion. When examined at the Social Hygiene League in July of this year, Mrs. Jenkins' Wassermann was negative. There was a condition of inflammation, however, which worker stated might not be venereal, but for which Mrs. Jenkins should return for treatment.

3. *Education, Patient and Husband or Wife.*—See report on Mr. Jenkins.

4. *Economic, Patient and Husband or Wife.*—Mrs. Jenkins has never worked outside her home.

5. *Court Record.*—See report on Mr. Jenkins.

6. *Marital.*—See report on Mr. Jenkins.

7. *Personality.*—Our only information on Mrs. Jenkins prior to her marriage is the information given by her mother and brother—that she seemed normal in every way.

8. *Religion.*—There is at present no interest in religion that we know of.

9. *Recreation.*—Mrs. Jenkins apparently has no hobbies and no outside interests. She has no friends come to see her, and she goes nowhere to visit except to her brother's home. She goes there when her husband takes her there. She goes to restaurants and to movies when her husband takes her.

10. *Habits.*—Mrs. Jenkins is filthy in her personal habits. Her clothing is extremely dirty. She tells lies when her husband has directed her to tell them. We have no knowledge of her telling lies on her own initiative.

VI. Present illness:

Mrs. Brown and Leslie Brown are confident that the breakdown in Mrs. Jenkins is a result of her life with Mr. Jenkins. They feel that he has completely broken down her will. We have found that Mrs. Jenkins cannot be held to any line of conversation. We have seen her dress a child in trousers that did not belong to him, and have seen her repeatedly button the middle front button of the trousers to the side button of the underwaist. This hampered the child so in walking, that the trousers fell off. Mrs. Jenkins let him run around without them for a while, and then put them on the same way. There was no front button on the underwaist. During

this same interview, Mrs. Jenkins picked up several safety-pins and put them on the couch beside her. Later, she opened all of them and placed them on the floor. We have also found her washing in a kettle placed on the kitchen floor. The kettle was too small for the washboard, which extended over the sides. It did not seem to occur to Mrs. Jenkins that she could, at least, put the kettle on a chair. One day this summer, Mr. Jenkins took Mrs. Jenkins and the children to Lincoln Park and left them there for the day. During the day, the baby fell asleep. Mrs. Jenkins paid no further attention to him until he awakened, and the child had meanwhile been exposed to the direct rays of the sun. His face was terribly burned, but it had not occurred to Mrs. Jenkins that the spot in which she had placed him would not be shaded all the time. Mr. Jenkins recently quarreled with his wife because she had not cleaned the lamp chimneys. At first, he told her she would have to sit up on an organ stool all night. She did this for several hours; then Mr. Jenkins ordered her out of the house and she went. For a time, she stayed in the basement, and later she crawled under the sidewalk and stayed there for several hours.

### Mr. Joseph Jenkins

I. Reasons for requesting examination:

Mr. Jenkins has throughout our acquaintance shown tendencies to extreme brutality and religious fanaticism. In addition to this, Dr. Lucey, county physician, last week commented on a "queer look in Mr. Jenkins' eyes" and advised a mental examination.

II. Social agencies:

Our attention was first called to the case on July 25, 1914, when Mrs. Jenkins came to our office, asking help in securing her husband's release from an Alabama jail. The only other agencies on the case at the present time are Braedalbane Farm, where Bobby is being cared for, and the Infant Welfare Society.

III. Family history:

1. *Heredity.*—August 14, 1914, P. A. Caldwell, state and county tax collector of Savannah, Georgia, reported that he had known Joseph Jenkins about fifteen years, but that he knew nothing at all of his parentage. Joseph had been a newsboy on the streets of Savannah and was familiarly known as "Biscuits."

Mr. Jenkins himself reports that his father was a carpenter and building laborer and provided well for his wife and child during his life. He was of German descent. He died either from ptomaine poisoning or a blow on the head. When a collector came to the house, Mr. Jenkins' father got into an argument with the collector and the collector struck him on the head. The father died two hours later. Mr. Jenkins' mother was part Cherokee.

She lived in an Indian settlement eighty-seven miles from Savannah. She had never lived in a house until she married. She was one of thirteen children, but only one sister grew to maturity. The mother died of typhoid malaria. She had been a cripple from the time of Mr. Jenkins' birth. She was crippled from "child-bearing and rheumatism." Both mother and father were illiterate. There were no siblings. (*Impression:* In giving these facts Mr. Jenkins was trying to prove to worker that his own development had been phenomenal when the handicaps of his heredity were understood.)

2. *Children.*—Bobby (born January 17, 1911) Braedalbane Farm, Illinois. Ellen (born June 24, 1914) given to St. Francis' Orphan Asylum for adoption on June 25, 1915 (verified). (Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins have never inquired about Ellen's whereabouts since leaving her at the asylum. We were informed in February, 1923, by the superintendent that the child had been legally adopted August 1, 1916, by a physician. At the time of our inquiry, there had been no report from her in two or three years, but before that she was well and was very well liked.) Leila (born August 27, 1916). Leila last year attended the kindergarten of St. Boniface's School and was reported as precocious. She gave some trouble with lying and petty stealing. The three younger children, David (born August 30, 1918), Joseph Lee (born July 9, 1920), Richard (born August 27, 1922), were examined at Illinois Dispensary June 27, 1923, and were reported "well developed and well nourished."

3. *Family Life.*—Mr. Ralph P. Drake, a man of about seventy-five or eighty years, lives with the Jenkins family. He has been with them for five years. He is a kindly, sensible man, who neither condones Mrs. Jenkins' housekeeping nor Mr. Jenkins' bad temper. He talks very sensibly with either of them as occasion demands. The children are terrified when Mr. Jenkins speaks. If he places a child on a chair, the child does not move his head until Mr. Jenkins gives permission. When Mr. Jenkins asks a child to come and kiss him (as he sometimes does to show that he is affectionate with the children), the child walks over flushed and trembling and does as he is told. Mrs. Jenkins is filthy about herself and about her house. She also neglects to wash the children and to change their clothing. All these things annoy Mr. Jenkins. Sometimes he washes the children and washes and irons their clothes, and at other times he will fly into a frenzy because a lamp chimney has not been washed. On one occasion recently he ordered his wife to sit up all night because she had not washed the lamp chimney. During the past winter he became angry because Bobby's face and hands were dirty, and scrubbed the boy with lye. At another time when the boy had not bathed as he wished Mr. Jenkins placed him in a bathtub of cold water and compelled him to sit there two hours. Again when he felt that the boy should have helped with the housecleaning, he made him scrub the floors, wash dishes, and clean for several hours of the

night and compelled him to stand in a corner the rest of the night. Several times he took Bobby to a forest preserve, tied his hands behind him, and beat him. When Mrs. Jenkins ran up large gas bills, Mr. Jenkins had the gas turned off.

This latter information was given by Mr. Jenkins as a defense for having no gas or hot water in his home. The information on the abuse of Bobby came from Mrs. Jenkins, from Bobby, from a neighbor (who has asked us not to give her name), and from Bobby's teacher in St. Boniface's School. Mr. Jenkins told the neighbor of his punishments of Bobby, but when the Juvenile Court officer and the worker from our office later approached him on the subject, he was furious. We have only been able to work with him by dropping the subject of Bobby. Mr. Jenkins denied the scrubbing with lye and the cold-water punishments, and said he only beat the boy because he was so insubordinate. The observations on the attitude of the children toward Mr. Jenkins are the observations of our worker.

4. *Home and Neighborhood.*—The home is in a factory district. There are five light rooms and bath. Much of the furniture is in a dilapidated condition. Mr. Jenkins painted and papered in the spring, and the entire flat was cleaned; but it was soon filthy again. Mr. Jenkins sleeps with his wife in a room in which there are two other beds for children. For a time he slept in a bedroom off the kitchen, but this room is not now used. During our acquaintance the family has lived at six different addresses in this city. They have been at the present address since 1920. For a few years between 1914 and 1920 the family lived in St. Paul, where they were known to the Family Welfare Association, because of Mr. Jenkins' desertions and non-support. The break-ups have usually come as a result of quarrels or desertions.

IV. Patient's personal history:

1. *Birth and Development* (Informant Mr. Jenkins).—Born 1882. Just before her confinement, Mr. Jenkins' mother, who was then in Savannah, walked eighty-seven miles back to the Indian settlement in which she had lived prior to her marriage. Mr. Jenkins was born there. The mother was crippled the rest of her life.

2. *Past illnesses.*—Mr. Jenkins' condition was described by Dr. Thornton as being extremely "suspicious of syphilis." The recent Wassermanns on Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins at the Social Hygiene League were negative. Mr. Jenkins reports that he has a hernia.

3. *Education, Patient and Husband or Wife.*—At five or six, Mr. Jenkins entered school at Savannah, Georgia. His attendance was very irregular, and he was out of school more than he was in. He was a newsboy, and most of his associates were older. He was influenced to lie and to steal and he was in trouble much of the time, so that he never completed the third grade. He was frequently picked up by the police. When he was fourteen he

became involved in some street scrape, and the authorities decided to place him in an institution. Mr. P. A. Caldwell, state and county tax collector of Savannah, then came to the front and offered to pay for Mr. Jenkins' care in a good school. The Southern Industrial School was recommended as the right place, and Mr. Jenkins was placed there. He remained there for the next six or seven years. According to Mr. Jenkins, there was little academic training in the Southern Industrial School. . . . . [See statement concerning Mrs. Jenkins.]

4. *Economic, Patient and Husband or Wife.*—Mr. Jenkins began selling papers when he was five years old. When released from the Southern Industrial School, he began to work at printing. During the past year he has held several printing jobs, and has earned from $40 to $80 a week. He worked longest for the Stoneleigh Printing Company. He was employed there as pressman, and, by working overtime, earned $70 and $80 a week. We have no report from the company. (This information was given out by Mr. Jenkins and by a neighbor who saw his pay checks at that time. Mrs. Jenkins gave the same report.) Mr. Jenkins worked ten days in June for the Woodford Publishing Company and earned $45 a week. This employer reported to us that Mr. Jenkins was "reliable and satisfactory" and that he left only because of Union conditions. Other pressmen had been out of work longer than he. Mr. Jenkins worked a few weeks in July for the Diversy Printing and Supply Company. According to Mrs. Jenkins, he left this work because the employer had been unfair with another employee. There was no direct injury to Mr. Jenkins, but he refused to let the injury to the other employee pass. At the present time, Mr. Jenkins is employed irregularly; he is working as pressman a few days here and a few days there.

For several years between 1914 and 1920, Mr. Jenkins was employed as a Rescue Mission worker at California and Dearborn Streets. During this period, Mr. Jenkins conducted social affairs for the mission children and did a great deal of street preaching. He quite won the confidence of Joseph Lee, but Mrs. Joseph Lee, who was closely associated with her husband in his work, reports to us that she was never convinced of the sincerity of Mr. Jenkins. At the death of Joseph Lee, Mr. Jenkins was very eager to be put in charge of the work. He won the confidence of Attorney T. V. Speakman, a member of the First Methodist Church, with which Mr. Jenkins was also connected, and pleaded with him to use his influence in that direction. Shortly afterward, Mr. Jenkins had a disagreement with church members and broke his connection with the church and with the Mission. (This information was secured through Attorney Speakman and Mrs. Joseph Lee.) . . . .

During the period of our acquaintance, there has been no regular relief. At the time of Mrs. Jenkins' first application, she was given 75 cents for food.

In June of this year, Mr. Jenkins asked for a loan of $20 and this was given, and he has so far returned nothing. In addition to this, our office has spent $4.05 in transportation, taking the children to dispensaries and hospitals.

5. *Court record.*—[Review of Alabama episode omitted.]

By the end of seven years, Mr. Jenkins had established himself in the Rescue Mission and had won the confidence of Attorney T. V. Speakman. Mr. Jenkins wished to secure the release of Bobby, and Mr. Speakman agreed to help him in this. There was considerable difficulty in securing the release, but Mr. Jenkins, who had meanwhile become a member of the Wanaki Club, went to Montgomery and succeeded in getting Bobby released to the Montgomery Wanaki Club. Bobby then returned to Chicago with his father, with the understanding that he was to be under the supervision of the Chicago Wanaki Club. (This information has been secured through the Montgomery Charities Commission, the Family Welfare Agency of Montgomery, the local Wanaki Club, and Attorney T. V. Speakman.)

Mrs. Jenkins reports that she has many times had Mr. Jenkins arrested for drunkenness. While in St. Paul, he was also arrested for desertion. On January 30, 1923, Bobby went to the Chicago Avenue Police Station and complained of his father's abuse. The boy was sent to the Juvenile Detention Home, and Mr. Jenkins was later summoned by the Juvenile Court. He then signed a consent to have the boy sent out to Braedalbane Farm.

6. *Marital.*—Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins were married in Joplin, Missouri, November, 1909 (verified). There have been many quarrels and separations. Following Mr. Jenkins' release from the Montgomery jail, he went to Waterloo, Iowa, and joined his wife there. He became angry at her, however, and left her.

Mr. Jenkins directs the feeding and dressing of the children and the entire management of the house. . . . .

The most frequent quarrels are those about housekeeping. Mr. Jenkins is careful about his own appearance and would like to have his home and children well kept. Mrs. Jenkins is filthy.

Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins had known each other only a few months before marriage. Mrs. Jenkins and her mother used to attend a mission in Joplin, and Mr. Jenkins, coming to speak at the mission one night, met Mrs. Jenkins there. (This information has been given by both Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins and by Mrs. Jenkins' mother. The marriage verification was secured through the mission of Joplin, Missouri.)

7. *Personality previous to present illness.*—Mr. Jenkins often makes a very favorable impression. This has been shown in the way he won P. A. Caldwell, Attorney Speakman, Joseph Lee, and the Children's Protective Society of St. Paul. Mr. Jenkins, himself, reports violent outbursts of

temper. Leslie Brown, his brother-in-law, reports him as a "four-flusher." Mr. Brown tells that recently, when an old friend of Mrs. Jenkins' father was visiting in the city, Mr. Jenkins insisted upon staying out of work and showing the man about town. He spent $5.00 or $6.00 in entertainment, and Mr. Brown is confident that at the time, he had not given his wife any money for food that day, and that she and the children were doing without. When Mr. Jenkins first came to our office, his attitude was belligerent. He had learned, prior to coming, that he was under criticism for his treatment of Bobby. When he found that we intended to help him overcome the difficulties in his home, he become very friendly, and later insisted upon leaving a dollar to cover any expense attached to interviewing his mother-in-law about coming to live in his home. He is very antagonistic toward his brother-in-law, Leslie Brown, whom he accuses of having been instrumental in blocking Bobby's release from the Southern Industrial School. We frequently interview Mr. Brown or his wife, and we always tell Mr. Jenkins when we have done so. He insists upon knowing whether they called us or we called them, and when he has been given an answer, he invariably telephones Leslie or his wife, to verify the report. From our standpoint he is extremely suspicious, but we get along very well by sympathizing with him because of the hardships of his home and by praising him for trying so hard to keep his home clean. We had no difficulty in securing his consent to a mental examination, when we marveled that he had borne up so well under the strain of his family life. He reacts most unfavorably to anything that savors of compulsion.

8. *Religion.*—As previously reported, Mr. Jenkins was at one time identified with the First Methodist Church and the Rescue Mission. He has broken these connections and has entered his children in St. Boniface's, a Roman Catholic parochial school. He says that he entered them in St. Boniface's because he wanted to "show his friends." At present, Mr. Jenkins goes to a mission now and then, but has no regular church affiliation.

9. *Recreation.*—During the past summer, Mr. Jenkins has taken the children bus-riding, or into the country almost every Sunday. He has also taken his wife and children to movies and to restaurants. When he is angry, he stays away from home a great deal, and we do not know how he spends his time. He still belongs to the Wanaki Club.

10. *Habits.*—At the present time, Mrs. Jenkins and the four children are sleeping in one room. During the past winter, Mr. Jenkins did a great deal of overtime work and did not go to bed until eleven or twelve at night. He left the house at seven in the morning. Mr. Jenkins is, personally, clean and is very much cleaner than his wife and his home. Compared with Mrs. Jenkins, he is fastidious, but his hands and clothing are not always clean. Mr. Jenkins smokes cigarettes, but not excessively. He himself states that he has been drinking since he was five. Attorney Speakman

reports him as not being "a man of his word." Mr. Bragg of the Wanaki Club, reports him as "unreliable." Mr. Jenkins himself reports that he early learned to steal and that he was schooled in crime in the Southern Industrial School. He gives this information as evidence of the fact that he has arisen to great heights, considering his early influences.

VI. Present illness:

There has been no decided change in Mr. Jenkins since we have known him. Mrs. Brown and Leslie Brown also report that Mr. Jenkins has always been brutal and overbearing. Mr. Jenkins himself says that he has less control of his temper than formerly and that he is more annoyed at the untidiness of his home and children. He says that he is willing to visit a neurological clinic, because he wishes to talk with someone who can help him forestall any possible complete breakdown. Our impression is that he is going more because he believes that a mental examination will prove to us and to his wife's relations that he is of superior intelligence.

*September 17, 1923*—Mr. Jenkins called at the home of visitor in the evening and talked at length about his life and his family. Many of the details were exactly as have been previously given. Mr. Jenkins is willing to have Leila and David studied at the Juvenile Psychopathic Bureau. He expressed some interest at the sort of studies that were made and was given several of the Healy case studies to read. He could give little of the developmental history of the children, except that Mrs. Jenkins has never had prenatal difficulties. Leila was weaned at one year. According to Mr. Jenkins, she walked at thirteen months.

Several years ago, Mr. Jenkins was taken to Latimer Hospital with frozen toes. The great and second toes of his left foot were at that time amputated. While in the hospital, he found that the man in the bed next to him was a Henry Jenkins. On talking with the man he found that he had come from Savannah. He claimed to be a brother of Mr. Jenkins' father, and Mr. Jenkins thinks he probably was. He found, however, that the man was married to a "low-down woman" and he has made no attempt to keep track of him since then. The man may possibly be in Chicago still, but Mr. Jenkins does not know where he is. On the occasion of this visit, Mr. Jenkins also stated that after he had agreed to stay with the Woodford Company, he received word from the Northern Printing Company that he could be taken on for permanent work at $50 per week. He showed the letter to Mr. Woodford, but he refused to release him from the agreement to stay there.

*September 19, 1923.*—The following letter received from Dr. Stratton of the North Side Dispensary containing diagnosis of Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins:

> The provisional diagnosis of Mr. Jenkins is constitutional inferiority, paranoid personality, and the alternative diagnosis is paranoid personality based on a subacute or chronic organic disease of the central nervous system. I should like to examine him at a later date after he has been helped by you to live a life less overwhelmed by problems and burdens.
>
> Mrs. Jenkins is low-grade, feeble-minded. She is quite inadequate to care for her children properly. The children should be transplanted. Mrs. Jenkins should be offered the medical opportunity to improve her physical health. Prognosis is poor. There are no indications for institutionalization.

Dr. Stratton further advised the permanent placement of the children as the only reasonable plan. There is no hope of ever making even a fair housekeeper out of Mrs. Jenkins and there is no hope in hospital care for her. He advised Mr. Jenkins that he might go on living with his wife, but that inasmuch as Mrs. Jenkins cannot be relied upon to follow contraceptive instructions, he should not have marital relations with her. This report was later given Mr. Jenkins, but no attempt was made at a definite plan. Mr. Jenkins feels that there is nothing left for him if he does not have the children. He would prefer to be relieved of Mrs. Jenkins. He talked of the possibility of getting care for her in some hospital where he might pay. He thinks he would be well enough in two or three months to care for her again. He does not want any recreation except that of caring for the children. He thinks, too, of getting janitor work in some building where he can have his rooms in the same building and thus be able to give them closer oversight. While waiting for the doctor he was very restless. He walked up and down a great deal and went out to smoke cigarettes. He said he had not slept at all the night before and has had many sleepless nights lately. He also talked of his childhood experiences and his various changes of employment. He recalls as a child going with his father to pick up the body of a man who had been killed by a train. He lived near the tracks, and his father was employed by the railroad. When between ten and eleven years old Mr. Jenkins spent nine months in the "stockade" at Savannah. This was for getting into a fight with the son of a policeman. He spent a great deal of time in the "stockade" as punishment for stealing or fighting. When released from the Southern

Industrial School, he worked about institutions. He mentioned in particular the Charity Hospital in Mobile, Alabama and the Insane Hospital at Jackson, Louisiana. In the latter institution he was first, attendant, and later, watchman, and still later, assistant supervisor. He enumerated the names and addresses of the employers for whom he has worked since he was married.

During the course of her examination Mrs. Jenkins stated that she was treated in the Red Cross Hospital of Joplin, for a nervous breakdown when she was nineteen years old. She was also treated at a St. Paul Dispensary before the birth of Leila.

Mr. Jenkins had just secured a position at Woodford's the day before he was to go to the Dispensary for examination. He was reluctant to stay away from work on the second day but did so when visitor offered to explain to his employer. His employer was communicated with through Miss Wagner, secretary at Woodford's. She asked definite information regarding the examination of Mrs. Jenkins and when the explanation was given she stated that Mr. Jenkins had been taken on only temporarily, but that he would on visitor's recommendation be given permanent employment. He asked to have $2.00 advanced to him yesterday.

As requested by Mr. Jenkins, Leila and David were vaccinated during the month and their teeth were cleaned. Dental work on both children is now complete.

*September 27, 1923.*—Night conference with Mr. Jenkins. He had telephoned asking an appointment. The whole situation was gone over with Mr. Jenkins and, while he could not think of parting with the children permanently, he expressed a willingness to have them placed for a year if only they could be where he could see them. The possibility of getting boarding-homes for them or placing them in the Chicago Nursery and Half Orphan Asylum was discussed. He agreed to visit the Asylum and decide on that later. He would be willing to have Mrs. Jenkins committed to the State School for the Feeble-minded if that seemed best and if her commitment did not mean that she could never be released. He is not willing to burn his bridges. Mr. Jenkins was very anxious to have it understood that in consenting to commitment he was not disclaiming any love for his wife. He cannot, however, conceive of a home with her and without the children, and he is not financially able to have the children and Mrs. Jenkins cared for outside of the home. If Mrs. Jenkins' own people are willing to care for her, Mr. Jenkins would consent to that. He prefers not to

have the possibility of the State School discussed with Leslie. It will be enough to talk it over with Mrs. Brown, Sr. He could not consider sending any of the children into Leslie's home. Whenever he mentions Leslie, he can recall something against him. He will get any needed medical care for himself during the period that the home is broken up. He has just begun work at the T. K. Walsh Printing Company and is to earn $50 a week. This will be night work, and he hopes it will be permanent. Before he secured night work, he had talked some of going to night school and taking up English and mathematics. He believes things will be better in the home if he is there during the day.

He left the Woodford Company because he felt he was not treated fairly. He had been working on a big and difficult job. It became necessary to do overtime and Sunday work on the job and Mr. Jenkins felt he was the logical person to get this extra work. It was being "fed" on his machine. Instead of giving the job to him, however, the foreman turned it over to an assistant foreman. Mr. Jenkins regarded this as a decidedly unethical procedure. (The details of this story were verified by telephoning the Woodford Company. Their explanation of the reason the work was not turned over to Mr. Jenkins was that he was a new employee and he would have had to work in the shop alone. It was felt that he was not known well enough to be trusted with the keys. He earned $35 a week while there.)

Leila and David have entered the public school. They have been sent for to return to St. Boniface's and have been told that they would not have to pay tuition, but Mr. Jenkins has decided to keep them in public school for the present.

He is somewhat troubled by the fact that Bobby writes Leslie for so much. He has been asking Leslie for clothing lately and has written to other people with the same request. Mrs. Jenkins and the children have gone to Leslie's home frequently of late and when Mr. Jenkins goes to get them, Mrs. Brown, Sr., "bawls him out" for not sending clothing to Bobby.

*September 28, 1923.*—Letter written Dr. S. H. Stratton in reply to letter of September 18.

In your report of September 18, 1923, on Mrs. Jenkins, you stated that there were "no indications for institutionalization." Does this eliminate the possibility of her commitment to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded?

We have talked at length with Mr. Jenkins on your recommendations, but we cannot get anywhere with the idea of his living with Mrs. Jenkins

while the children are permanently placed. The thought of the children seems to be all that keeps Mr. Jenkins going, and a life with Mrs. Jenkins and without the children seems ghastly to him. We have finally persuaded him to part from the children for perhaps a year. We shall try to get the three little ones boarded out here in the city where he can see them at least occasionally. A woman in Peoria, who had Leila for two weeks vacation this summer, is very anxious to have her come back and go to school there, and Mr. Jenkins has now given his consent to this plan.

The only problem left is the problem of care for Mrs. Jenkins. It may be that her own family will be willing to care for her, but if they are not, we are at a loss what to do. After cursory examination a county doctor gave a statement recommending Mrs. Jenkins' commitment to an insane hospital. This was before she was examined by you. Would you be willing to give us a statement recommending commitment to the State School and Colony for the Feeble-minded and if not, can you offer any suggestion as to what should be done?

*September 29, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in office. He had displayed great interest in Dr. Stratton's report and had asked to read the letter. When this was granted, he said he would like to read the other reports the Agency had on him. It was explained that these reports were given in confidence and the Agency would not be justified in asking for them if confidence were to be violated. It was further explained that while one report might be favorable and another very unfavorable that no single report was regarded as conclusive, but that the Agency got a composite picture of a man by getting a series of reports. It was pointed out that Mr. Jenkins' best idea of the Agency's picture of him would be found in letters written by the Agency. He was allowed to read the September 28 letter to Dr. Stratton. He seemed satisfied with the explanation.

He seemed anxious to talk about his life—particularly his life in the Southern Industrial School, where he said bad practices prevailed among both boys and instructors.

As Mr. Jenkins talked of breaking up his home he cried. He stated that he had missed home life in his own childhood and that it had been the big desire of his life to have a real home.

[Plans were then worked out with him to place Leila in the home in which she had been for a summer outing and to find boarding-homes for the three younger children.]

*October 3, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in office. He went to West Side Dispensary this morning, but did not wait for examination as he found it was taking too long.

He at first said he would not go back if he were to be paid for it, but when superintendent was communicated with and agreed to see that he was not delayed if he returned, Mr. Jenkins said that he would go back. He does not work Sunday nights and will not be so worn out on Monday morning. Examination was arranged for on that day, and Mr. Jenkins went. He later reported that his heart and lungs were in splendid condition and that the only recommendations were dental work and attention to hernia. He is to return to the Medical Department about October 23 and is to return to the neurological clinic October 15.

*October 8, 1923.*—Visited Braedalbane Farm with Mrs. Lodge of the Advisory Committee and found Bobby greatly improved. . . . .

*October 11, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in office. He had telephoned previously, saying he had bad news and was afraid to come in. He was asked as to his news and said that he wanted to keep that until the last of the interview so he could make a quick get-away. When he finally broke the news, it was that Mrs. Jenkins is three months pregnant. . . . . He said that Mrs. Jenkins is quite despondent about her condition. She has several times attempted abortion and he is afraid that she may do herself permanent injury. She has resorted to the same means before the births of the other children.

Telephoned the County Hospital and learned that Mrs. Jenkins can be examined any Monday at 1:30. The Social Service Department will try to get immediate hospital care for her if she is pregnant.

Mr. Jenkins suggested that he would like to know more of the home to which Leila was going, and he was advised to accompany her when she goes. He agreed to this.

*October 16, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins called at the home of visitor. He was unable to get Mrs. Jenkins to County Hospital. She does not want to see any doctor.

Mr. Jenkins advertised in the *Morning Herald* three days last week for boarding-homes for the younger children. He told this of his own accord and said he had never intended to act without consulting visitor, but that he had rather hoped he might get just the right place by advertising. He found the *Morning Herald* very anxious to get a story out of him, and several different employees told him that if he would let them advertise their story using pictures, they were sure they would be able to find the right homes. Mr. Jenkins insisted that he only wanted an ad and would pay for it. He will turn over answers to visitor so that the places may be investigated.

*October 26, 1923.*—Accompanied Leila to Juvenile Psychopathic Bureau. She was reported as supernormal in intelligence, with a possible overactivity of the brain, which might be a symptom of beginning disease of the brain tissue. The director recommended an X-ray of the skull. He also recommended an X-ray of the chest, saying that there was possible tuberculosis. He found slight anemia, too. Because of these conditions and because of an acute coryza, the physician advised that the child be entered in a hospital for observation and later be placed in an institution where she could be held to routine and where she could be built up physically.

*October 27, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins telephoned. During the examination at the Bureau the physician spoke of the dinginess of Leila's underwear and of her need of institutional care, with the result that Leila reported his statements to her father. Mr. Jenkins was very much upset over the whole thing. He was at first inclined to refuse any further medical attention for Leila, but he was finally prevailed upon to take her himself to a specialist of his own choice. It was later learned that he took her to two physicians and to the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

*Later.*—Accompanied Leila to Illinois Dispensary, where she was given a prescription for her nose and throat. Physician asked to have her return to his office the next day.

*October 29, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in office with Leila. Visitor accompanied them to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary, where she was examined and diagnosed as free from tuberculosis. She is anemic and has not been properly nourished, but both physicians felt that she would not be at all endangered by going to the country and both advised her going.

Telephoned physician at Psychopathic Bureau, who expressed himself as satisfied with the sanitarium report and said she might safely be placed as planned. When asked as to the possible brain disease and as to the possible outcome if neglected, he said that there is nothing to be done if the X-ray does reveal the disease. It will cause over or under development physically.

Following these reports and Mr. Jenkins' own statement that on Leila's third visit to his own specialist he had been advised to send her to the country, arrangements were made for her to go. Half-rate transportation was secured. Mr. Jenkins agreed to pay half of this, but he did not have the money when the tickets were delivered to him. Later he talked of having gone to the theater a few days

before to see "The Fool." He has also bought a new suit for himself. On the way from Dispensary, he stopped at a tea shop to buy lunch for himself and Leila. He almost insisted upon visitor having lunch with them. Leila was wearing a very thin spring coat. When asked if she had a winter coat to take with her to the country, Mr. Jenkins said he would send one later. Although the weather was extreme, he seemed to feel that Leila could wait until he was ready to send one. It was finally necessary tactfully to offer a warm coat from the Agency's stock. Gloves were given Leila, too, and Mr. Jenkins accepted them blithely. It was later learned that he had asked Mrs. James Roberts (case) to do some work in his home a week before Leila went away and had not paid Mrs. Roberts for the work.

Mr. Jenkins has himself been conducting an investigation on some of the letters received in answer to his advertisement.

*November 1, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in office. He accompanied Leila to Peoria on October 30 and returned October 31, 1923. The family are tenant farmers and have only a five-room cottage. There are four in family, the father and mother and two children who are away from home. They have only two bedrooms. The parents occupy one; and the two children, when they are at home, occupy two beds in the other and larger bedroom. The house is stove-heated. Both of the children have left high school and are working for neighbors. The girl is doing housework and the boy regular farm work. The father is considering making a change this year and moving to another farm. At the present place he pays an annual rent of $10 an acre on each of his eighty acres and also gives one-half of the crop. Mr. Jenkins also visited the school and talked with the teacher. He told her that Leila was "supernormal" and that he did not wish her to be urged in her books. He also told the mother to keep her at home in bad weather. The mother promised to make whatever clothes she can for Leila and Mr. Jenkins told her to send the bills to him.

*November 25, 1923.*—Visited. Mrs. Jenkins told of Mr. Jenkins' cleaning the house and getting the dinner yesterday. He wanted a big dinner because it was their fourteenth wedding anniversary. He scoured all the kitchen utensils before he did the cooking. He also bought some pretty new dishes. He has been doing some overtime work lately. Most of the time recently Mr. Jenkins' disposition has been pretty good, but he got "ugly" about one week ago.

The plan for Mrs. Jenkins and the children was talked over with Mrs. Jenkins, but she seemed to grasp very little of it. It was

explained that to restore Mr. Jenkins his health, it was necessary for him to be relieved of home burdens and for that reason and because of her condition and her inability to care for the three children without his help it seemed better to have the children boarded out for a time. It was also suggested that it might be well for her to get immediate hospital care for herself, but she only shook her head at this. She has not been in Leslie's home for the last three weeks.

Richard is walking now. He had some small burns on his hand. He had reached for the stove when he was about to fall.

*November 27, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins and all the children in the office. He had called at and had telephoned repeatedly to the visitor's home previously. He expects to take Joseph Lee to West Side Dispensary tomorrow. He is not convinced that Bobby's beatings have not done permanent injury to Joseph Lee. He has great confidence in the Dispensary doctors and wishes them to examine the child. It was later learned that he did take Joseph Lee and although X-rays of his skull were taken and no injury found, Mr. Jenkins was advised to place the child in the hospital for a week or ten days, so that he could be kept under observation. Mr. Jenkins did this and gave consent at the same time for a tonsillectomy. Mr. Jenkins is taking a few days off now because of slack work. He shopped for the children today and bought two complete suits—outside clothes, underwear, and stockings—for each of them. He also bought new shoes for each of them. For Richard he also bought a woolen cap, leggings, sweater, and mittens.

Mr. Jenkins protested against Leslie having been advised to go to see Bobby. He does not want Leslie to see Bobby or any member of his family. When Mr. Jenkins was told that the visit had been recommended by the Agency because it seemed best that Bobby should have some home ties and when he was reminded that he had formerly disclaimed Bobby, he then said that Bobby still bore his name and he did not wish Bobby communicating with Leslie.

He was asked as to his ability to pay Mrs. Roberts and to make some payment to the Agency for Leila's railroad fare to Peoria and the $20 loan. He said that he would make payment to Mrs. Roberts and he did so, giving her $2.00, as she was in the office at the time. . . . .

*December 10, 1923.*—Visited the Leslie Brown home. The home is rather a tumble-down frame building in a poor neighborhood, but it is across the street from a large playground adjoining a public school. There is a small back yard. The rooms are small but light.

The whole plan for the Jenkins family was explained to Mrs. Brown and Leslie, and both agreed that it would probably be best for them. The results of the examination of Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins were also explained. Mrs. Brown did not seem to grasp its significance. When asked if Mrs. Jenkins' condition had not manifested itself when she was younger, Mrs. Brown and Leslie both said they thought that her condition had been brought on by her life with Mr. Jenkins. Mrs. Brown said that Mrs. Jenkins got on in school as well as the other children and that she never had any "reason to complain."

The elder Mrs. Brown and Leslie's wife both have seen evidences that the children are suffering from the home conditions. Both Leila and David have shown at different times that they take advantage of their mother. Mrs. Leslie Brown has seen both of them give orders to their mother which the mother would obey. She has also seen them take advantage of their grandmother. When David was with the Brown family last summer for a week, he seemed rather unruly.

Leslie and his wife both expressed willingness to take Mrs. Jenkins into their home until after her confinement, if Mr. Jenkins would consent to that plan. Braedalbane authorities have written Leslie saying that Bobby will be allowed to come in for Christmas if Mr. Brown wishes it. He asked if that would be satisfactory to the Agency. He has already sent money for railroad fare. He agreed to keep Bobby in that neighborhood and not to let him go away from the place unless he accompanied him.

*December 12, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins and Miss Burnett, of the Children's Friend Society, in office by appointment. Miss Burnett recommends as a suitable boarding-place for the three Jenkins children the home of a woman who has been known to the Children's Friend Society for a period of years and is conscientious and gives good care. She has six rooms on the second floor. She has a large back porch and a back yard. Her own children are grown. She will have to be paid $18 a week. It was agreed with Mr. Jenkins that in view of his present indebtedness to the Welfare Agency, the Agency would assume half the burden of the children's board, Mr. Jenkins meanwhile to repay the loan within the next few weeks. He will then put any extra money in on dental work. He agreed to this. The Agency is to be directly responsible to the Children's Friend, and Mr. Jenkins is to be responsible to the Welfare Agency.

Mr. Jenkins then stated that before he gave any final decision on the home recommended, he would like to make his own investigation.

Miss Burnett rather felt that the house mother might resent this. She also felt that the Society's investigations were complete enough so that this was not necessary. He then bragged that he could make an investigation in such a way that the house mother would never be the wiser. Miss Burnett was asked to accept his word on this and agreed to do so.

Miss Burnett reports that no investigation was made on the letters turned in by Mr. Jenkins, as the one free home offered to take only Richard and the boarding-home offered would be no less expensive than one known to and recommended by Children's Friend.

*December 13, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in office by appointment. The plan for him and for Mrs. Jenkins was discussed in further detail. Mr. Jenkins was not at first inclined to give his consent to Mrs. Jenkins' staying in the home of Leslie. His final objections were on the grounds that the sleeping arrangements were not adequate. When it was suggested that that part might be left to the Brown family and that they would undoubtedly be willing to put up a bed in their front room, or agree to any other reasonable plan and when it was further suggested that the plan would probably be a very much happier one for Mrs. Jenkins and that on those grounds alone he ought to show a willingness, Mr. Jenkins said he would leave that matter entirely to visitor and he then added that if Leslie needed an extra bed he could have one from Mr. Jenkins' home.

Mr. Jenkins was advised for himself to give up his flat. He has from the start clung to the idea of keeping the flat and the furnishings intact. He was advised to sell the furniture or to put it in storage and find a room for himself. He agreed to this.

*December 15, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in office to report that he is satisfied with the home selected by the Children's Friend. He talked with the precinct captain of police and learned from him that the house mother is well regarded in the neighborhood. Mr. Jenkins will take the children to West Side Dispensary for examination on December 17 and will take them to the foster home on December 18. Mr. Jenkins has talked the whole plan over with Mrs. Jenkins and has promised that he will occasionally take the children to see her. Mr. Jenkins also agreed to give Mrs. Jenkins $2.00 or $3.00 a week, so that she will not be entirely dependent.

*December 27, 1923.*—Met Mr. Jenkins, Miss Burnett, and the Jenkins children at Children's Friend Society office by appointment.

The children have been in the foster home since December 18. Mr. Jenkins has been out to see them twice—once to take them to the Dispensary and once on Christmas day—since he first accompanied them to the home. Meanwhile the foster mother has telephoned Children's Friend and Welfare Agency several times saying that she could not keep the children. David was no trouble, but the two little ones cried all the time. Mr. Jenkins feels that the trouble is with the foster mother. He felt from the time he first saw her that she would not be a good caretaker. The children cried when they were left there. She, too, reminds him of a character he saw in a play when he was a boy in Savannah. The play was "The Waif." The woman whom he so unpleasantly remembers was supposed to care for small children but instead of caring for them she abused them shamefully. He felt an aversion to her from the time he saw her. On one occasion she telephoned the office in great excitement saying that she would be put out of the house if she kept the children a day longer. "The big one gives me no trouble, but the little ones drive me crazy with their yelling. They turn on my gas and cry all the time." Miss Burnett has now secured another caretaker—a Mrs. Black. She is a nurse and has also worked on difficult mental cases with the Juvenile Psychopathic Bureau. She is willing to take the children for $20 a week. She has a large yard and an automobile, which she drives herself. This plan had been suggested to Mr. Jenkins by Welfare Agency as a next possible step when his objection to the present foster mother was first offered. At that time Mr. Jenkins was quite willing to try Mrs. Black. He is working days now, however, and was summoned from his work to the appointment at the office. Mrs. Black had also been summoned and had her car waiting in front. The whole thing seemed to be too sudden for him and he was very angry. He at first insisted upon taking the children back home, saying that the house is thoroughly cleaned and that he can keep them in a nursery. It had to be repeatedly explained that that plan would not give him the relief he must have. Even then Mr. Jenkins was not willing to try Mrs. Black. He is afraid of the Children's Friend. It seems to him to savor too much of the "institution." The first time he ever went there he read some bulletins which were lying on the table and which spoke of Riverdale Manual Training School in glowing terms. Mr. Jenkins seemed to feel that the Society was connected definitely with Riverdale and he has been afraid ever since then. He much prefers to work with the Family Welfare Agency

and select a home independent of the Children's Friend. Mr. Jenkins finally consented to go with the children and visitor to Mrs. Black's home and to leave them there for a trial if it seemed right. When it was found that Mrs. Black already had passengers and could not take in more than the children, Mr. Jenkins gave in and allowed the children to go with her. He will not go to see them for two days (December 29), so that they may be somewhat accustomed to the new surroundings and he will have a better chance to judge of the home. He seemed much encouraged when he put the children in the car with Mrs. Black and saw that they went to her easily and without crying. David and Joseph Lee had very light-weight coats. They were supplied with used overcoats from the Children's Friend stock and were also given two new suits of underwear. Mr. Jenkins was asked by visitor to pay for these things, and he offered to do so. He wanted to pay right away, but Miss Burnett told him that a statement would be sent in later. A doll given by New Town High School was sent to Leila for Christmas, and a book was sent to Bobby. Mr. Jenkins provided the toys for the three younger children.

*December 31, 1923.*—Mr. Jenkins in office. He went to West Side Dispensary this morning and in some way—he would not say how—learned that the Agency had recently written a letter there about him. He seemed to have the feeling that something was going on of which he knew nothing and became so excited that he left the Dispensary immediately and came to the office. When assured that the Agency had only written asking a report on the children, he seemed satisfied. He said he was willing to take the word of the worker that there was nothing else but he seemed very glad to see a copy of the letter. He realizes that he is very suspicious and seemed to feel rather sheepish when he found there was nothing more to be suspicious about. At the same time he welcomed the defense offered him when worker suggested that his life had been so hard he had become accustomed to expecting the worst. He was reminded that it was up to him not to give in so easily to suspicion and he promised to try. Mr. Jenkins asked again about his bill to Children's Friend, and asked if he could stop payments to Welfare Agency for the next two weeks if Dispensary doctors advised him to enter the hospital immediately. He said he did not want to be accused of non-support if he made no payments for the next two weeks and promised to make up the amount later. This arrangement was accepted. Mr. Jenkins then returned to the Dispensary, and was referred to Knox Hospital, where he was entered

the same day (verified). He later telephoned saying he would like to be visited while he is in the hospital.

*January 3, 1924.*—Committee recommends that the office continue to pay partly for the children, and visitor will continue in charge. Volunteer offered $5.00 a week toward the bill.

*January 6, 1924.*—Visited Mr. Jenkins in hospital. The herniotomy was performed January 3. He is very contented and has only the highest praise for the doctors and attendants at the hospital. He feels that the superintendent of the Dispensary has taken a personal interest in him and that it is due to her that he had such splendid care in the hospital. He will probably be in the hospital only four or five days more and then at home a week or ten days before he goes back to work.

*January 28, 1924.*—Letter from Mr. Jenkins to visitor received as follows:

I know you are wondering what has become of me, because I have not written or phone you. I have been staying home under orders of the doctors, they had forbidden me going to work. I just taken the bandages of last Tuesday. I was out to see the children today, it is just grand the way Mrs. Black take care of them, they have better care than I thought they would have.

I am going back on my old position tomorrow morning and will be sending you $20.00 per week after my second pay day so I can catch up with the arrears. I am sorry I could not pay yesterday but you can understand why I did not now.

I am enclosing the letter from the Alpha Printing Co. showing what they say. I would like it back some time as I would like to keep it on my file.[1]

Mrs. Jenkins was to see me today. I don't think they are able to take care of her much longer, as they are complaining of hard times and he is borrowing money from anyone they can. I would not like you to say anything about this as it would make unpleasant feeling and you know there are enough.

[1] [This letter was as follows:

January 24, 1924

DEAR SIR:

Having heard that you left the hospital, we were wondering if you are able to work. If so, we would thank you to get in touch with us immediately. Call Dearborn 5371 or write.

By all means, acknowledge the letter so we can make arrangements.

Yours very truly,

The Alpha Printing Company
E. P. GREENLEAF]

I am feeling better than I have for years, think if I take care of myself as I should I will be better physically than I have been for years. I know I am better mentally than ever before and hope to improve with old age (*like Liquor*).

I have a lot that I would like to take up with you when I see you, something you may know regarding the children, but you have not said anything to me about it.

I had my teeth cleaned yesterday and got another price $85.00. I will keep going until I find the man who can do the work at a fair price and do a good job. This Dr. Abben at the corner of Wells & Chicago Ave. can't do any more work for me as he has not had the experience. Don't think he is licenced. I will close for this time hoping to see or hear from you.

I beg to remain

Sincerely

JOSEPH JENKINS

*January 28, 1924.*—Letter written by Visitor to Mr. Jenkins.

I was indeed glad to find out that you have continued to feel better. In the press of other things it seemed impossible to make a trip over there and I had begun to wonder if by any chance you were ill. I am glad you are not.

That was a fine letter from your employers. I should think you would want to keep it. I am returning it to you.

There are some things I should like to talk over with you, and I shall be glad to see you whenever it is convenient.

[The remaining portions of the record may be briefly summarized. Early in March Mr. Jenkins learned from Mrs. Jenkins, who had visited him on Sunday afternoons, that Bobby had come in from Braedalbane and spent a week-end at his Uncle Leslie's. Mr. Jenkins then wrote Leslie threatening to kill him unless all relations between him and the Jenkins children ceased. Leslie Brown sent this letter to the visitor, who saw Mr. Jenkins, persuaded him again to see the psychiatrist, Dr. Stratton. He said that Mr. Jenkins would probably carry out his threat to kill his brother-in-law and that he should be committed to the State Hospital. With this letter from the doctor, Leslie Brown was able to secure Mr. Jenkins' apprehension, have him taken to the Psychopathic Hospital, and on March 27 committed to the State Hospital for the Insane. While he was in the Psychopathic Hospital, the visitor saw him and assured him that methods of caring for the children would not be changed and he went not too reluctantly to the state institution.

At this time the Agency was paying $91 a month for the care of the three children; and when his earning was interrupted by his commitment for an indefinite period it seemed necessary to have the children adjudged dependent by the Juvenile Court so that the cost of their board might be met out of county funds.

The social service workers at the State Hospital were asked to explain these proceedings to him and to reassure him on the point of his children's being placed in an institution, but on April 28, 1924, when the notice of the proposed proceedings was served on him, he escaped from the hospital. The following day he wrote to the visitor arraigning the Agency and the visitor for their treatment of him, asking that steps be taken to secure his release, that his furniture be taken out of storage, and his children returned to his care. He asked for a reply through the personal column of a daily paper, and a request that he arrange for an interview either by telephone or letter was inserted among the "personals" in the paper named. After some negotiation through friends and by telephone he was persuaded to come to the office and after a very skilful interview in which it was made clear that no change in the method of care of the children was intended and that he would jeopardize his chances for an early release he was persuaded to return to the hospital.

In the meantime Mrs. Jenkins had been cared for, first in her brother's home, then at the Lying-In Hospital, where a baby daughter, Louisiana Margaret, was born on April 7, then at the Home for the Friendless. Institutional care is to be secured for her when her brother can be induced to file papers for her commitment.

The children were brought into court, and declared dependent. Captain Stirling was appointed guardian of Bobby, and the superintendent of the Children's Friend Society was appointed guardian with power to place the other four for whose board the county pays $100 a month. They are in the care of the foster mother selected by the Children's Friend Society.]

### 10. The Family of George Weber

*(A Steel Worker, of German Descent, Whose Wife, Lillian, Is Subnormal)*

[This migratory family was for the time being in one of the neighborhoods in which there are a large number of furnished rooming-houses.]

*December 19, 1916.*—Miss Kate Davis, Memorial M. E. Church, reports family. Mr. Weber is an industrious man, thirty-one years old, not a drinker, and has just obtained work at the Acme Foundry. He will not be paid until the Friday after Christmas, December 29. In the meantime the family is without funds. They seem to be unable to obtain credit at the neighborhood grocery store.

The County Hospital is registered, January 4, 1915.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. Weber, Mrs. Weber, and the two children, Grace (born January 31, 1915) and George (born February 19, 1916), are living in one large room in a furnace-heated house. They have been in Chicago since last September, having come from Devlin, Missouri, where Mr. Weber had worked in the oil wells. Previous to that they had lived from April until July in North Dakota but could not remain there because the climate had a bad effect upon the baby. Before that they lived in Chicago for six months. They were married in Birmingham, where Mr. Weber worked in the steel mills and at the time made $20 to $25 a week. They furnished a flat there; and everything went well until the mills shut down, and they were forced to let the furniture go back to the instalment house with about $35 due on it. Since their marriage, Mr. Weber has never held a job longer than four or five months. He was out of work for about a week when Miss Davis obtained his present job for him. He will make $12 a week with the prospect of a raise, and will be given better work if he is kept on. He will not be kept unless his work proves satisfactory. Mrs. Weber is feeding the baby Imperial Granum and condensed milk.

Mrs. Weber has not obtained credit in the grocery store, being afraid to ask for it, as she fears being refused. Assured her that she need not hesitate as long as Mr. Weber is working and has money coming to him. She has already borrowed $2.00 from each of two friends and is afraid to ask them for more as they need whatever they have. Mr. Weber's father, who lives in Elkhart, Indiana, is an old man and probably being assisted by the county and therefore unable to send anything to Mr. Weber. His sister, who formerly helped them

when they were in need, has now been forced to go to work herself to support her children as she is a widow.

Promised to communicate with the County Public Welfare Agent to secure temporary assistance if they will make an exception as the family are non-residents.

Although Grace is nearly two years old, she has learned to walk only since September. She talks very little but understands what is said to her. Mrs. Weber says that she has taken her to the clinic at the Home of Crippled Children and was told that the child is retarded because of having had summer complaint during her first summer but that she will come out all right. The baby is getting his teeth and appears to be normal. Mrs. Weber has not been very well since he was born. Last year a doctor told her that she should have an operation, but she is afraid. On visitor's urging her to take Grace to West Side Dispensary and to be examined there herself, Mrs. Weber said that she preferred not to go at present as the weather is too bad for her to walk and she cannot afford the carfare. Mrs. Weber can be reached by telephone, Pacific 8238.

Previous to her marriage Mrs. Weber lived in Birmingham. She was born in 1895. Her parents died when she was a baby, and she was brought up by a woman whom she called a nurse. She knows nothing whatever of her family. She went to school until she was in sixth grade, and at fifteen took her first position as cash girl in a department store. She has also been saleslady. At sixteen she entered the Children's Hospital in Birmingham for nurse maid's training, remaining five months at one time and three months at another. She never completed the course. Her "nurse" died when she was sixteen or seventeen, and Mrs. Weber then lived with the nurse's cousin. Implied that she had gotten married July 6, 1913, because the cousin could not very well keep her. Mrs. Weber would like to obtain some kind of work to help out, but does not think she can place her children in a day nursery because of bad physical habits, of which she has not tried to break them. She might be able to get work at home, addressing envelopes, but has not known where to apply for it. Visitor suggested that she consult the telephone book for names of firms giving such work.

*December 20, 1916.*—Telephoned Mr. Bassett, County Public Welfare office. Although the family is non-resident, he will have their investigator call and probably grant supplies once as an emergency and perhaps offer deportation, if necessary.

*Later.*—Telephoned Miss Davis, source. She obtained the work for Mr. Weber at the Acme Company and does not think it advisable to consult with the company in an effort to obtain a salary advance. She does not think very much of the family but hopes they will get along now. The fact that they will probably receive one issue county supplies pleased her.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. Weber reporting that visitor from County Public Welfare office will call.

*January 6, 1917.*—Telephoned Miss Davis. Mr. Weber is still working at the Acme Company at $12 and likes the work. Mrs. Weber is paying the rent in small instalments. Grace has been ill, but Mrs. Weber has not considered it necessary to call the doctor for her. Miss Davis has warned Mr. Weber that if he leaves the Acme Company without a definite understanding with the department he can never be employed there again.

*July 25, 1918.*—Miss Wilson, Ebenezer Baptist Church, telephoned asking an immediate investigation of family named Weber. Mr. Weber locked Mrs. Weber and the children out. Mrs. Weber went out to Maywood to the home of Mrs. Mason, whom she knew at the Ebenezer Baptist Church. Mrs. Mason telephoned asking to have Mr. Weber take Mrs. Weber home. Mrs. Weber is below normal and not good to the children. Church is not helping. Mrs. Weber and the children must be placed. Does not know where man is.

*Later.*—Visited. Found Mr. Weber at home sitting on the back doorstep. They are living in a first-floor four-room apartment. His back was all bandaged. He said that yesterday when he was shaving and had his back turned, Mrs. Weber took up a coffee pot full of boiling coffee and poured it on him. He was so mad he hit her and told her either he would leave the house or she would have to. She rushed to the neighbors', and he has not seen her since. He locked the door and went to his sister's. When he came back he found that Mrs. Weber had broken a window and taken out her clothes and those of the children. Mr. Weber had no idea that Mrs. Weber was in Maywood. Showed the visitor the house, which was unspeakably filthy. Mr. Weber said Mrs. Weber never did any work, was exceedingly lazy, read novels, and insisted upon going to the show nightly. Neglected the children. Said he had always cleaned the house, got his meals, and cared for the children after his work. They have been put out of two houses because of filth. He is very fond of the children, but said he did not care whether Mrs. Weber was arrested or not.

He would not have her in the house. They have quarreled ever since they were married, and Mrs. Weber threw hot coffee on his arm just a few months ago.

Mr. Weber originally came from Indiana. He has been in the army for two years and wants to go now, but Mrs. Weber will not let him. By profession he is a steel roller, but since the war he has been doing various kinds of work with munitions. Says he has not been able to keep any job long because his mind is never on his work and he has to stay home often because of the children. Now he has a good job, which he has had for six weeks only. Hours 7:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. His employer told him he would get a raise shortly. He has a very straightforward manner and is intelligent appearing. He has one widowed sister, Mrs. Violet Kolacek, with two children, in Chicago. Mrs. Weber is jealous of this sister, and the trouble probably started when she found Mr. Weber had paid the doctor for his sister to be examined and is going to pay for her operation. Mr. Weber had visitor go to see Rose Doran, a friend of Mrs. Weber's [who lives across the street]. She would tell nothing of the quarrel and said she could not take Mrs. Weber and the children in.

*Later.*—Went with Mr. Weber to see his sister. She is being helped by another district of the Welfare Agency. She expects to go to the University Hospital, March 29, so cannot take care of Mr. Weber's children. When she recovers she may be able to do so. She begged that Mr. Weber take Mrs. Weber back for the children's sake. Is sure Mrs. Weber is mentally off.

*Later.*—Called with Mr. Weber on Miss Kate Davis, deaconess of the Memorial M.E. Church. She has tried to help Mrs. Weber at different times but has had no success with her. Thought surely something was mentally wrong with her. Thought it a fine idea to have her examined at the Psychopathic Hospital. Would be willing to co-operate with Agency as much as possible. Mr. Weber finally promised to go to Maywood for his wife, but he made the visitor promise to have Mrs. Weber examined.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. Mason, to see if Mr. Weber went there. Said he had just left, but a few minutes before he came Mrs. Weber took the Madison Street car and was planning to go home. She said Mrs. Weber slept on the church lawn with the children, across from her house. She was so filthy they made her stay on the back porch. Told her she must go home, but Mrs. Weber was afraid Mr. Weber would kill her. Mrs. Mason has never known Mrs. Weber

well. She has tried to help her. Knows very little about her and thinks she is subnormal. Approves of the plan to have her examined. Said she had a long talk with Mr. Weber. Thinks him honest and well meaning. Mr. Weber told her he wanted to pay $3.00 a week to keep the children in a private home. Asks that Agency report to her steps taken.

*July 29, 1918.*—Visited. Mr. Weber was not at home. Mrs. Weber and the children were there. Mrs. Weber was on the bed reading a novel. Her eyes attract one's attention at once. They are huge, stary eyes. With her curly hair on end and her queer eyes she looked like a wild woman. The children were filthy and the house was in the same condition as it was when the visitor last called. Mrs. Weber said Mr. Weber would be at home July 30.

*July 30, 1918.*—Visited. Found both Mr. Weber and Mrs. Weber there. They seem to be contented and happy. The house was very clean, and Mrs. Weber and the children looked quite neat. Mr. Weber said he did not want Mrs. Weber to be examined. Wanted the whole matter dropped.

*July 31, 1918.*—Telephoned Mrs. Mason that at present Mr. Weber did not want anything further done in regard to Mrs. Weber. They evidently had made up—were good friends again.

*August 6, 1923.*—Miss Lyons, Joint Children's Bureau, telephoned that Mrs. Weber was there asking that her children be placed. Miss Lyons felt that no action could be taken until home conditions were looked into and asked that Welfare Agency do this.

*Later.*—Mrs. Weber in the office. She is a small, rather colorless-appearing woman. She talks in a monotone. She did not wish to consider anything but having her children placed. She feels that she is too ill to care for them in the home and that she will never be better until she is relieved of their care. She has decided to leave her husband because he drinks and does not keep a steady job. For references she gave Lieutenant Sirius, Salvation Army Post No. 4, and Dr. Colgate, Salvation Army.

Mrs. Weber gave practically the same story of her life as she told earlier in the record. [Two children have been born since the previous episode, Florence (born July 16, 1919) and Joseph (born July 31, 1920). The family has moved several times since 1918 and are now living in a four-room first-floor rear apartment on one of the main east and west thoroughfares.] Mr. Weber is now working for Miller Hardware Company as night watchman, while his father is on a vacation. She

says that he was recently in Court of Domestic Relations on the complaint of some neighborhood girl that he had attacked her. The case, however, was dismissed as the complainants did not appear. [Mr. Weber was found not guilty.] Mrs. Weber said that she would try to have Mr. Weber call at the office as it will be difficult to find him at home within the next few days.

*August 8, 1923.*—Mr. Weber in the office. Said that he would like to have the children cared for for a month or two so that Mrs. Weber might have a chance to rest. He does not feel it would be a permanent placement. At the present time he is relieving his father, who is on a vacation, and his salary is $24 a week. He thinks he can pay about $12 a week for the care of the children. His sister, Violet, Mrs. Kolacek (also a case), has recently remarried, and he does not feel that he would like to burden her with the care of the children. His father is living with his sister.

He said that Mrs. Weber did little housework, that she punished the children severely at times, that she often went away and left them locked up in the evening. He feels that this is due to her present state of health.

Dr. Colgate has been their family doctor for some time. A short time ago the doctor told him that Mrs. Weber really should be in the State Hospital. Mr. Weber feels that he would like to have her have a complete rest and see if that would do any good.

*August 10, 1923.*—Telephoned Dr. Colgate for a report. He confirmed the statement that he was the Webers' family doctor and that, from his observation from visits to the home, the children are very much neglected. He has not seen Mrs. Weber for a month and would not like to give any recommendations until she returns for examination.

*August 11, 1923-August 23, 1923.*—Through Miss Lyons of the Joint Children's Bureau, arrangements were made for the children to be placed—two of them in the Home for the Friendless temporarily until the home in Riverside is out of quarantine. The other two children were placed in another home.

*August 24, 1923.*—Mr. and Mrs. Weber in office. Each was put out with the other one. It seems that Mrs. Weber went down to the Salvation Army Officers' Headquarters in South Haven, Michigan, where she had notified visitor she was going. Mr. Weber knew this because he had been in the office. He was quite angry over the fact that she had not told him where she was going, and when he found

out where she was, went down to South Haven to see her. They both went over to Dr. Colgate's office, and the latter is to telephone the visitor. Mr. Weber is very evidently afraid that Mrs. Weber is not going to come back to him. He said that she made the statement that maybe it would be two days, two weeks, or two years, before she came back. Before they left the office Mr. Weber finally agreed to let Mrs. Weber go down to South Haven for two weeks if she would write to him twice a week and come and go with him to see the children on Sunday.

*Later.*—Dr. Colgate called. He said he could find nothing organically wrong with Mrs. Weber. Neither does he think she is insane. He thought any plan which would get her away from home for a while would be advisable. He also agreed that an examination by a specialist, a psychiatrist, would be a good thing. Mr. and Mrs. Weber apparently had some words after they left the office—both at the Joint Children's Bureau and at the Home for the Friendless. Miss Lyons, Joint Children's Bureau, telephoned that Mr. Weber had been down there and said he was going to take the two children from the Home for the Friendless and hire a housekeeper. Miss Lyons also mentioned the fact that Grace is in a rather bad nervous state and should not be moved from the Home for the Friendless at present.

*August 27, 1923.*—Telephoned Miss Taylor, Home for the Friendless, who reports that Grace is better but is in the infirmary. She will notify visitor when she is to be transferred.

*September 1, 1923.*—Mr. Weber in office to report that Mrs. Weber has been gone some days. He threatens to get her committed on three doctors' statements, which he says he has.

*September 7, 1923.*—Mrs. Weber in office. Said Mr. Weber told her to leave and that she is not going back to him. He drinks periodically; moonshine is the cause of the present difficulty. He throws the things about the house and then asks visitor to come and see how she keeps house. Mr. Weber's father gave him $100 September 4. He gave Mrs. Weber $20, of which she now has $11. Paid $2.00 for a coat for herself. Mr. Weber's father has given him money off and on for four years. She said she would go to Mrs. Kolacek's to remain temporarily.

Made an appointment for medical examination at West Side Dispensary.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. Weber had been home all day awaiting Mrs. Weber's return. He acknowledged that he told her to leave

but denied that he had been drinking or had ever done so. He says that Mrs. Weber has never been any better housekeeper or cook than she is at present. He used to do a great deal of the housework but got tired of it. He thinks that if she can run about to meetings she is able to do some work in her home. She told him some very disgusting and shocking things about immoral relations with men the day after they were married. Although it was very hard to endure, he forgave her and does not hold it against her. He is fond of his wife, else he would not put up with her as he does. He is willing to do anything for her benefit. She has been a religious fanatic, first a Presbyterian, then a Methodist, next the Volunteers of America, and now the Salvation Army. She goes down to the Atlantic Mission (Mr. Kingsley superintendent) but at home she is not religious and swears like a sailor. She goes to the Volunteers of America and buys old clothes, shoes, and books. Several months ago she went to Albert K. Waverly, at 235 Adams Street, to petition for divorce. He went to Mr. Kingsley about it, and he had the petition recalled. He thinks that Mrs. Weber is mentally defective or unbalanced else she would not act as she does.

Most of Mr. Weber's work is secret service in connection with labor troubles. His pay amounts to about $150 a month when he is steadily engaged. He could do much better if his home life was better. His work appears to be very irregular because he only stays while looking up something in connection with secret service. For instance he worked in a lumber yard for a few weeks in order to find out who was smoking there. As soon as he found out he left. He does not like to take work that sends him out of the city because he wants to be with his family.

Mr. Weber took George to the Municipal Tuberculosis Dispensary for a medical examination just before the close of school last spring. He had an examination at that time himself at Mrs. Weber's urgent request. She thought he had tuberculosis because he coughed. The home consists of four rooms which are very dark because the blinds are drawn. There are piles of dirty clothes in a number of places in the house. Beds dirty and disorderly looking. Mr. Weber says the house is full of vermin. Kitchen also dirty and did not look as if any cooking had been done recently. Foul odor in the house.

*September 8, 1923.*—Mr. and Mrs. Weber in office. Mr. Weber showed a check for $9.00 for the past night's work, expenses $2.00.

He says he will not work for the next day or two until family matters are adjusted. Mrs. Weber may come home if she so desires.

Mrs. Weber acknowledged that she bought clothing from Volunteers of America. Said that she bought laundered articles cheap; when they were dirty she was unable to wash them and so bought new ones. Shortly after they were married she told Mr. Weber about being assaulted by a man when she was fourteen years old. He continually taunts her about it. Mr. Weber tells her that she is insane and that she ought to go to a hospital.

She says that Mr. Weber was dishonorably discharged from the army before they were married, about 1909 possibly. He was discharged as judge of election because of his being accused in the Court of Domestic Relations last spring. He has upon several occasions struck her and she wants to secure a divorce. Does not want to go back home—wanted help in gettting a room elsewhere.

*September 10, 1923.*—Visited Mr. Weber, Sr., a rather feeble old gentleman. He lives with his daughter and works at night as a watchman. He did not know his daughter-in-law until two years after his son married her. From the time he first knew her she has not been a good housekeeper, and it seems impossible for her to cook. He thinks she is worse of late than she ever has been before. His son has helped at times with housework and at present does his own laundry work. He does not know about his son's drinking nor about his work record. He gave him money several years ago during the time of unemployment. Recently he drew out $200 from his bank account and gave George $100 and Violet $100. He thinks that both his son and his wife are to blame for their trouble, but does not know what can be done about it. He is very fond of his grandchildren and would dislike to have them placed permanently. Mrs. Weber is not a welcome guest at the house because she continually talks over her family troubles and implicates them all. The home is on the second floor of a rather good-looking apartment house. The rooms were comfortably furnished and quite clean.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Kolacek at the Star Emporium, where she is employed. She is a neat-appearing clerk in the dress department in the basement. She said that she and her brother are not on speaking terms and that she had forbidden him to enter her home. She says she does not know how he lives without working. She does not like to have her father help him, for he is getting old and may need his money.

She has been a widow with three children and she took care of herself without anyone's help or assistance but she had to work to do it. Mrs. Kolacek says that her brother received a dishonorable discharge from the army because he refused to salute a superior officer. He felt himself to be as good as anyone else. She thinks her sister-in-law is fickle and incapable but does not agree with her brother that she has a mind of a fifteen-year old-child; she thinks her brother is more likely to have the fifteen-year-old mind. She thinks Mrs. Weber is to be pitied, for Mr. Weber is so unsympathetic and unreasonable with her and talks so loudly to her. Both are to blame for their difficulty. Mrs. Weber does not seem to have any affection for Mr. Weber; declares she hates him. She does not know whether her brother cares any more for Mrs. Weber. Mrs. Kolacek kept saying that she could not bother with these people, she has troubles of her own. She goes to the Tuberculosis Clinic occasionally and has a pre-tubercular boy. She cannot give them any help. She is not able to work steadily at the store.

*Later.*—Visited West Side Dispensary. Mrs. Weber reported for gynecology examination. [Serious condition was discovered.] Home treatment was prescribed. She should also return to Dispensary for treatment. Because of her condition she is very nervous. She had blood tests. She is to return on the thirteenth for mental examination. Doctor wishes to see Mr. Weber.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Weber was not at home, and Mr. Weber could not say where she had gone. He was much concerned about what the doctor might want of him but said he would go to the Dispensary. Seems to think Dr. Colgate should be consulted rather than anyone else.

Mr. Weber had paid up to September 21 for care of the children. Grace and George are in Riverside Children's Receiving Home. He showed receipt for $12 paid. The other two are in the Dorcas Children's Home Association, Grovedale. He also showed receipt for payment of $12 for care of these.

"Dorothea" at Volunteers of America is the woman from whom Mrs. Weber buys her clothes.

*History.*—Mr. Weber went to a country school, quit in fourth grade, when he was eleven years old. He studied when in the army. He entered in August or September, 1906—Army Serial No. 2155, Private 9th United States Infantry, located at Fort Missoula, Montana. He was discharged in late summer of 1909. He said he did

not have his discharge papers. [He gave the names of several employers.]

*September 11, 1923.*—Visited Pennant Cafeteria, 296 Washington St. Mr. Weber was investigating and receiving clerk there for probably six or seven months, about six months ago. He did fairly satisfactory work, nothing especially commendable, but good. He did some detective work for them. They did not remember his wages. They did not care to consult records for more exact data.

*Later.*—Mr. Weber in office. He was much disturbed about visits made to his relatives. Said that his sister attempted to commit suicide two weeks ago. He acknowledged that he drank. Said he drank on Saturday, the eighth. Would quit and be a man. He would help his wife with the housework. He felt ashamed of his actions.

*September 12, 1923.*—Visited California Tool Works, 451 West Street. Mr. Weber had said that he had worked there as helper in furnace room, receiving an average weekly salary of $28. Miss Wallace, informant, said that he left of his own accord giving as his reason that he was leaving the city. His work was satisfactory. Mr. Weber stated that when he worked at this place he had no connection with the secret service work. He gave his wife his pay envelope each week which he thinks has been the cause of much trouble.

*Later.*—Visited Mr. Robert Graves, 415 West Street, Room 205. He has a very nice office and is a gentlemanly business man. He said that Mr. Weber had done work for them at different times for about four years. Their plan of work is this: An industry or business firm asked them for a detective to investigate something in connection with their working force. They send a man who is employed at some odd job that he may be able to do and receive whatever wage the job yields. He remains until the investigation is completed, when he either leaves of his own accord or is dismissed by his employer. Mr. Graves states that they pay a per diem rate depending upon the nature of the work. Mr. Weber has been receiving from $60 to $75 a month from them. They have always found him to be honest and dependable, and they are well satisfied with his work. He also does secret service work for other agencies, he thinks. Mr. Graves does not know that he drinks.

*September 13, 1923.*—Visited West Side Dispensary. Mrs. Weber was there. Mr. Weber reported to doctor that Mrs. Weber is contemplating doing some work soliciting for the Volunteers of

America from 9:00 to 12:00 each morning. She would like to get away some place out of the sound of Mr. Weber's voice. He speaks so loud it irritates her very much.

*September 19, 1923.*—Mrs. Weber in office. She was looking better but said that she was weak. She came to ask if the doctor at the West Side Dispensary had said that she could not have her children back again. She said that Mr. Weber is not working, that he said that since visitor had seen Mr. Graves he had lost his job, and that he says it is no use for him to work if he cannot have the children. Mrs. Weber has been unable to secure work with the Volunteers of America as solicitor, but hopes to get other work. She would like to have Mr. Weber ordered to give her a certain amount of money each week—then she could manage her home. Mr. Weber sometimes throws his food on to the floor. He buys and prepares his own meals. When Mr. Weber worked for the California Tool Company he gave her about $27 a week. She sent out the laundry and had a woman come in to do cleaning.

Advised Mrs. Weber not to nag at Mr. Weber about employment but rather to clean up her house and keep it fresh, to prepare meals on time, and to serve them properly. If she will do all that, she will have plenty of work to do. That it is all up to Mr. Weber and herself whether or not the children are returned to them. If they will discontinue their jangling and plan to co-operate and make a home in which the children will receive the proper care, they may hope to get them back, otherwise it was uncertain what would be done.

*September 19, 1923.*—Telephoned Miss Davis. She does not consider Mrs. Weber mentally capable of caring for her house or children. Mr. Weber she thinks has a fairly good work record and would do much better if Mrs. Weber were more capable. He has always been very fond of the children, but Mrs. Weber has wished them out of her way. Mr. Weber thought of getting a woman to keep house and care for the children, but he does not earn enough to make that possible. Mr. Weber cannot trust Mrs. Weber with very much money as she is so incapable of buying and Mr. Weber does not know how to make purchases either. She thinks Mrs. Weber would profit by six months' training in an institution for the feeble-minded. She suggested that Captain Gross at Salvation Army might be able to help work out a plan for Mrs. Weber's training. Miss Page, formerly there, knew Mrs. Weber very much better than Captain Gross, but she is out of the city.

*Later.*—Visited Municipal Tuberculosis Dispensary. George has glandular tuberculosis. Mr. Weber is non-tubercular.

*September 21, 1923.*—Telephoned Juvenile Psychopathic Bureau and made appointment for examination of Grace and George October 15 at 9:00 A.M. The parents may both come if they wish. Want visitor to come with children.

*Later.*—Visited Captain Gross, Salvation Army. She said that Mrs. Weber is not coming to meetings at present. She used to come when Miss Page was there. Captain Gross refused to be a personal friend of Mrs. Weber's, which she thinks is why Mrs. Weber does not come any more. Miss Page was more friendly, but she is now at South Haven, Michigan. Mrs. Weber went there to see her not long ago. Miss Page tried to help Mrs. Weber do housework by trying to have her help about the camp, but all to no purpose. Captain Gross has visited the home upon several occasions and always found it disorderly and dirty. She did some work there in the house when Mrs. Weber was ill at one time. She wanted Mrs. Weber to take the children to their summer camp last summer, but Mrs. Weber refused to go because she was not able to get them ready. Tried to suggest ways of helping, but to no purpose. Mrs. Weber does not seem to care for the children, but Miss Gross thinks Mr. Weber does. She thinks them all subnormal mentally or deficient in some way except the baby. She thinks they should have better care and training than Mrs. Weber can give them. Mrs. Weber has at times locked the children up in the house while she went from place to place. Mrs. Weber seems to crave friendship with someone outside her home. If anyone is kind or friendly to her, she will go to their home and stay until she is told to go home. She often wrote sentimental letters of appreciation to Captain Gross about her sermons, etc. She questions her morality because Mrs. Weber confessed in an altar service at the camp at one time that Mr. Weber is not the father of the baby, although he does not know it.

Mr. Weber she thinks is also deficient, but is superior to his wife. Mrs. Weber told her that he had an illegitimate child at Michigan City, Indiana. Mrs. Weber told visitor the same thing; said the child is now nearly grown up. Captain Gross thinks the rape story is Mrs. Weber's own invention. Has no suggestions as to treatment for family—thinks it is quite hopeless.

*Later.*—Visited Miss Dora Stoneman, Volunteers of America. She has known the Weber family for a number of years and knows a

great deal about their affairs, but she does not like to talk about them. They have bought most of their furniture from them. Mr. Weber has bought clothes there. Mrs. Weber bought clothes for herself and the children but not many shoes. Mrs. Weber has asked for work as solicitor, but they cannot use her for she would not be efficient enough to be paid. She thinks the family problem requires a "Solomon to solve."

*Later.*—Visited Atlantic Mission, South Street. Mr. Kingsley, the superintendent, said that Mrs. Weber came there and told them her domestic difficulties, and it seemed to him that she should have a divorce. He referred her to his nephew, who is an attorney. Mr. Weber came to see why he was helping his wife to get a divorce, and he went to the Weber home with Mr. Weber. He thinks if Mrs. Weber would keep a clean house and cook good meals Mr. Weber would be a changed man. Referred visitor to his helper, Miss Roth, for further information. Miss Roth has tried in many ways to help the Weber family. She has gone into the home at times and done work. Once she was called in by Mrs. Weber and found two Salvation Army girls there helping with the work. She thinks Mrs. Weber likes to have people give her attention. She made out a very simple schedule for Mrs. Weber to use in doing her housework, but all her efforts have been in vain. She felt very sorry for Mrs. Weber but found there were two sides to the family quarrel. Mrs. Weber complained of lack of money and physical strength as the cause for the condition of her home, but Miss Roth insisted that soap and water were available and that if she is able to come to meetings every night she is able to to do a few things at home during the day. She has tried to impress upon Mrs. Weber that "love of God in the heart will cause a person to be clean in person and manner of living." She thinks Mrs. Weber has improved in personal appearance. Mrs. Weber has confessed in testimonial meetings to swearing and to outbursts of temper. Mrs. Weber has wanted to get rid of the care of the children—wanted them put in an orphanage. She tried to have them place one of them for her. She also asked them to help her get work. She wants a divorce but Miss Roth does not think she has grounds for it. Also wants Mr. Weber taken into the Court of Domestic Relations, but Miss Roth thinks that is futile. If Mrs. Weber had money she would spend it foolishly. Mr. Weber, she thinks, may be turned away from their meetings by his wife's actions. If they could interest him perhaps they could bring about a reconciliation between the two—

that would improve the home. They think Mr. Weber is very fond of the children.

*September 22, 1923.*—Visited. The house was in better order, floor had been scrubbed and blinds raised. Mr. and Mrs. Weber were quite agreeable until Mr. Weber's work was mentioned, when Mrs. Weber began her nagging again. She does not want him about the house—insists upon a steady job with regular hours; but Mr. Weber kept good natured and said that he may secure regular employment. Mr. Weber had been requested to see the doctor at the West Side Dispensary. The doctor knew his whole past, he thought, and gave him a good jacking up. He thinks it may be good for him although it was not pleasant. He has done some secret service work and painting and odd jobs about neighborhood recently. He seemed to feel a little hurt that visitor doubted his word about employment and had to verify it. He said that the work he did at the Pennant Cafeteria was all on his own account, that he was not supposed to do detective work without a license, so did not want it known. He is thinking of leaving town to do some work. He has not been drinking or been in a saloon for two weeks.

Mrs. Weber goes to the West Side Dispensary twice a week for treatment, on Monday and Thursday afternoons. She is willing to go to a convalescent home. Mr. Weber is very anxious to have her go—wanted to know the expenses—and will pay all that he is able to and give Mrs. Weber spending money.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Weber are pleased with the way the children are getting along. Mr. Weber has often spoken of his humiliation at Grace's verminous condition when she left home. Both Grace and George have had tonsils and adenoids removed, they said. They are willing that the children be examined at the Juvenile Psychopathic Bureau but do not see very much necessity for it. Mr. Weber will go with Mrs. Weber when they are examined but is not particular about it.

*September 24, 1923.*—Visited West Side Dispensary. Miss Ruthven, Social Service Department, said that tests made at the time Mrs. Weber was examined were negative. The physician who has been giving Mrs. Weber treatments said that she need not return for further treatments. Secured statement showing that Mrs. Weber had no contagious disease.

*September 25, 1923.*—Telephoned Oakwood Convalescent Home. They will take Mrs. Weber any time she can come. Would like to have Mr. Weber pay what he can toward expense.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. Weber was getting ready to do some cleaning. Mrs. Weber, he said, had gone to a dressmaker's, who is a friend of hers on Austin Street. He is planning to go to Gary to work in the steel mills there; he thinks wages will be 70 cents an hour. He will have to pay $1.75 for board and room. This is not in connection with secret service work. He is thinking of quitting the latter because he does not have enough work to do to earn very much. He said that he could not state definitely what amount he can pay for Mrs. Weber at Oakwood Home. He is not able to pay anything at present and cannot go beyond $5.00 a week. He will tell her to come to the office.

Mrs. Weber goes to Salvation Army on Dearborn Street, across from the Atlantic Mission. Lieutenant Vick there knows her. Urged Mr. Weber to go with Mrs. Weber to Atlantic Mission meetings. He did not like the idea of it because of Mrs. Weber's actions.

*September 26, 1923.*—Mrs. Weber in office. She is planning to go to Oakwood Home as soon as she can get ready.

*September 27, 1923.*—Visited Riverside Home. Miss Jonas, superintendent, said that Mrs. Weber came there about two weeks ago and stayed three days. Finally they had to send her home. She wanted to help do the work.

*September 29, 1923.*—[The following statement sent to the Juvenile Psychopathic Bureau:]

PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL HISTORY OF GRACE AND GEORGE WEBER

I. REASONS FOR REQUESTING EXAMINATIONS:

To secure a psychiatric study of the children's behavior with a special view to recommendations as to their supervision in their home or care in a boarding-home or institution.

II. SOCIAL AGENCIES:

Case was first referred to the Welfare Agency December 19, 1916, by the Methodist Episcopal Church, because of financial need owing to irregular employment of the father. Case was again referred to the Agency July 25, 1918, by the Baptist Church, when the father locked the mother and children out of doors. The visitor found the father with his back badly burned. He said that, while shaving, his wife had taken a coffee pot of boiling hot coffee and poured it on to him. He became so angry he struck her and told her to leave or he would. He thought her mentally unbalanced. Before a medical examination could be made of the mother, the parents had adjusted their difficulties, and refused medical care. Case was again referred to the Agency by Joint Children's Bureau August 8, 1923, for an investigation of the home conditions as the mother had requested that the children be

placed. Father and George reported to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Clinic June 28, 1923. Parents reported to West Side Dispensary September 10, 1923, for mental and physical examination.

III. INFORMANTS:

Mother, Mrs. Lillian Weber. *Impression:* She is an incapable, irresponsible person and seems to have little affection for her children. She seems to crave the friendship of people outside her home. She is religiously inclined, but goes from one religious group to another, probably because the leaders refuse to become personal friends or that they insist upon her attending to home duties. She has no interest in home-making whatsoever and has never kept a clean house and cooked good meals for her family. She loses her temper, continually slaps and scolds the children. Her information as to facts is quite reliable, excepting dates, etc., but her interpretation is good.

Father, George H. Weber. *Impression:* He is somewhat stubborn, suspicious, at times very unreasonable, and has a very harsh manner of speaking. He is straightforward as a rule in his dealings. He seems to be fond of the children and interested in their welfare. His work record shows irregular employment, but his employers speak well of him. It seems that he is very much discouraged because of unpleasant home conditions. He punishes the children by whipping, using his hand and sometimes a razor strap.

Paternal grandfather, Mr. William Weber. *Impression:* A well-behaved old gentleman. He is conservative and fair in his statements concerning his son and daughter-in-law; blames them both for failure to get along better. He is fond of his grandchildren and would dislike to have them placed permanently.

Paternal aunt, Mrs. Violet Kolacek. *Impression:* She is neat and pleasing in her personal appearance. She does not look very strong. She has been married twice and does not seem happy in her present marriage as she says she has troubles of her own. She seems to be energetic and is impatient with her brother because he does not work more steadily. Her home is quite good and seems to be clean.

Miss Jonas, superintendent, Riverside Receiving Home, Riverside, Illinois. *Impression:* She is a young woman of pleasing personality and seems very fond of children and is much interested in them. She has had Grace and George in her care since August 1, 1923. She sends children to bed and has them sit on chair for punishment.

George's present teacher, Miss Marion Kales, Alcott School, Riverside. *Impression:* She is young but mature. Although she had known George but two weeks she had made a number of observations of his behavior. She had quite definite knowledge of the quality of his work. She seemed to be a fair-minded, kindly disposed person. She does not use corporal punishment in her room.

Grace's and George's former teachers, Garfield School, Chicago. *Impression:* They seemed to feel discouraged about their efforts to impart knowledge to the children. They were rather flippant in some of their remarks. A very large number of children in their rooms were colored. They did not give very definite information as they had just dismissed their rooms and were very anxious to leave the building. They did not use corporal punishment of any kind. Kept the children after school sometimes to get their work.

IV. Family history:

*Heredity.* Paternal grandparents. Grandmother died many years ago. Grandfather is now seventy-three years old, health good. He has no property. He works all of the time as night watchman. He has given small amounts of money to his son at different times for the past several years during times when he is unemployed.

Maternal grandparents. Nothing is known of them.

Paternal siblings. There is one paternal aunt, Mrs. Violet Kolacek. She has three children by a previous marriage. She is employed in the Star Emporium as clerk in the dress department in the basement. One of her children, a boy about twelve years old, is pre-tubercular and takes treatments under the direction of a Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Clinic. Mrs. Kolacek also reports to a Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Clinic. She has given her brother financial aid in the past. She attempted to commit suicide a few weeks ago. (Source, Mrs. Kolacek, George H. Weber, Welfare Agency Record.)

Maternal siblings. Nothing is known of any.

*Parents.* Father, George H. Weber, thirty-eight years old, was born of German descent in Indiana. He attended a country school, leaving when he was in the fourth grade at about the age of eleven. He served in the Army for two years, was dishonorably discharged in 1904, because he refused to salute a superior officer. By trade he is a steel roller, but he has been doing various kinds of work, in foundries and as a painter. The past three or four years he has done secret service work at different times. He says that his wife's inefficiency to care for him hinders him in his work. He drinks some but not to excess, as it has not interfered with his work. He has lived in North Dakota and has been in Chicago since September, 1916. He was in the Municipal Court, June 13, 1923, on a charge of contributing to the delinquency of an eight-year-old girl. He was found not guilty and discharged. September 17, 1923, at the West Side Dispensary, he was found to be in good physical health, but the psychiatric diagnosis was paranoid personality, constitutionally stubborn, suspicious, and resistive to suggestion or advice. (Source, George Weber, Mrs. Kolacek, clerk of Municipal Court, West Side Dispensary, Pennant Cafeteria, California Tool Works, Robert Graves, 415 West St.)

Mother, Lillian Weber, age twenty-eight, was born in Birmingham. Her parents died when she was a baby and she was brought up by a woman she called a nurse. She knows nothing whatever of her family. She went to school until she was in the sixth grade, and at fifteen she took her first position as cash girl in a department store. She has also been a saleslady. At sixteen she entered the Children's Hospital in Birmingham for nursemaid's training, remaining five months at one time and three at another. She never completed the course. Her nurse died when she was sixteen or seventeen years old, and then she went to live with the nurse's cousin. She knew Mr. Weber one week before she married him. She had a physical and mental examination at the West Side Dispensary, September 10 and 17th, 1923. The doctor made this statement in his report: "Physically, Mrs. Weber is a frail woman in poor health especially needing gynecological treatment. (She took all these treatments advised.) Mentally she is diagnosed, constitutionally inferior, inadequate personality. She grades slightly above the feeble-minded in intellectual development and her judgment is very poor. She is not mentally capable of bringing up her children." She goes to Salvation Army meetings and also meetings of other missions, being out many nights each week. She went out of town for a short time upon two different occasions during the past summer. She has a very dirty home. (Source: Mr. and Mrs. Weber; West Side Dispensary; Salvation Army Officer, Captain Gross; Mr. Kingsley, and Miss Roth, Atlantic Mission.)

Siblings: (1) Grace, 1-31-15 (patient); (2) George, 2–19–16 (patient); (3) Florence, 7–16–19 (at Dorcas Home); (4) Joseph, 7–31–20 (at Dorcas Home).

*Marital relations of parents.*—The parents are very uncongenial. They jangle constantly, and Mrs. Weber talks continually of getting a divorce. She complains of Mr. Weber's unemployment, and he of her poor housekeeping. He cannot give her money for household expenditures as she spends it foolishly, and she complains that she does not receive support from him. Mr. Weber says that his wife told him the day after they were married of immoral sex relations she had had. Mrs. Weber says that she was assaulted when she was fourteen years old and that she told her husband about it shortly after they were married. He has never ceased to taunt her about it. She stated that he has an illegitimate child that is now nearly grown in Indiana. She confessed in a religious meeting that Mr. Weber is not the father of her youngest child, but that he does not know it. (Source: Mrs. and Mr. Weber; Mr. James Weber; Captain Gross, Salvation Army.)

*Relations between patients and family.*—The children have never run away from home. They used to quarrel about who would go to school. Grace was untruthful to father. She would hit the younger children and then deny it. She has always told things freely. She did not want her

father to quarrel with her mother. She took her mother's part in the disagreements. George was made to wash dishes for punishment. Grace did most of the dishwashing as a usual thing.

*Relation between patients and superintendent of Riverside Home.*—Both of the children are scared when they do something they think is wrong; they seem to have been whipped or punished severely. But they both seem to go as far as they can in wrong doing. Neither of them can be trusted to do errands. George lies to get out of difficulties, finally acknowledges. He took five cents that was given to him to buy a book for school and spent it for candy. Grace begged money of Miss Jonas at one time. She is a tomboy, gets very dirty. (Source: Miss Jonas, Superintendent, Riverside Home.)

*Economic condition of family.*—The family is not well-to-do. Mr. Weber's wages amount to about $20 or $30 per week when he is employed, but his work is quite irregular. (Source: Employers and Mr. Weber, Mrs. Kolacek, Welfare Agency Record.)

*Religion.*—Mr. Weber was formerly a member of the Christian church. Since he has been in Chicago he has attended the Salvation Army meetings, but is not a regular attendant. He has become rather indifferent to church owing to his wife's actions. Mrs. Weber has attended Episcopal, Baptist, Presbyterian, Moody Institute, Salvation Army, several different posts, and Atlantic Mission. The children have attended the Salvation Army Sunday school. At Riverside they attend Lutheran Sunday school. (Source: Mr. James Weber, Mr. George Weber, Miss Davis, Deaconess M. E. Church; Miss Wilson, Second Baptist Church; Captain Gross, Salvation Army; Mr. Kingsley, Atlantic Mission; Miss Jonas, Riverside Home.)

*Home and neighborhood.*—The family has four rooms and bathroom on the first floor of an old frame house, for which they pay $15 per month rent. The house fronts the street and there is a front entrance. The blinds are usually kept drawn so that it is very dark. The neighborhood is not very good. There are a number of small stores near and some manufacturing plants are not very far away. The population consists of white and colored people. There is considerable space at the back of the house that is clean and has been covered with sand. The family has lived there for four years. They do not sit down to meals together. Mr. Weber prepares his own meals and Mrs. Weber prepares hers, and each eats separately. Mr. Weber does his own laundry work. (Source: Visitor, Welfare Agency, Mr. James Weber, Mr. George Weber.)

*Patient's personal history.*—Grace (born January 31, 1915) walked when one year, nine months. She talked very very little at two years, but understood what was said to her. She had summer complaint her first summer. (Source: Welfare Record, December 19, 1916). She is tongue-tied. Father was tongue-tied until eight or nine years old. (Source:

Father.) Both of the children have speech defects. Grace speaks like a child about three years old. (Source: Miss Jonas, Riverside Home.) Grace was found to be very nervous and when at the Home for the Friendless, in August before going to Riverside, had the appearance of a child who might have chorea. (Source: Report from Home for Friendless.)

George (born February 19, 1916) was diagnosed at Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Clinic, June 28, 1923, as having glandular tuberculosis.

*School.*—Grace entered school at age of five and one-half or six. George at about six. Both entered Garfield Public School and remained in attendance there until June, 1923. Grace was said to be listless and did very poor work, was not good in any subject. She was in first grade two years, and was passed on but not really promoted. She showed no application and was very careless about written work. She played alone, or rather did not play at all. She caused trouble in discipline because of being talkative; she was disobedient. She was also quarrelsome at times.

George tried to do his work. He could draw a little. He was very quiet, rarely played much but was with the other boys.

Both children were very dirty when they came to school. The school nurse sent them home for a bath at one time. Their mother was indifferent to the teachers in their efforts with the children, and seemed more interested in the Salvation Army. The teachers thought that the children were whipped at home as they seemed afraid to move. (Source: Teachers, Garfield School, Chicago.)

Grace entered Alcott School at Riverside in September of this year. She got into a fight and knocked a boy down flat on the ground the first day. She has not attended school since the first day as she seemed too nervous to be in school. (Source: Miss Jonas, Riverside Home.)

George has been going to Alcott School, Riverside, since the beginning of the year. The teacher sent five notes to Miss Jonas asking her to buy a reader for him, none of which he delivered. He is very slow. He has a speech defect which causes great difficulty in teaching him to read. His writing, number work, and paper cutting are fairly good. He is one of the five lowest in the room. He is quite obedient, and punctual and his attendance is regular. He was absent one half-day which seemed to have been caused by the notes about his reader. He seems to be interested in school. He is in Grade I A. (Source: Miss Marion Kales, Alcott School, Riverside.)

*Recreation.*—When at home the children played in the back yard with the neighborhood children. They played with a little wagon mostly, pulling one another about. They also played on a swing. They played house and school and hide-and-go-seek. They did not belong to any clubs. They did not go to the movies very much. (Source: Father.)

At Riverside Home Grace likes to run up and down the stairway. George likes to make investigations to see what he can find out. (Source: Miss Jonas.)

*Habits.*—At home the children were put to bed at six or seven o'clock in the evening winter and summer. They would get up of their own accord about seven o'clock in the morning. (Source: Father.)

At Riverside Home, the children get up quite promptly in the morning. No enuresis. (Source: Miss Jonas.)

*Personality.*—At Riverside Home these children are not liked by the other children. They are selfish and very rough. They both fight and cannot play with other children peaceably. Their fighting is not in self-defense. (Source: Miss Jonas.)

*October 1, 1923.*—Miss Lyons, Joint Children's Bureau, reports the Riverside Home unwilling to keep Grace longer. Miss Lyons has arranged for her transfer to Oakwood Home.

*October 8, 1923.*—Mrs. Weber examined by Dr. J. M. Quayle, staff physician at Oakwood Home; operation recommended.

*October 10, 1923.*—Dr. Quayle telephoned the office asking permission to operate on Mrs. Weber. She did not wish to have the operation without the Agency's approval. Dr. Quayle said that he could get a free bed at Samaritan Hospital. Dr. Quayle also has clinic at West Side Dispensary.

*October 20, 1923.*—The following report received from Juvenile Psychopathic Bureau:

Physical examination of Grace Weber showed evidence of mild chorea.

Mental test indicates her mental development to be six years, six months, and her intelligence rating as 73. She is classed as a borderline mental defective.

The patient appeared quite calm physically, in spite of the choreic form movements. The marked speech defect adds to her difficulties. The mental defect just from casual conversation appears to be more serious than the results of the mental tests indicate. This, together with her speech defect and her restlessness, makes the problem of placement quite a serious one.

The girl is not eligible at present for commitment to an institution for the feeble-minded. Placement outside the home seems to be indicated in view of the fact that the mother is too inadequate to take proper care of her, and since the girl requires special attention and training. An institution like St. Hilda's may perhaps take the girl for some time.

[Just prior to the children's examination at Juvenile Psychopathic Bureau and for a week following it, Mr. Weber either called at the office or telephoned daily. He came in one day greatly excited because he thought his children were going to be taken away from him. After explanation Mr. Weber seemed satisfied.]

*October 23, 1923.*—At the meeting of the Joint Advisory Committee, the following recommendations were made:

That all four of the children be placed in suitable institutions or homes—away from the parents—that necessary medical and convalescent care be continued for Mrs. Weber, and, that failing, she be urged to return to her husband and give up her idea of separation or divorce. If there is no improvement in her housekeeping when relieved of the care of the children, that a more thorough mental examination be asked, having in mind her possible commitment to the State School for the Feeble-minded.

*October 27, 1923.*—The following report received from the Juvenile Psychopathic Bureau:

Seven years, seven months of age, George Weber was found to have a mental age of six years four months, and an intelligence quotient of 84. He is classed as dull and backward.

Physically there were findings suggestive of hereditary syphilis. The blood Wassermann was negative.

We found the child timid, fearful, and particularly unhappy in his relations to his father and mother. He related instances of quarreling and near violence in the home. He declared he was happiest in his present boarding-home and had no desire to return to his parents. Nothing significant was discovered in the mental examination other than timidity.

The child has intelligence sufficient to justify giving him the opportunities of the average home and education. For this reason we would recommend his placement in a private family.

*November 6, 1923.*—Telephoned Mrs. Burnett at Oakwood Home for report. Mrs. Weber had her operation and has been back at Oakwood Home a week. They expect that she will need to stay there a couple of months. Mrs. Burnett offered to secure written statement from the doctor as to the exact nature of the operation.

*November 10, 1923.*—Miss Lyons of the Joint Children's Bureau telephoned that St. Hilda's refuses to take Grace because of mentality. Miss Lyons knows of no other home and suggests asking a private home through the Children's Friend Society.

*November 19, 1923.*—Called at Oakwood Home, talked with Mrs. Burnett and Dr. Quayle. The latter gave statement of Mrs. Weber's operation. She is still in a nervous condition; has crying spells and they feel she needs at least one month's more convalescence. Her operation makes further child-bearing impossible.

Mrs. Burnett now feels Mrs. Weber is utterly incapable of caring for her children.

Both doctor and Mrs. Burnett recommend that Grace be left at Oakwood Home for another two or three weeks at least. She has improved physically, though her mouth still twitches and her speech has not improved. Her glasses have been changed. She is not attending school but is under the care of a nurse in a group of eight children. The nurse reports that she is easily controlled, is kindly disposed to the other children, shares with them whatever she has, takes pride in keeping her few belongings in order, but is exceedingly slow in learning simple things.

*November 17, 1923.*—Visited Mr. Weber to discuss with him placing Grace in a private home. Found him quite willing that this be done. He said that he would be glad to have his wife take her to whatever home was provided; he would like to have her in the city, however. He seemed to feel quite differently toward Mrs. Weber than he had on other occasions. He did not bring up any of the things which she had done that annoyed him. He has decided that regular work would be better for him and has taken a place in a machine shop. Showed his last pay envelope marked $24.75. He has joined the Pelican Lodge, and one of the members who is business agent for the janitors' union suggested to Mr. Weber that he take up that work. Of course, the business agent cannot get him a job, but if he gets a job they will take him into the union. This kind of work he feels would be an advantage to him in that he would be able to get a steam-heated flat to live in, which he cannot otherwise afford. Mr. Weber said that he thought it unwise to bring any of the children home from steam-heated places as he was afraid they would take cold. It was explained to him that, if the Children's Friend Society found a home for Grace, they would expect that she be left there long enough to do her some good. Mr. Weber said that of course he expected to carry out the directions and repeated the fact that he always had "co-operated."

*December 1, 1923.*—Mrs. Burnett, Oakwood Home, reports Mr. Weber very indignant that Mrs. Weber is being held. He threatens to refuse to send other children to Home for the Friendless.

*December 3, 1923.*—Mr. Weber telephoned asking a visitor to come over immediately as he was staying at home that morning with the two children whom he brought from Riverside and could not come to the office. Planned to go to work that afternoon.

*Later.*—Visited, and talked to Mr. Weber. He says that he is through with the Agency, that they have double-crossed him, and that

he is going to take the matter down to Judge Morgan and find out just what rights he has. If Mrs. Weber is not coming home, as it seems, he said he is going to divide the household furniture and put her share of it out in the shed. The trouble seems to have come up over the fact that he wanted Mrs. Weber to come home over Thanksgiving, and he reports that Mrs. Weber and Mrs. Burnett always tell him it is up to the Agency when she is to come home. Explained to Mr. Weber that it was up to Mrs. Weber whether she was to come home or not and that the Agency could not decide for her. We did feel, however, that she should do what the doctor recommended. Mr. Weber did not know the nature of Mrs. Weber's operation; he blames the visitor for not telling him that she was to be operated on and then not telling him the name of the doctor, although he had never asked it. He was advised to consult the doctor as to the nature of Mrs. Weber's operation. His contention was that if Mrs. Weber could be moved from the hospital to Oakwood Home in a Packard car seven days after her operation she was able to come home. He wants to know immediately from her whether she is coming or not. After the interview he decided to come over and talk with the district superintendent to find out just what has been said to Mrs. Burnett about him. Earlier he had stated that he would not come to the office at all.

*Later.*—Mr. Weber in office. It was explained to him that Mrs. Weber, though she had his telephone number and had said that she would report her operation, had written him instead. He agreed that this probably was correct and that the Agency and Oakwood Home could not be held responsible for her so writing. He further agreed that since he had been seeing Mrs. Weber daily at the hospital, it was fair to assume that he had asked such questions as he wished about the nature of her operation, as well as the name of her doctor. He agreed that we had reason to express surprise that only now should he ask the name of her doctor. He was encouraged to see Dr. Quayle, as he seemed to wish to do.

Mr. Weber was urged not to ask his wife to make a decision at this time about whether she would return to him. He was told that the Agency was taking for granted that she would return. In spite of urging, Mr. Weber left the office insisting that he must have an answer from her at once.

*December 4, 1923.*—Mr. Weber in office in an entirely different frame of mind. He saw and talked with Dr. Quayle. He thinks him

a very splendid doctor and a fine man and is willing to do anything that he advises. The doctor's suggestion was that Mrs. Weber remain at Oakwood Home another two or three months; that Mr. Weber cease calling upon her until she asks that he come. Mr. Weber was apologetic for his brusqueness of yesterday. He agreed to place the children at the Home for the Friendless until permanent arrangements could be made or to do anything else suggested to him.

It is very evident that Mr. Weber is swayed by the last person he talks with. He vacillates between a state of impatience and indignation at imagined injury and a state of absolute compliance with suggestions made.

*December 31, 1923.*—Mr. Weber in office wanting Grace placed. He does not anticipate that Mrs. Weber will come back to him. Is getting on better terms with his own family; thinks he has a good chance to work up in his present job; was altogether in a cheerful frame of mind as to the future, having decided to let Mrs. Weber go her own way.

*Later.*—Telephoned Miss Lyons. She will arrange transfer to private home this week and notify Oakwood Home. (This was done, Grace going to Mrs. David Worthy, 1544 West Avenue, January 5, 1924).

*January 10, 1924.*—Mr. Weber telephoned office and came in, in a state of indignation because Mrs. Weber has left Oakwood Home to take a position at the Wayside Hospital. He blames the social agencies generally for breaking up his home and plans to take up detective work away from Chicago. He was assured that Mrs. Weber had taken this step with no backing from the Welfare Agency. He was urged to let her try it out at least for a time. One moment he said he would send support for his children, no matter what, then again that if he left town he might never be heard from again. He brings up repeatedly the fact that he took his wife from a disreputable house in Birmingham and this is the appreciation she shows for his years of care. On leaving he added that probably in the future all matters should be taken up with his attorney, Mr. Brown, fourth floor, Rogers Building.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. Burnett, Oakwood Home. Mrs. Weber found her position herself from an advertisement; in fact the doctor did not recommend her trying anything for two weeks yet, but she was very restless and they did not interfere with her taking this position.

*January 11, 1924.*—Mr. Weber telephoned that he had called on Mrs. Weber at the hospital, thinks she has a good job, and is satisfied with arrangements. Did not want visitor to "upset things," when she called to see Mrs. Weber tomorrow, as he wishes her to do.

*Later.*—Called at the Wayside Hospital and talked with Mrs. Weber. She is employed fixing the trays for patients at meal times. Has time to herself between meals—a light schedule. She has a pleasant room with an older woman. Mrs. Weber does not wish Mr. Weber to call upon her—in fact wishes no more to do with him. She wants him to pay the board for the children, and she will buy clothing and schoolbooks. She speaks of her dislike of his attentions—he wants to kiss her when he calls—this she can't stand; tells rather childishly how she either likes people a lot or dislikes them heartily. She was urged to let him call occasionally if he makes no disturbance, to go with him to see the children on Sundays, and to try to keep him interested in support for the children and in plans for their future.

*January 14, 1924.*—Mrs. Rainey, social service worker at Wayside Hospital, reports that Mrs. Weber was laid off January 12. The chef reports that she was forgetful, could not fill the patients' orders, and was unequal to their work. They were unwilling to try her at any other type of service. Mrs. Weber telephoned from Mrs. Rainey's office, asking that she be helped to get separate maintenance. It was pointed out that this would raise the question of custody of the children and that Mr. Weber would have a good chance to get them since he is supporting them and would undoubtedly make a strong fight to do so. Mrs. Weber is at Oakwood Home again.

In spite of her failure at the hospital she speaks of wanting to go on to night school so she can complete the grades and take nurse's training. She does not want to have to work in a kitchen all her life.

*January 25, 1924.*—Mrs. Weber in the office to complain about the home Grace is in. They serve wine there, and she says that they offered it to her last Sunday. Mr. Weber goes there three times a week to see Grace, and she wishes this stopped. He has given up his job and is selling insurance. He has been keeping up his payments for the children. Mrs. Weber says she lost her job at the Wayside Hospital because Mr. Weber and visitor came out to see her. She asked out there if this were not true, and they told her no—but she knows it is—as she was let out the following day. She expects to

take the matter to court—possibly Court of Domestic Relations—before taking another job, as she does not wish Mr. Weber to bother her. Mrs. Weber said that "they" were just trying to make her go back to Mr. Weber. She seemed to realize that she could not support the children and agreed that they were better in the homes they are in. She did not have any very clear idea what she was going to do after she went to court, that is, whether or not she was going to ask for the custody of the children. Mrs. Weber says that Mr. Weber will win Grace's affection, and she will forget her, if he is permitted to continue going there three times a week and taking her things.

Mrs. Weber was advised to take up the matter of the home with Miss Lyons of the Joint Children's Bureau.

*January 29, 1924.*—Mr. Weber in office with note from the Court of Domestic Relations, asking him to come in for conference on January 31. He was very friendly. He repeated the statement that he had always co-operated with us. He said that he would take his receipts down and show he had paid for the children—and what more could he do.

The following day he telephoned the office saying he consulted Miss Lyons about notice to come to court, and she advised him to have the visitor there and to take his receipts. He also went to see the social worker at the Court. He has given up his job at the Alpha Machine Works, is selling automobile insurance at the present time and does not make very much at it, but he expects to get work as janitor soon. Thinks he will give visitor's name as reference as to his good character.

*January 31, 1924.*—Conference at Court of Domestic Relations. Mrs. Weber did not appear until 10:15 although the conference was at 9:30. Mrs. Burnett accompanied her, but she refused to have anything to say regarding the case, as she felt Mr. Weber would only make trouble for her. Mrs. Weber called at the court and complained that she was ill and unable to pay for the board of the children. She had nothing further to state against Mr. Weber or why she had him called into court. Said she did not want to go back to him, and Mr. Weber begged her to come, threatening her with getting a housekeeper and taking the children if she did not. The social worker at the Court talked pretty plainly to them; told Mrs. Weber she had no business coming down there implying that her husband was not paying for the children when that was not a fact. To Mr. Weber she said Mrs. Weber did not have to return to him unless she wanted to. She

also advised Mr. Weber to let Mrs. Weber alone and give her a chance to get well. She also told him she did not have to make any statement as to how long she wanted to stay away—or whether she ever wanted to come back. Mrs. Weber spoke about going to work, and Mr. Weber immediately said she would have to pay part on the children. The social worker then informed him that that was his exclusive responsibility. Mr. Weber threatened to get an attorney and take it to a higher court. The social worker advised him to leave matters as they were, and said that if he did that it seemed to her best to have the case taken to the Juvenile Court and have a guardian appointed for the children. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Weber made any complaints about the homes the children were in. Mrs. Weber did say she would like to have them all together. Mrs. Burnett seemed to think that that should be arranged. Mrs. Weber refused to go with Mr. Weber out to see Grace, although it was Grace's birthday.

*February 8, 1924.*—Mrs. Weber in office. She is getting her personal belongings from the flat today, and Mr. Weber is giving up the rooms. She wishes to get work and help pay for the children. She is looking better and seemed more cheerful, but still determined to avoid Mr. Weber. She has been working for four days with a family in Ravensdale, but does not know enough about cooking to suit them. She will stay at Oakwood Home until she finds something suitable. She was referred to some possible employers and to the Illinois Free Employment Bureau.

*February 29, 1924.*—Mr. Weber has telephoned the office several times and called on February 14 "to talk things over." He has decided to wait three months to see if Mrs. Weber will come back to him. Then he will proceed with a divorce. He vacillates between being mad at her for her indifference and impatient with the agencies for not persuading her to come back to him. He feels that he has put the matter in too many hands. He expects to see Dr. Quayle again and is confident that if necessary he can get a medical statement proving his wife's incompetence.

Mr. Weber told of seeing a moving picture—"Foolish Parents"—and he wishes his wife could also see and profit by it.

*March 5, 1924.*—Mr. Weber telephoned. Mrs. Weber has been to see him, and together they went to see Joseph. Mrs. Weber is employed at the Lincoln Foundlings Home. Mr. Weber told her to hunt for a flat and he would get new furniture. They had a pleasant visit together—no disagreements.

Mr. Weber has asked several times that messages for him be left with his father. He is seeing more of him and of his sister since Mrs. Weber left. He speaks of going with his father to the latter's watchman job just to keep him company. He has given up his detective work because of the irregularity, but has missed a great many days at work because of the upset condition of his affairs. He is attending lodge meetings, going to the movies once in a while, and says he will never let affairs get into the condition they were before. He has no desire for liquor but feels he must have some recreation. He states that he has wasted a good share of his life to date and that he, as well as his wife, was to blame for their way of living.

### 11. The Family of Jacob Lieberwich

*(A Shoe-Repair Worker Who Had Been Mentally Ill and in a State Hospital but Is Now at Home)*[1]

[This family was first known to the Jewish Welfare Bureau on March 10, 1916, when Mrs. Lieberwich called at the office because of difficulty her husband was having with a man from whom he had bought a machine on the instalment plan. He had a shoe-repair shop in the heart of the Jewish quarter and had until a short time before kept up the payments. Then business fell behind, he was unable to keep up the payments, and the dealer was threatening to take the machine. The Bureau telephoned the dealer, who said that he did not mind the delayed payments so much as the man's insulting manner; Mr. Lieberwich agreed to make every effort to pay and the contact ceased. At that time the family consisted only of Mr. Lieberwich, a Russian immigrant, thirty-two years old, and his wife, born in 1891 in London. Her father, a tailor, and her sister lived in the same general neighborhood as did his parents and two married sisters.

On December 22, 1919, the family again came to the attention of the agency when the Psychopathic Hospital notified the Bureau that Mr. Lieberwich had become greatly depressed over his business; that he could not meet the bills connected with the conduct of his shop, had come for diagnosis, and been found to be of the manic depressive type. Further treatment in the hospital was recommended, but his wife and his father both objected, as he was a good worker, had helped his family to immigrate and cared well for his wife and two

[1] See below, pp. 872–83.

little girls, Dorothy (born August 10, 1916) and Elizabeth (born June 1, 1918). He was therefore released to his wife on December 27, 1919. On January 20, 1920, however, he attempted to commit suicide, and two days later was committed to the hospital for the insane. He improved under the care of the institution and, August 25, 1920, was paroled to his family. The Bureau did not follow up this release, and the family was not known to the agency again until February 24, 1921, when he appealed for a loan of $300. He gave an account of his work history since leaving the institution. He had been in a number of places and had worked irregularly and desired once more to be set up in business. He felt sure that he was sufficiently restored to stand the strain. The Mental Hygiene Clinic of the Bureau investigated the family situation, visiting Mr. Lieberwich's father, who said he could do nothing for his son, and Mrs. Lieberwich, who described the family—a third little daughter had been born April 4, 1920—as in great want and the man as deteriorating through discouragement at his inability to provide for his family. The Mental Hygiene Clinic was in contact with the family until April 16, 1921, when the specialist declared the man entirely recovered from his breakdown. In March the Relief Department assumed responsibility for the support of the family. The following record traces the care given.]

*March 2, 1921.*—Called at 1563 Maplewood Avenue, where the Lieberwichs live, and found the door locked.

*Later.*—Visited 1334 California Avenue, where Mrs. Lieberwich's parents are living. Found Mrs. Lieberwich there. Mrs. Lieberwich stated that in September, 1919, Mr. Lieberwich became sick and was taken to the Psychopathic Hospital and later sent to State Hospital for the Insane. Since he was paroled from the Asylum, he worked in a shoe-repair shop at Pullman, Illinois, and earned $35 a week. He worked there several months and was laid off on account of lack of work. After that, he worked several days a week at odd jobs, but for the last four months, he has not had regular employment.

The Lieberwichs were married on June 27, 1915, in Chicago. Mrs. Lieberwich came from England to Canada, where she worked in a tailoring concern, and seven years ago she came to Chicago to visit a brother and met Mr. Lieberwich and then married.

Five years ago, Mr. Lieberwich established himself in a shoe-repair shop, at 14 Kolmar Avenue. He made a very comfortable living until he became sick. Mrs. Lieberwich kept up the business

for several months, and in March of 1920, two months after Mr. Lieberwich's admittance to Asylum, she sold the store for $500. Since that date, she and her children have been living on that money. She claims that she has nothing left.

Mrs. Lieberwich pays $25 rent for five rooms. A brother, his wife, and child share the flat with her family. Mrs. Lieberwich has three other brothers besides the one living with her. They are all tailors and have been out of work for the last five months. One brother is a widower, who lives with his parents and has two children to support. Another is single, aged nineteen, and has been out of work all winter. A fourth brother, Morris Levy, lives on Wood and Polk streets with his wife's parents. He is also a tailor and has been out of work.

Mrs. Lieberwich stated that she gets about $5.00 a month from her father and mother, who are the only ones who can assist her. Her father has a little business in the front part of his house, where he takes in clothing which is to be cleaned and repaired. Told Mrs. Lieberwich to send her husband to our office Friday, March 4.

*March 4, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He stated that he does not wish to receive any aid from our organization but wants us to establish him in a business, preferably a paper stand. He states that he has a very good business record and that we can inquire at the Robey Leather Supply Company and the O.K. Leather and Finding Company, 920 Liberty Street. When he was in the shoe-repair business he used to buy leather at the above concerns. Mr. Lieberwich stated that if we establish other men in business, he sees no reason why we should not help him. Told Mr. Lieberwich that due to the straitened circumstances of the organization we would have to consider this thoroughly before giving him an answer. Advised Mr. Lieberwich in the meantime to find work at his trade. He stated that his father, Jacob Lieberwich, has a stand on Island and Ogden Avenue. Mr. Lieberwich expects to be notified to come for his second citizenship papers within the next month.

Mr. Lieberwich appeared to be quite mentally distressed. His attitude toward our office was that we should not expect him to go to work, but since he was always in business we should help him re-establish himself in another.

*March 25, 1921.*—Conference on the above case held with supervisor and social worker from the Dispensary. It was decided that before taking up with the superintendent the matter of establishing

Mr. Lieberwich in business, a report on his mental condition be obtained and that an examination by Dr. Henry be arranged for. It was also decided that a work history be also obtained.

*April 4, 1921.*—Spoke to Miss Berg, social worker at the Dispensary, *re* Mr. Lieberwich. She stated that he had been to the Dispensary and was examined by Dr. Henry, who advised that he could conduct a business. A report on him will be sent to our office later.

*Later.*—Interviewed Mr. Lieberwich. He stated that he was a shoemaker from the Old Country. He came to Toledo in May, 1907, and stayed with some *Landsleute* in that city. He, however, could not find work and after remaining in Toledo a few months came to Chicago in 1907. He lived with an uncle in this city. He was expecting to go into business with this uncle, but, when he went to buy stock, the wholesale man advised him to go to work for a shoe-repair shop at South Eastern Avenue and Eighty-seventh Street, which he did. He received $10 a week, board, and room. He worked there only a few months as very little work came into the shop and he was laid off. He was idle a few days and went to work on Fortieth Street and Colorado Avenue. He does not remember the name of either of the above employers. He received $7.00 a week, room, and board. He was laid off after working there a few months on account of lack of work. He then found work in Oak Park, but remained there only three weeks when his employer went into bankruptcy. He then went to work for the Standard Shoe Repair Company and worked there only three weeks. He received $9.00 a week. He was laid off on account of slack season. Mr. Lieberwich up to this point attributed the slack season to the changing of the president. After leaving the Standard Shoe Company he went to work for Albert Greenberg, 12454 Michigan Avenue. He worked there on and off for nearly a year. He received $7.00 a week, board, and room, and oftentimes worked overtime. Mr. Lieberwich refers visitor to Mr. Greenberg for references. After working steadily for one year Mr. Lieberwich was able to save $150 and went into business at 671 North Avenue. He had a shoe-repair shop there for four months, but on account of some discrepancy in the lease he was forced to give up his business. After that he worked in several shoe-repair shops. He again went into business on California and Congress streets, at which place he remained for two years. During that time Mr. Lieberwich claims he lost considerable money because of the following:

Mr. Lieberwich was first married in Europe, and shortly after his marriage he came to America, expecting to send for his wife immediately after he arrived in this country. However, he was never able to save enough money for transportation, although two and one-half years later he sent for his wife. She came here, remained with Mr. Lieberwich for three weeks, and then ran away with a cousin. Mr. Lieberwich claims that this experience with his first wife discouraged him, and he claims that at that time he felt he was mentally deranged but he was never committed to an institution.

After he gave up his business on California and Congress streets he went to work for several small shops, and shortly after he secured a divorce from his first wife, he married the present Mrs. Lieberwich.

He conducted a shoe-repair shop at 14 Howard Avenue for five years. He did very well, supporting his family, who lived in a flat on Maplewood Avenue, and paying all his debts and rent for both his flat and shop. Business went along apparently well, until about one and one-half years ago when the people in the neighborhood signed a petition not to patronize any Jewish shopkeeper. Because business became very poor and because he felt that the people in the neighborhood hated him because he was a Jew, his mental condition became acute. He was then committed to the Insane Asylum. After Mr. Lieberwich was released from the State Hospital, he went to work for Frederic Grammarosa, 328 Seventy-sixth Street. He worked there for five months and earned $40 a week. He was laid off because of some misunderstanding with his employer. However, he claims that if visitor speaks to Mr. Grammarosa, he will give very good references for Mr. Lieberwich.

Mr. Lieberwich is very anxious to go into business, either a small shoe-repair shop or a newspaper stand. He stated, however, that he realizes that we cannot establish him in business on his previous record because of his insanity. He stated that he will be very happy if we can find steady employment for him. Mr. Lieberwich claims that the union man from whom he gets his employment tells him that he cannot place him very easily because he at one time was an inmate of an insane asylum. Mr. Lieberwich stated that he earned $6.00 last week. He dislikes very much to have to take assistance from our office and he asked that we do not give him any relief until it is absolutely necessary. However, Mr. Lieberwich apparently is very much worried over his financial circumstances.

Mr. Lieberwich states that while he was in business he bought leather from the Robey Leather Supply Company and also the O.K. Leather and Finding Company.

*Later.*—Spoke to Miss Berg *re* Mr. Lieberwich. She stated that she intends to go down to the union and speak to the officials there and explain to them that Mr. Lieberwich is entirely cured.

Report on Mr. Lieberwich received from Dr. Sawyer [specialist at Mental Hygiene Clinic] stating that the attack of depression from which Mr. Lieberwich suffered was brought on by financial difficulties due to circumstances over which the patient had no control. Dr. Sawyer states that there had been a previous attack much milder in character and not necessitating commitment at the time when his first wife deserted him. It would thus seem that the patient is not very resistant to difficulties, and hence one cannot assert very strongly that he will not break down again. Nevertheless both previous attacks have been on occasions of serious difficulty and have been widely separated in time. Dr. Sawyer believes that we would be justified in starting Mr. Lieberwich in business. Mr. Lieberwich was asked to return for further examination because a doubtful Wassermann reaction had been obtained at the State Hospital. The test has been repeated and was found to be negative.

*Later.*—Miss Berg advised that Mr. Lieberwich had been suffering from manic depressive form of insanity.

*April 19, 1921.*—Called at the store owned by Frederic Grammarosa, 328 Seventy-sixth Street, where Mr. Lieberwich worked after he was discharged from the State Hospital. Mr. Grammarosa can speak very little English. He stated that Mr. Lieberwich worked for him for about five months and did very fine work. He was very quiet and attended to his business. Mr. Lieberwich was the only man that worked for him at the time. His hours were from 8:00 A.M. until 6:00 P.M. He paid Mr. Lieberwich $40 a week. However, he had to lay him off because of lack of work.

*Later.*—Called at 12454 Michigan Avenue where Mr. Greenberg conducts a shoe-repair shop. Mr. Lieberwich worked for this man off and on for several years. Mr. Greenberg spoke very well of Mr. Lieberwich's work and also of his character. He stated that in all the time he has known Mr. Lieberwich he has found him to be honest and often would leave him in the shop alone. He stated that he found Mr. Lieberwich to be a very quiet man who was never very talkative. At times he found him to be exceedingly despondent.

Mr. Greenberg stated that work in his shop was never steady and this was the reason he had to lay off Mr. Lieberwich so often.

*April 20, 1921.*—Mrs. Lieberwich in office. She stated that her husband made about $6.00 last week and they have very little money for the holidays. Sent grocery order to Mrs. Lieberwich.

*April 27, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He stated that he hasn't been working. Asked for grocery order.

*May 2, 1921.*—Mrs. Lieberwich stated that her husband went to look for a job this morning but has not returned as yet. She thinks that he is probably working. She stated that last week a friend of Mr. Lieberwich's told him about this job and he felt very happy. She fears something might happen to Mr. Lieberwich if he does not get this job. Told Mrs. Lieberwich to telephone visitor tomorrow and inform her whether Mr. Lieberwich is working. Asked her to get the name and address of Mr. Lieberwich's union.

*May 3, 1921.*—Mrs. Lieberwich in office. She stated that her husband started to work yesterday for a shoe-repair shop at 757 Fifty-first Street. He is earning $35 a week. She asked that we pay half of her rent.

*May 14, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He stated that he worked for a shoe-repair shop on Sixty-seventh and Dorchester from May 2 to May 12 and earned $35 a week. He stated that working conditions there were very bad and he had very long hours. He tried to remain as long as he could. Mr. Lieberwich stated that the business manager of the union is trying his best for him, since he complained about him to the other officials of the union. The officials then instructed this business manager to give Mr. Lieberwich work whenever there is any. Mr. Lieberwich does not want us to speak to the business manager. He again asked that we establish him in business.

*May 31, 1921.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Lieberwich and the children at home. Mrs. Lieberwich stated that her husband went out looking for a job today. He has not been working for several weeks. However, he has been able to get odd jobs and in this way they managed to get along. Mrs. Lieberwich stated that two of her children need tonsillectomies and they are on the list for the hospital. Mrs. Lieberwich stated that her husband has hardly any money for carfare, nor have they any money for food. Left $3.00.

*Later.*—Report received from the Dispensary as follows:

Dorothy—Height 41, weight 40.7. Should weigh 39.2 normal. Urinalysis, culture and smear neg. T & A advised; Pt. is on our waiting

list. Ref. to Dental Clinic; to report for same June 1 P.M. Tooth powder and brush given.

Helen—Weight 22. Infant. Culture and smear neg. Urinalysis, unable to obtain specimen of urine. Phy. exam. neg.

Elizabeth—Height 36.5, weight 33.2. Should weigh 30.6 overweight. Culture, smear and urinalysis neg. T & A recommended; ref. to eye clinic May 26 P.M. Eyes—patient's pupils seem irregular.

*June 15, 1921.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Lieberwich at home. Stated that her husband has been working a few days each week and earned about $14 to $15 a week. However, she claims that she will not be able to pay her rent. Asked her to send Mr. Lieberwich to our office.

*June 25, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He stated that he worked only two days this week and made about $7.00. He stated that he is down at the union every day asking for work. However, this is the slack season, and he fears he will soon not be given work for even one or two days a week. Mr. Lieberwich again asked that we establish him in some sort of business.

*June 27, 1921.*—Visited at 429 Adams Street at the Robey Leather Supply Company where Mr. Lieberwich used to buy material. Mr. Robey was not in but bookkeeper promised that as soon as he returned on Wednesday, they will notify us concerning Mr. Lieberwich.

*Later.*—Called at 914 Fourteenth Street and spoke to Mr. Wolf, who also used to do business with Mr. Lieberwich. Mr. Wolf considers him a very honest man and thinks highly of him. He is willing to give him credit at any time for any amount. As for Mr. Lieberwich's business ability, Mr. Wolf stated that he is as good as any in the shoe-repair business.

*Later.*—Could not locate 820 Anna Street, where Mrs. Lieberwich claims her brother Mathew Levy is living.

Called at Island and Ogden avenues where Mr. Lieberwich's father has a news stand. He stated that he cannot assist his son financially as he has all he can do to make a living for himself. When questioned as to his son's ability to conduct a shoe-repair shop or a news stand, stated that he could do either easily since he is well now.

*July 1, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. Said he found it difficult to get a job because when he applied for same he was told that he was insane. It was agreed that he be given an extract of recent medical report received from Dr. Sawyer's clinic which he could show to

employers. This extract contained the information that his mental breakdown had been due to business worries over which he had no control, and that he was now entirely recovered. He asked for grocery order, which was promised him.

*July 6, 1921.*—Mrs. Lieberwich in office. States that she received check for $13, which only paid for the rent, and asked for money for living expenses as Mr. Lieberwich is not working yet.

*Later.*—Mr. Lieberwich came in with the same request. Grocery order granted.

*July 11, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. Requested that we speak to the business agent of the Shoemakers' Union in an effort to influence him to give him work. He states that he is continually told that he is nervous and he also feels that he is being discriminated against. The business agent is Mr. Sam Meyer, 121 Island Avenue. Mr. Lieberwich recently joined the union and thinks this may have some bearing on why he is not given work.

*July 13, 1921.*—Called on Mr. Meyer of the Shoemakers' Union, who explained that Mr. Lieberwich is very nervous and talks more than is necessary. He is an honest and straight-forward man and apparently cannot stand to see his fellow-workers dishonest. When he hears them say things that are open to question, he interferes, getting himself on unfriendly terms with other fellowworkers, which results in difficulty for himself. Visitor explained to Mr. Meyer that we had been helping out the family for some time past and that it is very essential for Mr. Lieberwich to get a job in order to support himself and family. Mr. Meyer said he did not know that such was the case and that with this knowledge he would try his best to get him a job as soon as possible. He is under obligations to other members of the union and cannot show any partiality. He will take Mr. Lieberwich in his turn.

*Later.*—While visitor was in the office of the Shoemakers' Union, Mr. Lieberwich came in. Worker took him aside. Explained to him what had been said and pointed out to him the folly of his interfering with affairs of his fellow-workmen; that he was hindering his chances of employment and he was urged to discontinue this practice. Mr. Lieberwich understood the situation and promised to make a great effort at control. He was advised that pending the time he should get employment he would be given assistance from this organization.

Sent family ice tickets upon request.

*July 15, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office stating that the children have had their tonsils removed and they came home Wednesday from the hospital. He also thanked us for the help given him through these hard times.

*July 18, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office asking that we help him just a little more until he finds work. It hurts him, he states, to come to our office for help, but he cannot help himself. He states he is willing to do any sort of labor available in order that he may make living expenses.

*July 23, 1921.*—Mrs. Lieberwich in office asking for a few dollars until Mr. Lieberwich is able to find work. It was promised.

*August 2, 1921.*—Mrs. Lieberwich again in office asking for some help until her husband is able to find work. She states she is behind in the rent and that she will be forced to move as she cannot pay same.

*August 3, 1921.*—Called. Mr. Lieberwich is still not working. He had worked two days a week before and that was all for the last three weeks. They are still behind in the rent and fear they will be forced to move on account of it. Worker promised to send groceries.

Mrs. Lieberwich was washing. The house was neat and clean. The children were neatly dressed. Mrs. Lieberwich gives an appearance of a very good housekeeper.

*August 4, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He wishes to know if grocery order had been sent. He assured office that as soon as he is able he will pay back every cent that was loaned him.

*August 9, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich again in office. Groceries had been sent the day before and Mr. Lieberwich wishes to thank the office for all it is doing for him during these hard times. He will not call again as worker promised to see to his family until he is able to find work.

*August 12, 1921.*—Letter received from Mrs. Lieberwich stating that, although her husband is trying his best to find a job, he is unable to do so and that they have not enough money to live on. She asked that we assist them until we are able to buy a shoe-repair shop for Mr. Leiberwich.

*August 15, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He stated that he has not had any work this week and does not expect to have any work for the next two or three weeks. He claims that he is sent out only as a substitute, and although there are a few steady jobs other men are sent out on those. He claims that the business agent is prejudiced, and for that reason does not do the right thing by him. Mr. Lieber-

wich is feeling very badly and is in great fear that he will become insane again over his troubles. Asks for groceries.

*Later.*—Groceries sent.

*August 17, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office asking that we do something to make his lot easier at home, both financially and socially. He has not been working for the last few weeks, and at home his wife and his relatives nag at him all the time. He further states that if he is ever to get a job from the secretary of the Shoemakers' Union it will be in years to come only, as Mr. Meyer has a personal grudge against him; first, because Mr. Lieberwich is a new member in the union and second, because Mr. Meyer being a new secretary must cater to the older members of the union. He further states that the only way he will ever get anywhere is by having his own shop, and when that is arranged for, he will pay back every cent loaned him by the office. Worker promised to call on Mrs. Lieberwich.

*August 18, 1921.*—Called at 2110 Robey Street, on Mr. Levy, father of Mrs. Lieberwich. Both Mr. and Mrs. Levy stated they are unable to help the Lieberwich family financially, but they have been helping them in making clothing for the children and sending over foodstuff quite often. Explained to them it was their duty to help their daughter, that they must not rely on outside agencies, and that relatives are the first ones to come to one's aid. Upon pressing this point still further, Mr. Levy became violent, threw things about, and used profane language at worker. Worker thereupon informed them that if they shove all responsibility, the office too will do the same thing; that after all they have no share whatever in office and we help only when people are willing to help themselves.

After worker had left, Mrs. Levy caught up with her and apologized for Mr. Levy's rudeness. She stated that he is a sick man and very nervous, and hopes that he will be forgiven.

*Later.*—Called on Mrs. Lieberwich. When asked what could be the matter that Mr. Lieberwich feels so downhearted, she stated that she did not know, unless it was because he is out of work. Mr. Lieberwich, she says, has been acting queerly for the last few weeks, and now she is not on speaking terms with him. Explained to Mrs. Lieberwich that if she does not handle conditions more sympathetically and more tactfully, she will bring about another depression in Mr. Lieberwich. To be sure, conditions are very strenuous, but it is her duty to see to it that things are made as easy as possible for both persons concerned. That after all, both she and

Mr. Lieberwich are socially ill and must be handled carefully if any results are to be obtained.

Mrs. Lieberwich resents the fact that they must accept charity and wants Mr. Lieberwich to go to work so that there may be no necessity of their accepting same, but work cannot be had just now and so Mrs. Lieberwich's nagging is misplaced. She, herself, admits that Mr. Lieberwich is not lazy, is a willing and hard worker, but again does not want to be supported by charity, but by Mr. Lieberwich. Explained to her that such being the case, both her people and his people can easily make Mr. Lieberwich a self-supporting man, namely, by a loan and thus setting up Mr. Lieberwich in a shop of his own. To this proposition there was no response. Worker then explained that after each member of both families had given as much as they possibly could, should Mr. Lieberwich still be short in cash, the office would loan him some of the balance, but, of course, the amount of the loan would be entirely dependent upon the amount given by relatives. That is, should office find that relatives are not giving enough to start with, office will not back the proposition, but should relatives be found to be taking a really sincere interest, the office would see to it that Mr. Lieberwich is established in a good location and have its business worker look to all matters that may involve business difficulties until Mr. Lieberwich is capable of handling everything himself; and furthermore, worker having spoken to Mr. Wolf and Mr. Robey, business people with whom Mr. Lieberwich has had dealings and who are willing to give Mr. Lieberwich credit for any amount of stock, it would be a shame, indeed, if his relatives would not take advantage of this double opportunity, office and credit, of making Mr. Lieberwich a self-supporting man.

Mrs. Levy, with whom the Lieberwichs are staying, then promised whenever office would take this subject up, Mr. Levy would loan $100, and as she is quite sure that the other brother would be willing to give about $50, while Mr. Lieberwich's relatives could also be influenced toward giving $100 loan, thus a total of some $250, more or less, could be made up among relatives, and if office were to supply a $75 or $100 loan and supervision, there would be sufficient to get the essential furnishings in the store and the stock Mr. Lieberwich will get on credit.

*Later.*—When Mrs. Levy, Mrs. Lieberwich's mother came in, and the matter was again talked over, all concerned were convinced that if office took over the supervision of the shop, and will co-operate

in seeing the Lieberwich family become self-supporting, all will go well with Mr. Lieberwich. Left word that Mr. Lieberwich call at the office the next day.

*August 19, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. Explained to him that Mrs. Lieberwich's people will work with office toward making him self-supporting and then his people, too, will be interviewed concerning the matter. However, no definite steps will be taken until about September 15, when business worker returns from her vacation. Mr. Lieberwich was very grateful. He acted like a man who has regained something lost. In the meantime Mr. Lieberwich will send in a written statement every week as to his earnings, so that in case he is short, office may assist.

Spoke to Mr. Lieberwich regarding the strained relations in his home among the members of the family. Mr. Lieberwich regretted that such was the case, and stated that it was no fault of his, and that his relatives had been asking the impossible of him. They tell him to get work, and this he states, is a thing over which he has no control, try as hard as he may to look for work. Explained to him that his wife is really under very great strain and he must try his best in relieving it as much as possible by being more friendly and sympathetic. Explained to him further that Mrs. Lieberwich was willing to go out to work provided she could leave the children somewhere, and the fact that she is willing to do so, shows that she is doing a great deal in appreciating Mr. Lieberwich's situation, and she has informed worker that she will make things easy at home for all concerned as far as she is able, and that it is up to Mr. Lieberwich to try to do the same.

Mr. Lieberwich seemed to comprehend what was being driven at and stated that perhaps he has acted in a manner that he should not have done, but things had been going very hard with him and he begged to be pardoned, and in the future will look out more for just such things.

*August 24, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He asked for groceries since he has not had any work. Affairs at home, he states, have been going much easier with everybody excepting his wife, who still keeps on nagging at him and states that if he cannot make a living for his family, she does not need him. However, Mr. Lieberwich was quite hopeful now since he had been promised arrangements for a shop of his own. He will prove, he assures office, that he is a willing worker and sincere in his promise to pay back every cent loaned him.

*August 26, 1921.*—Mrs. Lieberwich's former bitterness has somewhat subsided. She spoke more generously of Mr. Lieberwich stating that he has been behaving and acting toward everybody in a more friendly fashion, and that both she and Mr. Lieberwich are awaiting anxiously for the day when they will have a shop of their own. She thanked office for the interest taken in them and she thinks that they will prove themselves worthy of it.

*August 30, 1921.*—Called. Mrs. Lieberwich had been quite sick with tonsillitis. Just before worker had called the doctor had been there and had advised Mrs. Lieberwich to stay in bed for a few days. When the inflammation goes down, which will perhaps take about two or three weeks, Mrs. Lieberwich will go to the Hospital to have her tonsils removed, and after that is done, she will go to the Dispensary to have her teeth fixed. Mrs. Levy, Mrs. Lieberwich's sister-in-law, seems to be a very helpful woman. She takes care of the Lieberwich children and the house willingly. She takes a great interest in the Lieberwich family, and every time worker calls she has a good word to say for them and offers to help out in every way she can possibly do so. She hopes that when the Lieberwichs are established with their shop, they will still keep on staying with them. Mrs. Lieberwich further stated that Mr. Lieberwich has been behaving ideal-like. He has been very considerate during the time she had been ill by helping out in a great many little things.

*September 22, 1921.*—Letter received from Mrs. Lieberwich, stating that she is now ready to go to the hospital to have her tonsils removed.

*September 23, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He asked worker if he were to make a confession, whether or not office would drop his case entirely. It is a matter concerning his father and brother. He feels it is the only right thing to do by office since he has been helped in so many different ways.

Mr. Lieberwich stated that his father is much better off than is generally known. Though he has only a newspaper stand, his income averages from $40 to $50 a week. Of course, Mr. Lieberwich realizes that his father is in need of all the money he makes as he is an old man and getting older, and approaching a time when he will need all he makes; but on the other hand Mr. Lieberwich sees no reason why his father is unwilling to help him out with a loan, at least until he is able to stand on his feet. Furthermore, if his father is in a position to make a larger loan, there is no reason why office should do so, as

that would keep office back from helping others who may be just as much in need as he is himself. Mr. Lieberwich further stated that his father had promised to loan him $200, but Mr. Lieberwich knows and feels quite certain that his father is in a position to loan him at least $400 or $500. If his father can be brought to that point of view, Mr. Lieberwich will not have to rely so much on his wife's family, who, he thinks, are much harder up than his own. He asked that worker speak to his father concerning the matter and tell him exactly what has been told to worker. Mr. Lieberwich thinks that his father can be prevailed upon to make the $400 or $500 loan.

*October 5, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office to inquire how far the matter of a shop for him has been gone into. Explained to Mr. Lieberwich that at the next meeting of the Board the matter of making him self-supporting will be taken up. In the meantime Mr. Lieberwich is not working. It may be well that he look around, inquire, and obtain some information regarding a shop; such as for instance, locate one so that when the matter of self-support came up no time would be lost. Mr. Lieberwich stated that he would do this.

Mr. Lieberwich asked that since the matter of a shop has not as yet been gone into, perhaps it could be so arranged that he get a newspaper stand instead. When asked what his reasons were in having a stand rather than a shoe-repair shop, the latter being his trade, Mr. Lieberwich stated that he is doubtful and somewhat afraid of a shop. He seemed hesitant to give reasons for his feeling the way he does, but when told he would have to be more or less definite as to why and when he prefers one thing to another before it is granted, he stated that he would become too much involved financially to be able to cope with the situation. In other words, a shoe-repair shop would mean that he would be involved between $800 and $1,000, all money in which he would not have a cent he could call his own, and being other people's money he fears, now that prices are dropping and the shoe-repair business is not as good as it had been, that he will not be able to pay it all back. This in turn would cause him to worry greatly and, as formerly on two occasions he suffered from depression, he may have to go through the very same thing again. A newspaper stand, on the other hand, is easier work. It would not involve so much financially, and hence there would not be the responsibility there is in a shop. He would not have the enormous debts, and not having these he would live more quietly. His father, he further stated, makes a fine living from his stand; and if one is granted him, he sees no reason

why he should not do the same thing. He assures worker that he honestly is not shirking responsibility, nor is he unwilling to work hard, but that he simply fears consequences, should he be in any way heavily involved, which would cause him worry. Still, this is only his own opinion, and he is always ready to abide by whatever office may have to offer him. If office deems it necessary that he have a shop, he will not for one moment back out of the proposition and will try his best in all that is in his power to do.

Pointed out to Mr. Lieberwich that perhaps he had been brooding too much on what had been; what is gone, is gone, and the thing that is left for him to do is to face the new problems that come up. Reports from the doctor state that he is mentally and physically in a condition to assume a business of his own. In proof, worker read the report to him from the doctor. Explained to him also that perhaps he was taking too much at heart the fact that the Shoemakers' Union does not give him a job and reminds him occasionally that he has been in an institution for the insane, and it may also be that he has told people occasionally, as he had told worker on former occasions, that he cannot undertake anything of importance because of his lack of education and also because of his former mental state, and people have naturally taken him at his word, not realizing that it may be modesty on his part in the statements he has made. People always believe more readily ill things about others rather than their virtues, and if he, Mr. Lieberwich, is to go about and advertise them he will not gain anything whatever to his credit, nor will he be able to hold his dignity with them. Mr. Lieberwich agreed with worker that there may be something in the points made. When asked directly whether he himself feels that he is incapable of managing a repair shop of his own, he stated that he could do so, but that the only thing that troubled him was the enormous debt that it would involve. Pointed out to Mr. Lieberwich that practically more than 50 per cent of business done anywhere is done on money loaned from other sources; that very few people ever get or make enough to go into business from their own savings. Manual labor very seldom is so high priced as to enable one to go into business, for if it would be people would not go into it, but stay at manual labor; and that whoever goes into it, that is business, takes a risk and most everything is a risk, and if people are afraid of risks, there must be something radically wrong with them to have such abnormal fears for what people do day in and day out. Mr. Lieberwich seemed to understand the situation thoroughly and

said that he would do whatever office might suggest and that he will do his best not to stand in his own way. He realizes and admits that what is being told him is really what is at the bottom of his condition. He also stated that his wife thinks that a shop would be best for them and that she had told him that she would do all she could to help him out with it, but he thinks his wife has all she can do with the three small children, and does not expect her to do the work that he has to do. Explained to Mr. Lieberwich that his wife is a very sensible and capable woman, who could really be a great help in a business. She is one who would attract customers rather than drive them away. She speaks English well and is very neat and trim about everything she does. Then too, she impresses one as being something of a business woman and, with her, directly or indirectly, they really could make the shoe-repair shop pay well in the end. However, if Mr. Lieberwich still thinks that he would rather have the newspaper stand, worker will look into the matter and perhaps the substitution would be possible. In the meanwhile he should think the matter over and let worker know what decision he has come to, and which he prefers. Mr. Lieberwich thanked worker for interest taken in him.

*October 6, 1921.*—Called. Mrs. Lieberwich had not been feeling well the last few days. Asked her to go to the Dispensary for a medical examination, which she promised to do on the fifteenth.

Mrs. Lieberwich thanked worker for having explained things to her husband in such a way that he had been acting and behaving so nicely at home. He has been more hopeful for the last few weeks than she had ever seen him before, and that made their holidays a very pleasant time. He is becoming more social daily and a really pleasant person to have about the house. Even her brother, she stated, had remarked about this fact.

Mrs. Lieberwich is not so strict and severe as she had impressed worker on former occasions. She said that now that her children are growing older and are more able to take care of themselves, she thinks that she and Mr. Lieberwich will be able to manage the shop beautifully. She stated that she knows quite a bit about the shoe-repair work and will try to relieve him as much as she possibly can, both from the financial worries and the work. She feels quite sure that with the proper encouragement Mr. Lieberwich will within a very short time be able to look after all details himself; but the trouble with him now is that he lacks self-confidence and is still under the impression

that he is sick, and the only remedy she could suggest is to prove to himself that such is not the case.

*October 10, 1921.*—Case was discussed by the Board of Directors of the Jewish Welfare Bureau with a view to establishing Mr. Lieberwich in business. It was decided that Mr. Lieberwich will be established in business provided his relatives supply the $500 or $600, which they promised to give.

*October 19, 1921.*—Called at 1810 Island Avenue, where Mr. Lieberwich's father has a news stand. Spoke to Mr. Lieberwich, Sr., regarding the self-support plan offered by office to his son. He refused to listen to anything and insisted that he would not give his son another cent. He stated that he was getting old and had to make some provision for the time when he becomes still older. Reminded him that he has promised his son $200 when the time came for him to be put into business. At first he backed out of the proposition, but when told that Mrs. Lieberwich's parents will give between $150 and $200, he stated that he too would give $150 and thus close all subjects concerning his son.

Just at this point his younger son came up, and after a great deal of talking and haggling, Mr. Lieberwich and his younger son agreed to give $300 toward the enterprise.

*October 20, 1921.*—Called. Gave Mrs. Lieberwich and Mrs. Levy result of the interview with Mr. Lieberwich, Sr.—$300 to be given by Mr. Lieberwich, Sr., toward making Mr. Lieberwich self-supporting. Both women were astonished that Mr. Lieberwich, Sr., should have agreed to give that sum and now they will make arrangements for raising the $200 promised by Mrs. Lieberwich's family. As soon as they have got the amount, they will inform the office.

Mr. Lieberwich has been working for the past week in some shoe-repair shop and has been making sufficient to cover expenses in the home. He has also been making efforts at locating some shoe-repair shop for himself, and again has been unsuccessful. Mrs. Lieberwich stated that she too has been looking out for one while Mr. Lieberwich has been working, and as soon as either one of them finds anything they will come to the office and talk the matter over.

Mrs. Lieberwich has been to the Dispensary for examination, and they are making arrangements for her to have her tonsils removed.

*October 24, 1921.*—History of the Lieberwich family submitted to the Self-Support Committee.

*October 26, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office by appointment. He gives the following estimate of the cost of establishing himself in a vacant store [the items in the estimate are omitted] making a total of $1,150. He agrees that, if a place could be found already established for about $1,200, it would be more advisable than to buy the new machinery and establish a new trade. If machinery is purchased on the instalment plan, the initial cost of installing the machinery would be $485 including the rent, wiring, motor, and jack. The payments would be $29 per month.

Mr. Lieberwich agreed to answer several ads and report on any location he may find.

*October 27, 1921.*—Inspected twelve locations, of which three presented possibilities: One at 1311 Austin Avenue, rental $50; income of $25 per month from shoe-shining stand. The shoe-repair business amounts to about $100 per week; machinery in good condition. Price $2,000. No living quarters. Another at 5965 Austin Avenue, a small store, rent $55, steam heated, two year lease; price asked for shop, $1,000; machinery not in very good condition; however, it would probably be good enough to last for two years. Shop has been open only three weeks. Income last week was $85. Neighborhood is a congested one, six-flat building neighborhood and ought to be a good location. Vacant store at 6095 Clark Street, rent $35, neighborhood good business one. Left address with several real estate agents so that they may notify us when they find good stores.

Mr. Lieberwich in office. Said that he had worked today and therefore was unable to look for a store. Gave him the addresses of the three locations visitor had considered. He will look these over and report.

*November 7, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office asking that we collect pay for a day's work which he had done for a certain man at 530 South Park Avenue. Mr. Lieberwich had been hired for the entire week because of the owner's illness. However, the owner came back the next day well again and now refuses to pay Mr. Lieberwich for the day's work he had done there. The work would amount to about $6.00 or $7.00. When asked why the union does not do this for him, Mr. Lieberwich stated that Mr. Meyer, the secretary, has refused to do that.

*November 14, 1921.*—Letter received from Mrs. Lieberwich thanking office for the attention she had received at the hospital. Mrs. Lieberwich has had her tonsils and adenoids removed.

*November 21, 1921.*—Called at Island and Ogden avenues on Mr. Lieberwich's father in order to receive the $300, which he had promised to give in order to enable Mr. Lieberwich to go into business. Mr. Lieberwich, Sr., at first ignored worker and would not say a word. After that he stated that he is no longer in a position to keep his promise, and if worker desires to do so she may take the matter into court so far as he is concerned. He further stated that his younger son had married the week before and had taken over the entire stand and a great deal of money that had been collected between the two. No amount of persuasion would change Mr. Lieberwich's mind. He insisted that he is not in a position to offer any sum of money. Aside from that, he stated that even if he were in a position to offer assistance to his son, he would never do so. When asked why, Mr. Lieberwich said that no father is supposed to help any children and that he had done all that he is ever going to do for his son and lastly that no amount of assistance would help Mr. Lieberwich, Jr. Then Mr. Lieberwich would not say another word. He stated that he was through with it all.

*December 6, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. Again the same story of a newspaper stand vs. a shop was discussed. He still insisted that a newspaper stand was by far the best thing for him. Pointed out to him that he is a strong healthy man and therefore should not object to any manual labor. To get a newspaper stand for him means taking it away from someone who is in need of that and who cannot do any other type of work, and that if he, Mr. Lieberwich, feels that he honestly cares to take such an opportunity away from someone who needs it more than he, then arrangements will be made that he receive same. To this Mr. Lieberwich stated that if such is the case he will abide by any decision office may make for him.

During the conversation Mr. Lieberwich mentioned several times the fact that he was sick. When questioned what his sickness consists of, he merely stated that "you know my history." When questioned as to whether people have been reminding him of his former state of mind, he seemed hesitant to give any information. Again warned Mr. Lieberwich the serious results that may occur if he works himself into some imaginary disease.

*December 13, 1921.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He stated that it was greatly discouraging that it takes so long to be able to find a shop. The family is in great need of a great many things, absolute essentials, which he is unable to provide. Every one of them is in

need of shoes, the children are in need of other clothing too. He states that he has been making every effort possible, not only in locating a shop, but also in securing employment, but is unsuccessful.

*December 27, 1921.*—Requisition for clothing for the Lieberwich children put in.

*December 30, 1921.*—Superintendent of the Self-Support Department and worker called at Island and Ogden in order to interview Mr. Lieberwich, Sr., regarding a loan to be made for the shop for Mr. Lieberwich. Mr. Lieberwich, Sr., was not there. His younger son, who was attending to the stand, could not be brought to the point to loan any money to Mr. Lieberwich. He insisted that he is convinced that it will prove to be a flat failure; that Mr. Lieberwich has not the ability nor the strength of mind to conduct a business of his own. The best thing for him would be a newspaper stand, where no complications are involved. No amount of explaining could change his mind. He insisted that he knew his brother better than anyone else.

Will call when Mr. Lieberwich, Sr., is present.

*January 3, 1922.*—Called again at Island and Ogden. Mr. Lieberwich, Sr., was not there. The younger son said that he and his father had talked the matter over and had come to the conclusion that under no circumstances will they loan any money toward the shop for Mr. Lieberwich, but would be willing to give a little toward a newspaper stand.

*Later.*—Called at 1135 Jefferson Street at the home of Mr. Lieberwich, Sr. At first the old man would not listen to anything that concerned a shop for his son. He insisted that he knows his son but too well and he will not give the money for the simple reason that he is the best friend his son has. That once the shop is set up, not only will the money be lost, but Mr. Lieberwich will again suffer what he had suffered formerly, especially from mental depression. Then too, the shop will prove a failure because of Mrs. Lieberwich. In the old man's opinion she strives too high; goes beyond the earning capacity of his son. After a great deal of persuasion and explaining, Mr. Lieberwich, Sr., agreed to give $300 as a loan for the establishing of a shop for his son. This money will be forwarded as soon as anything definite is found. He also signed his name to the agreement of giving the $300 as a loan.

*January 9, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He stated that a store near Sixty-fifth and Halsted had been located. This would mean that

the family would have to live in back of the shop, which Mrs. Lieberwich is unwilling to do. He believes that there will be considerable difficulty if suitable quarters are not found for the family, as Mrs. Lieberwich is unwilling to come down in her standards.

*January 12, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. Stated that he has a cousin, a Mr. Bert Caplan, who has a shoe-repair shop at 498 Thirty-sixth Street. This Mr. Caplan has promised Mr. Lieberwich work in his shop. This means that he will lay off the man who is at present working for him, and take on Mr. Lieberwich. However, Mr. Meyer of the Shoe Repairmen's Union will not permit this thing to occur, the rule of the union being that no one can be taken on, so long as the other does good work. Consequently, Mr. Lieberwich is not certain as to whether or not he will receive the job. He will, however, go to see his cousin again and see what can be done. Results will be obtained by January 18.

*January 16, 1922.*—Letter received from Mrs. Lieberwich thanking us for clothing she had received for herself and the children.

*January 17, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office to say that arrangements had been made so that he will start to work for his cousin, Mr. Caplan, in a few days. He expects to start on $20 per week and has been promised to be raised according to work done.

Mr. Lieberwich requested that the idea of setting him up in a shop be not dropped now that he has secured employment. He stated that it is very difficult to work for someone else and that he feels capable of managing a shop. By having one of his own, he further went on, he will be able to pay back all that office had done for him and make a much better living for his family. His last reason for wishing to have the shop is to prove to office that he is capable of handling anything that was expected of him.

*January 26, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He stated that he is now working three days a week—on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays at 498 Thirty-sixth Street. For these three days he is paid $10 weekly. Due to the fact that working conditions are poor, he is only able to work these three days. Should business pick up he believes that he will be able to do a full week's work for the same man at the same address. Explained to Mr. Lieberwich that he should keep worker informed as to how much he is making weekly and that sum will be made up by office to the regular allowance that has been given him within the last few months. Mr. Lieberwich thanked office for this, and stated that as requested he will report same.

*January 30, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. States that he is working three days a week now. He has been out to see a shop which we were considering and reports that now this shop is doing almost no business. Another shop which we considered, 1344 Sixtieth Street, we will consider no further because satisfactory arrangements cannot be made with the landlord. We have investigated many other shops, but could not consider them because of lack of income or too high a price. Mr. Lieberwich is to continue with his work. Self-Support Department will continue to be on the lookout for a suitable location.

*February 9, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich and his brother in office requesting assistance for the brother in his domestic difficulty. His wife had deserted him and was suing him in court. As the brother lives in another section of the city, the matter will be taken up in another district.

Mr. Lieberwich informed worker that he has two married sisters in the city [he gave the names and addresses of both].

*February 17, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Lieberwich and the children are getting along evidently quite comfortably. They have received clothing from the storeroom and seem to be pretty well outfitted for the remainder of the winter. Mrs. Lieberwich informed that her sister-in-law, Mrs. Levy, with whom they are rooming, is going to move the first of March to a flat of their own. This means that the Lieberwichs will have to pay the full rent of $27. In order to assist her in this matter, Mrs. Lieberwich requested that some couple or a woman with a child be recommended to her for rooming.

*March 14, 1922.*—Called in order to give Mrs. Lieberwich instructions that she take the children to the Dispensary March 16 to be examined. She promised to do so.

The house was being cleaned and decorated, and Mrs. Lieberwich said that when this is finished she hoped that she will be able to have someone to whom to rent out the room. However, before she does that she is in great need of a quilt and linen. Mr. Lieberwich has been working very irregularly and on the average makes about $10 a week.

*March 20, 1922.*—Clothing for the children and linen for the beds requisitioned for the Lieberwich family.

*March 22, 1922.*—Visited. The house was spotlessly clean. Mr. Lieberwich is still working irregularly. Mrs. Lieberwich has been sufficiently obliging to take in a woman who had been in the hospital

and was not placed in the Convalescent Home until such time as she can be placed in the Convalescent Home. Mrs. Lieberwich further stated that at any time when worker should have any such people that she could in any way accommodate, she is perfectly willing to do so in order to help repay the various kindnesses that have been shown her.

*March 25, 1922.*—Report on the Lieberwich children received from the Dispensary [omitted].

*March 31, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. Gave him information obtained from the Self-Support Department that he is to go to Naperville, Illinois, to inquire regarding a position that is open there which will pay from $35 to $40 a week. This position had been recommended to Self-Support Department and if Mr. Lieberwich will make the trip there he will obtain it. To this Mr. Lieberwich responded that beginning after the holidays he is to work regularly at the place where he is working now and it will pay him between $25 and $30 weekly, but the position in Naperville is unpractical as it would require double expense for his wife and children in Chicago and for him in Naperville. When questioned as to whether this was certain, Mr. Lieberwich stated that such was the promise made him by his employer and he feels that $25 made here in Chicago is more than equivalent to the $35 or $40 that he may make outside of Chicago, for it would dispense with the double expense for household. Mr. Lieberwich then requested that assistance be given him until such time as he will secure steady employment, and he will try, out of the earnings that he is making, to save a few dollars to make up the $300 that his father had promised toward the loan in setting him up in a shop of his own. His father now is in no position to give the $300 as his brother had had some difficulty with his wife. The matter was taken into court and the total expense involved was something like $500. The money which Mr. Lieberwich was to receive in setting him up in a shop had to be paid for his brother's suit. Mr. Lieberwich left a neighbor's telephone number, Black 1727, by which he can be reached at any time.

*April 17, 1922.*—Visited. As yet Mr. Lieberwich is working irregularly. However, after the holidays Mrs. Lieberwich believes her husband will begin working daily, earning $25 per week. When questioned as to whether or not Mr. Lieberwich is a citizen, Mrs. Lieberwich stated that he had taken out his second papers of citizenship about a year ago.

She appears to be very nervous and overwrought. When questioned regarding this, she stated that her father had been quite ill. He had been so sick with pneumonia that he had been unconscious for over a week. Now, however, he feels much better, but his mind still wanders and doctors are giving very little hope for his complete recovery.

*May 1, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Lieberwich stated that her husband has begun working full time last week and is making $25 per week. Mrs. Lieberwich seems very happy over this fact and stated that now at last they have come to the point where for over a year she had longed to be, namely, to be self-supporting.

Mrs. Lieberwich stated that her husband is very anxious to learn how to read and write English and requests information as to whether he should go to night school or take a private teacher. Suggested to her that he should try going to evening school at the People's Institute to see for himself whether or not he would get sufficient out of it to pay for the time he would put in. In case he would not, then the only alternative would be to have a private teacher. He speaks English fairly well, but does not know how to read or write.

*May 11, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Lieberwich stated that her husband has been working regularly now and earning $25 per week. They are getting along very nicely on this sum. They will be able to meet all their various expenses without any further assistance from the Welfare Bureau, excepting when a suitable shop is to be had for Mr. Lieberwich to go into business. She thanked worker for all assistance rendered them in the past.

*May 23, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office asking what he should do in regard to his eyes, which have been bothering him a great deal, and he feels that his glasses should be changed as he suffers severe headaches whenever he wears them and yet cannot see without them. Advised him to go to the Dispensary, have the doctor examine his eyes, and ascertain whether or not he is in need of other glasses. He promised to do this.

He stated that he has been going to evening school at the People's Institute every evening and is getting along fairly well. He had been placed in an advanced class in English and is learning quite rapidly.

*June 15, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He stated that again the slack season has come in his line and that he has been put on half-time employment. Hence he is making only $12.50 per week. He was unable to say how long this would last. However, as soon

as this slack season is over, he will inform worker. He further said that he had been trying to get employment in some other line during the time he is not working at his trade, but it is very difficult to get this.

*June 23, 1922.*—Called at Illinois Machinery Company *re* several shops that are for sale. Was advised that Mr. Lieberwich is known to them for many years; that in their opinion he is much better off employed than in a shop of his own because he is so easily upset by competition.

*June 27, 1922.*—Called at home and left word for Mr. Lieberwich to be at the office this evening.

*Later.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He looked very much depressed and downhearted. When questioned the reason for this, he expressed himself somewhat in this wise: "That it is a shame for a great big strong fellow like myself to come to the Welfare Bureau to ask for relief." Beyond that he said nothing more. He repeated this several times. Worker tried to encourage him and pointed out to him that if he goes about worrying over the situation he may suffer a breakdown. To this he responded that he is not worrying at all but simply that he is not feeling fit as he might. When worker assured him that the full rent will be sent for July, he merely nodded and then left the office.

*June 30, 1922.*—Report received from Self-Support Department as follows:

*June 16.* Called at 2058 Nineteenth Street *re* vacant store. Location is fairly good, but rent without rooms is $65. Do not believe neighborhood will pay sufficient to warrant this rental. Investigated the neighborhood along Nineteenth Street to South Avenue. There were no vacant stores. Asked a tailor at 2220 Nineteenth Street if he would consider renting out half of his store. Said he would think it over and let us know. Notified Mr. Lieberwich to call at this store later to get answer but have not heard from him.

*July 16, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. Has been discharged. He has called on Illinois Shoe-Repair Machinery Company *re* locations. Mr. Peters of this firm suggested to him that he get another job and gave him an address of a repairer in La Grange, Illinois, who needs a man. Wrote a letter for Mr. Lieberwich asking wages paid and possibility of living in Chicago while working out there. Mr. Lieberwich was also referred to a store at Buena and North avenues. Gave him car tickets to inspect this place.

*July 18, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office reporting that store at Buena and North avenues will not be finished for two months. Rent is to be $100. Neighborhood is probably a good one for shoe-repairing

if it is possible to get this at a lower rental. Tried to reach Mr. Mason, owner, at Central 9211, but he could not be reached. Gave Mr. Lieberwich car tickets to inspect place and report.

*August 3, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He stated that now he is entirely out of work and does not know when he will again be taken on at this latter place where he has been employed. It means that he has been out of work for the past two weeks, and he requested that some assistance be granted them until such time as he is able to secure employment again.

*August 7, 1922.*—It has been deemed advisable to consider Mr. Lieberwich for a shop in partnership with Morris Bergstein. (See Morris and Sara Bergstein record.)

*Later.*—Mr. Lieberwich and Mr. Bergstein in office. Interviewed by director of the Self-Support Department and worker. Both men were very anxious and were willing to agree to any terms whatever in order that they may have a shop whereby both will become self-supporting. The shop in consideration is one located at 605 California Avenue. Both men knew of the shop in question, and both considered it a splendid location. Explained to both Mr. Lieberwich and Mr. Bergstein that it may be advisable for Mr. Lieberwich to do the heavier work until such time as the doctor recommends full work for Mr. Bergstein. Mr. Lieberwich agreed to this and stated that he would do all in his power, not only to be agreeable, but to get along smoothly. After both men had given their opinions on the various expenses and as to the method of conducting the shop and after both men had spoken to one another regarding their differences and agreements on the subject, both workers were impressed with the fact that the extremely varying personalities and characteristics of the men would tend to disagreements and perhaps conflicts between the two men once they are established and that in order to avoid this, should the shop finally be bought, strict and constant supervision would be necessary. The matter will be further gone into, namely, as to the advisability of the partnership.

*August 9, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He seemed rather depressed over something. He said that he came to office to inquire what disposal had been made with the shop located at 605 California Avenue. He also said that he had been trying all along to look for employment as well as looking for a shop, but unsuccessfully. It is now three weeks that he has not earned anything. Aside from this worry there is the trouble he is having in the home. Mrs. Lieberwich

had frightened him so that he is unable to pull himself together. When questioned as to what had happened, Mr. Lieberwich stated that his wife had become pregnant and she had attempted to bring about an abortion.

Just before leaving, Mr. Lieberwich again assured worker that so far as he is concerned things will go smoothly in the partnership with Mr. Bergstein.

*August 10, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office with his brother David, who deposited $300 to be loaned to his brother for business, with the understanding that if he is not established within ten days he shall have the privilege of withdrawing this.

*Later.*—Consulted general superintendent. Went over possibilities of business for Bergstein and Lieberwich, considering the purchase price a maximum of $3,000. He will ask for further report on the financial ability of the Bureau to go through with this loan.

*Later.*—Notified Mr. Lieberwich of delay in decision and reason for delay. He seemed skeptical. Asked him in the meantime to call again on the owner at 605 California Avenue to learn the very lowest possible price.

In the evening Mr. Lieberwich returned. States that the very best price he can get is $2,800 for the fixtures and $200 for the stock. He is particularly anxious to get this place because it will not require his moving and because having someone to help him will enable him to continue his English course at the People's Institute, in which he is extremely interested. Learned that it was because of his unwillingness to forego this course that he preferred to hold a job, which would give him his evenings free, rather than have a shop which would require his full time. He insists that he is willing to do the greater part of the hard work if Mr. Bergstein is his partner. However, he plans as soon as possible to buy out Mr. Bergstein and retain the business for himself.

*August 12, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich and Mr. Bergstein in office. Interviewed by director of the Self-Support Department and worker. Mr. Bergstein had a very independent air. He was self-confident and gave the impression that he was coming down a great deal when he consented to Welfare Bureau's proposal that he go in partnership with Mr. Lieberwich. When reprimanded for his attitude, Mr. Bergstein stated that under no circumstances would he go in partnership with Mr. Lieberwich. That he would be willing to promise the Bureau to work for the latter for six months when the shop is obtained,

but, as for partnership, that he would never consider. It was pointed out to him that, if his attitude on the subject was such and he wished only to work for Mr. Lieberwich, such employment could be obtained at any place from any shoe-repair man in the city.

*Later.*—Conference with general superintendent, supervisor, director of Self Support Department, and worker. It was decided that Mr. Lieberwich and Mr. Bergstein would make very poor partners due to their different personalities and temperaments—there would be no harmony between them. And since there would be no partnership, the shop in consideration, located at 605 California Avenue, cannot be bought for Mr. Lieberwich alone; for $3000 is far too enormous a sum to spend on one individual. The best that can be allowed Mr. Lieberwich is from $1,800 to $2,000.

*August 14, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He was bitterly disappointed at the decision with regard to the shop. It was explained to him that perhaps this disappointment is for the best for, should the partnership have gone through, it might have caused more pain and annoyance than would ever be compensated for by the few hundred dollars that he might make during the time until he had gotten another shop. Mr. Lieberwich, though crestfallen, took this in a sportsman-like manner. He stated that he would bide his time.

*August 16, 1922.*—Visited. The house was neat and orderly. Mrs. Lieberwich was neatly dressed. She too was disappointed that the matter of the shop located at 605 California Avenue had not gone through, and she asked worker as to how long this whole thing will last. Last spring when Mr. Lieberwich had worked for about six weeks, they had just finished paying off various small debts that they had incurred, when he again lost his job; and now debts are again accumulating—not large ones, but still big enough to be a handicap. The holidays are fast approaching, and how she will meet the various things she was at a loss to understand. Worker promised that clothing would be sent for the children in time for the holidays.

*August 17, 1922.*—Called at the People's Institute in the evening and spoke to Mr. Lieberwich's teacher in English. She reports that he is very earnest and sincere in his attempt to learn English and is making quite good progress. Still he is learning slowly as he was entirely illiterate; could neither read nor write English. He reads English quite well but is still backward in writing. He makes very good progress in class.

*August 24, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He is to begin work on August 27 at 435 California Avenue in a shoe-repair shop. He was unable to say how much the pay would be. He will inform worker later on.

*October 3, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He stated that he has been now working for over a month quite regularly earning between $12 and $18 weekly. This sum does not permit him to pay rent, and he requests that same be granted him.

Mr. Lieberwich further stated that during the holidays their home had been broken into and robbed and that his clothing was stolen as well as some of the things belonging to his wife.

*October 27, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Lieberwich stated that her husband is feeling fairly well and is working at 435 California Avenue. As they are not very busy at the trade, he is not working full time and therefore earns only from $15 to $20 a week. If he would work full time, he would be earning $25 a week. Her husband is not sorry that he was not established in business, as at the present time it is doubtful as to whether he would make a success. Mrs. Lieberwich informed worker that one of her brothers, a widower with two children, is living at her house. He pays $8.00 a week for food for the two children. He does not eat at her house. He is also paying half of the rent, which is $27.50.

Mrs. Lieberwich is feeling fairly well but, as she is susceptible to fainting spells, has to be very careful not to be left in the house alone. She is in her fifth month of pregnancy, and during this period she suffers from fainting spells more frequently than otherwise. About two weeks ago while at a store on Twelfth Street she fainted. She explained that she is unconscious at the time when these attacks occur but is easily revived. This is the first attack she had during her present pregnancy period; but, when in the same condition before Helen's birth, she had these attacks as frequently as two and three times a week. At that time she was greatly worried because her husband was at the State Hospital. These attacks, however, are not brought on by worry but by remaining on her feet too long. Her mother, who came in during the interview, stated that Mrs. Lieberwich does not foam at the mouth when she gets these attacks, nor does she become rigid. Mrs. Lieberwich was asked to go to the Dispensary for examination and was told that we would send them a history of her complaint. She broke her leg when about eleven years old and was quite sick for about a year. Since that time she has

suffered from these attacks. Also advised Mrs. Lieberwich to register at Pre-Natal Clinic of the hospital, but she stated that she did not wish to go there for confinement. She is a strict observer of the Orthodox Dietary Laws and would not eat any food prepared at the Zion Hospital. She is anxious to go to the Orthodox Hospital and will ascertain whether they will admit her gratis.

*November 10, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office asking for rent. Explained to him that with the income received from his brother and with his own wages they are only about $4.50 below budget and we could therefore not grant the rent. However, we were willing to assist with part of it and also to supply coal. He was satisfied with these arrangements.

He stated, however, that he was having a great deal of difficulty with his wife over the fact that she keeps her brother and his children; and, when he discusses the matter with her, she taunts him by telling him that he does not provide adequately for his family and she therefore does not have to take his advice in this matter. However, he believes that nothing should be said to her regarding this matter as the brother and his children will be obliged to leave when she is confined as after her confinement they will need the extra room.

*December 2, 1922.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office asking for coal, which was granted.

*January 13, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office asking for coal and for aid in paying the rent. He stated that he is not making so much as formerly and business is very poor. However, he cannot leave this position since he can find nothing better in his trade. He does not wish to take a job outside of his trade as he will then have to change again in the spring when the shoe-repair business picks up.

*February 15, 1923.*—Visited. Mrs. Lieberwich expects to be confined within two weeks. She has made arrangements to go to the Orthodox Hospital. Her sister-in-law will care for one of the children while she is at the hospital, and her mother will take care of the other two. Mr. Lieberwich will sleep at home and will have his meals at the restaurant or with his relatives.

Mrs. Lieberwich has four sisters and four brothers. Her brothers are all in fairly good circumstances, but they will have nothing to do with her and give her no assistance whatsoever. The only one of the relatives from whom she receives any assistance is from her sister's husband, Jacob Levitz.

*April 7, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. His wife has given birth to a baby boy. He is very happy as he had always wished to have a boy in the family to carry on the name and, according to the old Hebrew custom, to say the Kaddish for him after he is gone.

Mrs. Lieberwich is now at home. During her absence the children stayed with her mother, and Mr. Lieberwich helped in caring for them. Mrs. Lieberwich's sister-in-law, Mrs. Levy, with whom she expected one of the children to stay, is confined to her bed with a broken leg; therefore the whole burden was put on Mrs. Levy, Mrs. Lieberwich's mother, as Mr. Lieberwich was unwilling to burden the Bureau with the problem of having his children placed. Work is still very slack in the shoe-repairing trade. He said that he had taken up the question of the shoe-repair business with the Free Employment Bureau but was informed that it was difficult to get anything in his line of work which would be profitable.

He is a member of the Workman's Circle. The dues are $1.60 a month, but he is in arrears about six months. This does not bother him. States that the organization is able to do nothing at the present time and he has never received any assistance from them. He protested against the suggestion that worker from the Bureau speak to the lodge official. He has not a very good reputation there now as they know he has applied to the Bureau for assistance. They have told him that it is not necessary for them to get him a better job since he is being helped by an organization and he is very sensitive on this point.

When praised for the good work he is doing at the People's Institute he was pleased. He said that he had no opportunity when he was young to get an education and he is therefore trying to make up for it now. For some time he attended the Institute when he was working and self-supporting. Later he was forced to stop, because he did not have sufficient money to pay for his lessons and did not wish to inform the superintendent there of his circumstances. For a while he took private lessons, but the fee was too high and he therefore discontinued altogether, until the scholarship was obtained for him. Although he is doing good work he is not at all confident of his ability. He stated that he had been asked to enter a higher class, but he refused to do so, preferring rather to stay in the grade where he was and to review what he had already learned.

*April 12, 1923.*—Visited. Mrs. Lieberwich is still weak. She stated that as soon as she was stronger she would take the baby to the Infant Welfare Station.

She stated that Mr. Lieberwich is very much happier than he has been in a long time. He takes great pride in the baby and he is extremely happy that he now has a son.

*May 16, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. On May 7 he applied to Free Employment Bureau but could get no work. Not only the shoe-repair business is full but also the other leather trades at which he might work. Told him to look at the shoe-repair shop of Mr. Schwerdlott at 612 Eighty-ninth Street and afterward come to see director of Self-Support Department regarding it.

He states that his wife will not be able to go to the country now as her mother could not be expected to care for Dorothy who is the only child attending school. Mr. Levy, Mrs. Lieberwich's father, was taken to the Psychopathic Hospital on May 11. When he gave this information Mr. Lieberwich's eyes filled with tears. It was hard for him to talk.

He has paid $5.00 of his back dues to the secretary of the union. At that time the secretary promised him that he would try to procure work for him. At the union meeting, however, a few days later he said that it was doubtful whether there would be any work. Mr. Lieberwich feels that the secretary is very antagonistic toward him for two reasons: first, because he had been in an institution, and, second, because he received assistance from the Bureau. Mr. Lieberwich states that the secretary works with Progress, a Jewish newspaper, and this partly explains his attitude.

*May 31, 1923.*—Mrs. Lieberwich would like to go to the country with the children, but feels that she ought not to leave her husband alone. His mother is too old and "nervous" to care for him, and during her confinement he went from his mother's home to her mother's home. She feels, however, that for the children's sake she ought to go away. She will talk the matter over with her husband to see if some arrangement cannot be made.

Her father, who was taken to the State Hospital for the Insane, formerly worked at the tailoring trade as a "bushelman." In England the family was well situated financially. Mr. Levy had his own tailoring shop where he employed about thirty people. During the time that she lived in England, Mrs. Lieberwich worked for her father. Mr. Levy suffered from a mental illness about fifteen years ago and was for about eighteen months in an institution in England. Since that time he has never been in an institution, but several times has had recurrent symptoms of his old illness, a religious mania.

*June 1, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He is willing that his wife and children go to the country primarily for the benefit of the children. Mrs. Lieberwich will register for camp immediately.

He has been suffering from a toothache for the last few days and was referred to the Dispensary.

*June 5, 1923.*—Letter from the Dispensary referring Mr. Lieberwich to Dental College for treatment.

*June 26, 1923.*—Called to ask Mrs. Lieberwich to report to office so that she may be taken to Dispensary.

Mrs. Lieberwich states that she has always enjoyed good health with the exception of the time when she has had "spells." She could tell little about these spells except that they occurred first when she was about thirteen years of age. She attributes them to an accident which she had at the age of ten when she was scalded by hot soup. Both legs were badly burned from the knees downward, and she was forced to stay in bed for a few months. It was thought for a while that amputation would be necessary. Mrs. Lieberwich states that she did not feel the effect of this until about three years later when her "spells" began. She states that they did not occur periodically but only when she received a fright of some kind. Since her marriage she has had these only during pregnancy. She does not know any of the symptoms that occur at this time except that she is unconscious.

Mrs. Lieberwich states that the children all appear to be well and healthy.

*June 29, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He was questioned with regard to some of the facts of his early childhood, but immediately upon beginning to talk his eyes filled with tears and he was not urged to go further.

*June 30, 1923.*—Diagnostic letter to the Dispensary.

[Between June 30 and July 26, Mr. and Mrs. Lieberwich undergo careful medical examination, and it is decided to apply for Mr. Lieberwich's admission to the Industrial Workshops.]

*July 26, 1923.*—Application for admission of Mr. Lieberwich to Industrial Workshops sent to the director.

*August 7, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He states he has been unable to find any employment, although he has been promised a job for next week by a shoemaker on the north side. He was advised that rent and allowance for the week would be sent him. This was later done.

*August 15, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich called on the general superintendent. He was very vague about the reason for his visit. He

stated that he had "no complaints to make." Explained that he was unemployed and looking for work; that in his trade there was little to be found. He receives no assistance from the union. He discussed the possibility of purchasing a news stand. Stated that his father will probably be willing to give more than $300 for this purpose, but he realizes that the organization cannot at this time supply the additional amount, which would probably be about $1,000 for a stand which would enable him to become self-supporting.

*Later.*—Mr. Lieberwich, accompanied by worker, was interviewed by agent at employment office and sent out on a job as night watchman.

*August 16, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He was anxious to advise worker why he did not accept the job on which he had been sent out the day before. The hours were from 9:00 P.M. to 8:00 A.M. and on Sundays to 10:00 A.M. On Sundays Mr. Lieberwich would be obliged to return at about 3:00 P.M. and work until 8:00 the following morning again. The work too is rather heavy and difficult.

*August 17, 1923.*—Was informed by Free Employment worker that Mr. Lieberwich had been sent out on another job yesterday. Later, however, he learned that he could have the shoe-repair job which had been promised him. Although the work would only last about two weeks he will receive about $35 or $40 instead of $18, which he was offered at the job received through the Employment Bureau. He was advised to accept the job at his own trade temporarily.

*August 28, 1923.*—Called. Mrs. Lieberwich stated that her husband has been working at the shoe-repair shop since August 17. He will probably continue until the end of the week. The work is very difficult as he is forced to leave the house early in the morning and does not return usually until 10:00 in the evening. Mrs. Lieberwich does not know what he will earn as he will be paid when he is through working.

Mrs. Lieberwich advised worker that her mother would like to come to live with her, as the latter is now alone since her husband is in the State Hospital and the son who lives with her is about to be married. She assured worker that her mother would not be dependent as the sons would be more than willing to support her. In fact, they have been doing so since Mr. Levy was committed. However, no one of them has the room to take her into their home. Mrs. Lieberwich feels that she will get along better with her mother than any of the other children would. Furthermore, it will be a help to her to

have her mother in the home as she will not have to take the four children with her when she goes shopping or any other place. She states that her mother would be willing to pay half the rent in a larger flat, as five rooms will not accommodate them all. Her mother will also pay one-half of the light and gas bills. The Lieberwich family, however, is not in a position to pay moving expenses at the present time as the flat which they have is adequate for their needs and most reasonable in rental. Mrs. Levy is planning to discuss the matter with her sons, and Mrs. Lieberwich will inform us as to the decision made by them.

*September 4, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He is not working this week and will reapply to the Free Employment Bureau.

*September 8, 1923.*—Letter to the director of Industrial Workshops.

[From this date until September 28, 1923, the necessary preliminary correspondence between the Relief Department and the Workshop takes place. The Relief Department supplies the necessary diagnosis obtained from the Dispensary and the Diagnostic Clinic.]

*September 13, 1923.*—Called. Mrs. Lieberwich states that the baby has not been so well recently but the other members of the family are all in good health. Mr. Lieberwich started work at the Western Shoe-Repair Company at $22 weekly and is satisfied now that he is working; but he is very anxious to get into the Industrial Workshops, where he will have the assurance that he will be steadily employed.

A suit has been requisitioned for Mr. Lieberwich.

*September 24, 1923.*—Mrs. Lieberwich in office. Asked that the rent be granted this month as, although her husband has been working, he has not received the $22 weekly for he has been out of work on account of the holidays. He received $7.00 the first week and $14 the second week. Tomorrow he will receive his pay again.

*September 28, 1923.*—Conference with director of the Industrial Workshops and supervisor. It was decided that Mr. Lieberwich begin work in the shop on October 1. He is to receive $22 weekly, an amount equal to that which he is earning now. If he qualifies for the position as foreman his wages will be increased gradually to accord with the wages earned in the trade outside of the shop. The question of beginning Mr. Lieberwich at a wage sufficient to cover budget requirements and slightly higher than what he is earning now, was considered, but thought inadvisable as it would not be well to disappoint the man should he not be able to quality for position as foreman and have to return to some other work.

*October 1, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich informed of the decision made. He will begin work in the shops immediately.

*October 4, 1923.*—Letter received from Mrs. Lieberwich asking for clothes for her husband and children.

*October 8, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. States he is again having trouble with his teeth. Gave an estimate from the College of Dentistry for work, the cost of which is $20. Advised him that this matter would be taken up, and we will tell him when to have this done.

*October 10, 1923.*—Letter to the Dispensary.

*October 15, 1923.*—Called at the Industrial Workshops at the request of Mr. Lieberwich. Spoke to director. Mr. Lieberwich is doing satisfactory work in the shops. He is very conscientious, willing to work, takes a pride and interest in what is going on. However, the director does not believe that the man will be able to assume the position of foreman of the shop, as he is illiterate. He cannot make out the required reports nor figure the length of time and cost of jobs, and it is necessary for the director himself to do this work at the present time. Neither is Mr. Lieberwich a man from whom others will take orders. Other men in the shops are as capable as Mr. Lieberwich.

Mr. Lieberwich confided in the director that it is impossible for him to get along and maintain his family independently with his present earnings. His wife is nagging him again on this account. The man is depressed, and the director has found him on several occasions sitting with his face downward resting on his arms in a dejected attitude. He sometimes seems tired.

Talked with Mr. Lieberwich, who was anxious to discuss financial matters with worker. He was told not to worry about this as the amount of money which he is earning at present is not so significant as the important task of re-educating himself to the point where he can assume a position of independence. This will not take a long time. He was urged not to worry about the present situation as we will assist him in caring for his family until he is able to do so by himself. Mr. Lieberwich complained that last month he received full pay only for the last week he worked. There were four pay days on which he received $7.00, $14, $18, and $22 respectively. When he began work in the shops he did not receive pay after the first week as the workers are paid only every two weeks. As a consequence of his meager earnings during the month of September and the delayed

payment in October, his wife was obliged to borrow quite a bit of money. She bothered him with this information, and he in turn worried over it. He confided in worker that his wife frequently suspects him of thinking too much of his first wife. This, however, was more true before there were children. He states that his wife has no cause for worry on this score. He was advised that worker would speak to Mrs. Lieberwich the following day.

*October 16, 1923.*—Called. Mrs. Lieberwich states that she is now happy that her husband at least has steady work. During the past few months it was difficult for her to get along, and she realized that she was burdening her husband with her own worries and this was bad for him. Mrs. Lieberwich states that during the past month she borrowed about $15. Even then she was not able to buy the necessary clothing for the children, nor has Mr. Lieberwich any winter underwear. Mrs. Lieberwich does some sewing for the children, remodeling the clothes of the older for the younger girls. The youngest girl was given a coat by Mrs. Lieberwich's brother. Mrs. Lieberwich's brothers do not give her very much assistance on the plea that they must contribute to the support of their mother. Mrs. Lieberwich's brothers are fond of her husband, but she feels that they do not understand him. He is much older than they and much more serious. Mrs. Lieberwich will try to encourage her husband in his work and to be as cheerful as she can, although she too is tired of the state of dependency in which they have been now for several years and somewhat discouraged. She is anxiously waiting for the time when Mr. Lieberwich can support his family without outside assistance.

*October 24, 1923.*—Background for Mrs. Lieberwich sent to the Dispensary. [Between this date and November 2, 1923, Mrs. Lieberwich is given a thorough medical examination.]

*October 27, 1923.*—A check of $15 was sent this week to Mrs. Lieberwich. Clothes for the entire family were requisitioned so that each member will be completely outfitted with whatever is needed. It was explained to Mr. Lieberwich, who was in the office this date, that this will give the family a good start. With Mr. Lieberwich's regular earnings his wife will be able to manage better in the future and to buy clothes for the family hereafter, as well as taking care of the other household expenses. For the present Mr. Lieberwich was very grateful and seemed content with this arrangement.

*November 2, 1923.*—Mrs. Lieberwich in office. She was grateful for the clothes that she had received.

*November 10, 1923.*—Mrs. Lieberwich in office. She stated that her girl, Elizabeth, fell and injured her chin. An infection set in, and it was necessary to call a private physician one evening. Her mother, however, promised to take care of this expense and will take the child to the Dispensary for further medical treatment. The coal that had been ordered for her had not arrived immediately, and she was forced to borrow some from a neighbor in the meantime.

*November 13, 1923.*—Called on Mr. Lieberwich at the shops. He was much discouraged and dissatisfied because the full amount of the rent had not been sent him as usual. Only the additional amount which was necessary according to his present budget. He had looked forward to the shops as a means of becoming self-supporting and had hoped in a short time to earn a wage similar to that paid in his trade. He insists that full-time workers in the shoe-making trade are now paid about $40 and that this is the amount necessary for a man in order to enable him to support his family. Formerly he lived on a much smaller amount than he is now receiving from his earnings and the additional supplementation from the Bureau; but, though the family struggled along with exceeding difficulty, he was forced to be content because he could not find full-time work at his trade, thereby earning more. Now since he is working full time he feels that he is entitled to more than $22 weekly. He states that he is trying to make himself as useful as he can in the shops, that in addition to work in his own trade he acts as janitor and delivery man, sweeping out the shops and calling for and delivering goods.

Advised Mr. Lieberwich that the additional amount necessary for the rent would be sent this month, but requested that he try to manage according to the budget in the future.

Spoke to the director, who states that Mr. Lieberwich is at times almost useless for work. His mind seems to be on his domestic difficulty, the injury of his child, his inability to get along on the Bureau budget, and numerous other things. For this reason he cannot concentrate on his work. His attention seems scattered. Then, too, he is not neat nor orderly in his work.

*November 19, 1923.*—Was informed by director of Industrial Workshops that Mr. Lieberwich is not working. Although he is supposed to work full time, he is turning out the same amount of work as other men in the shops who are working only a few hours a day.

*November 26, 1923.*—Director of the Industrial Shops telephoned stating that Mr. Lieberwich came an hour late this morning on the

excuse that he had had to get coal, although this had been ordered for him by the Bureau last week.

*Later.*—Called. Mrs. Lieberwich states that her husband usually leaves home about 7:30 in order to be at the shops at 8:00. This morning he was somewhat delayed as he went to get a washtub full of coal from a neighbor. Mrs. Lieberwich received coal from the Bureau this afternoon.

Mrs. Lieberwich is attending the various clinics at the Dispensary as she was instructed. She has been placed on a diet for epilepsy. Mr. Lieberwich is not in full accordance with his wife's adhering to this diet and has told her that it is not necessary; that she could keep just as well eating the same food as the other members of the family. However, she intends to follow the instructions as she feels it may benefit her fainting spells. Her father returned from the State Hospital last week.

*November 30, 1923.*—Letter to Mr. Lieberwich, inclosing letter to the College of Dentistry, and advising him that he may proceed to have his dental work completed.

*December 1, 1923.*—Director of the Workshops telephoned that Mr. Lieberwich is not doing as much work as he can. He does not work except when he is watched. He turns out on an average of six pairs of shoes daily, although eight pairs is an average amount. For a time when extra men were taken on at the shops to do work and these men turned out about ten pairs of shoes daily, Mr. Lieberwich also, in order to keep up with them, turned out the same amount. The director thinks it is advisable to place the man on piece-work and will take up this matter with him.

*December 4, 1923.*—Report received from Industrial Shops that Mr. Lieberwich received in wages the sum of $92 for the period of November 1–December 1.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Lieberwich states that her husband has been very depressed recently. On December 2 he had gone to his father's home and had been much ridiculed because he was still accepting assistance from the Bureau. His brothers had fought with him and tried to throw him down the stairs. As a result he has been feeling very badly since he returned from his parents' home. She says that her relatives treat him with much more consideration than his own family does.

*December 5, 1923.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He was very much excited. He resented the fact that he had been called to account for

his small output at the Industrial Shops. He stated that he could do as good work as any man and gave as the reason for the small amount he had accomplished that the shoes which had been brought to the shops for repair were so badly worn and difficult to work on. In the future it is expected that a better grade of work will be received by the shops, and it will then be possible to repair more shoes per day. He appears to be very much dissatisfied with his position in the shops. He saw no reason why he was not made foreman as he felt that he was capable of holding such a position and cited as illustration that he has given the director valuable advice in buying material, etc. He was told that he was not capable of holding the position as foreman, but he would be retained in the shops as a regular shoe-repair man, if he would do the work of which he was capable. He complained also that the wages that he was receiving were inadequate for the family to get along, even with the additional supplementation from the Bureau. He felt at least that the whole rent should be granted. Although he previously had always expressed a desire to become independent, it seemed that he now wished as much assistance as possible. It was pointed out to him that, when he had worked intermittently last spring and summer and his earnings were supplemented by the Bureau, the income was much smaller than now and that as his earnings increase the Bureau supplementation will decrease, as our aim was not to assist the family only financially but to help them become independent as well. Since Mr. Lieberwich is dissatisfied with his earnings and believes that he can better himself outside of the shops, he was requested to find a position for himself in industry. He, however, did not greet this suggestion very favorably and seemed inclined to hold the position which he now has. He stated, however, that there are other instances where men are working and their families are being assisted and gave the name of a man of one family which is known to him. It was proved beyond the question of a doubt, to Mr. Lieberwich, with the help of the supervisor of the district in which the man lives, that the man is receiving no assistance whatsoever at the present time from the Bureau and that the only time that the family did receive assistance was while the man was ill for a very short period.

His feeling toward the director is very antagonistic and unfriendly. He was very sensitive because of the fact that the latter did not address him with the title "Mr." calling him instead only "Lieberwich" or "old man." He felt that the superintendent did not respect him

as a man. It was explained to Mr. Lieberwich that unless he changes his attitude toward the superintendent, toward the shops, and toward his work, it will be impossible to allow him to work in the shops any longer and he will have to look elsewhere for work.

*December 6, 1923.*—Superintendent of the Workshops telephoned stating that Mr. Lieberwich's attitude has changed entirely. He was working like a different man.

*December 12, 1923.*—Called at the shops. Director stated that since Mr. Lieberwich has last been at the Bureau office his work had improved considerably. The day previously he had repaired eleven pairs of shoes. It has been decided that if he will continue to repair ten pairs of shoes daily he would receive $5.00 a day or about $30 a week. It was felt that he can do this without great difficulty as he has shown in the past few days.

*December 19, 1923.*—Director of Workshops telephoned that since the additional men who have been employed temporarily in the shops (who had been sent to the shops by the Bureau) had been laid off, Mr. Lieberwich was again working much more slowly, repairing only about four or five pairs of shoes a day. It was planned that a conference would be had by the district and the shops very soon.

*Later.*—Called on Mrs. Lieberwich. She states that Mr. Lieberwich is very sullen and depressed at home. He says nothing whatsoever about his work, but appears to be dissatisfied and allows his dissatisfaction and discontent to express itself in the home and at the expense of Mrs. Lieberwich and children. He had upbraided her because she had informed worker that she would be able to manage on what Mr. Lieberwich could earn, provided he worked regularly. He has been disagreeable to the children. When they wish to play with him, he pushes them away. He has very little to say at home, but his manner is very unpleasant.

*December 26, 1923.*—Called at the shops. Spoke to director, who called attention to the fact that when Workshop supervisor attempted to point out that Mr. Lieberwich was malingering on the job and the man was called to account for this, he speeded up his work slightly. When there was a competition between the normal men who had been employed through the Bureau and Mr. Lieberwich, he speeded more just to show that he could do as much as anyone else. Immediately after the man from the Bureau was laid off, he again slackened his pace. It was believed that the constant pressure under which the man was working was bad for him. He has begun to act

in an abnormal way. He cannot be talked to and reasoned with. When once told to stop working at the shops and find himself another job if he could not turn out eight pairs of shoes daily, he began to cry like a baby.

The director believes that Mr. Lieberwich would be a failure in business as he would be under constant pressure and would worry about every minor detail as he does now, when materials are bought at a slightly higher price than he believes should be paid for them or when they are bought in a different place from which he used to buy his materials, etc. It is felt that he does not react to the situation as a normal man would. However, it was suggested at this time that a trial in the industrial field with an interested employer should if possible be given him and it then could be ascertained how he worked in the company of normal men. It was also suggested that more authentic information regarding his past employment record be ascertained through his former employers and through the union, and after this is done he be examined again by Dr. Henry before a definite policy is decided upon.

*January 2, 1924.*—Called on California near Fourteenth, but found that the man for whom Mr. Lieberwich formerly worked has moved.

*January 4, 1924.*—Statement received from Industrial Workshops that Mr. Lieberwich received the sum of $91 in wages for the period of December 1–December 31.

*January 8, 1924.*—Called at the shops. Was informed by director that Mr. Lieberwich is a disorganizing factor in the shops because he discourages new men, telling them that they will never make good shoemakers. He tells them also that they should not work quickly, otherwise he and the others employed there will also have to work more quickly.

Called at the Shoemakers' Union. Was informed by secretary that it is extremely difficult to place shoe-repair men at the present time. There are a number of union members who are unemployed. He stated that he had no grudge against Mr. Lieberwich and had always done his best to place him, but finds the man difficult to place because of his "nervousness." He could give no other information regarding this than that Mr. Lieberwich talked too much, and frequently his talk is incoherent and illogical. He later added that Mr. Lieberwich often suffered from headaches and for this reason, even though he is willing to work, he cannot put in a full day's work.

*January 14, 1924.*—Mr. Lieberwich in office. He was much upset. He had received a check of $22.44 from the Bureau. The previous month when he received this same amount he borrowed $6.00 from the shops in order to complete the amount necessary for his rent. This month a loan was refused him, and he came to request the Bureau to grant him more money so that it should not be necessary for him to borrow any. When his request was refused, Mr. Lieberwich became very excited, began to tell about other men in the shops whose families were being supported by the Bureau. He knows this is so because they are not starving. Was advised that all families are being assisted on exactly the same basis as his. He was not satisfied and walked out of the office leaving the check. He returned a few minutes later, however, to take it back. Mr. Lieberwich was later seen on the street by another worker. He seemed very angry and kept muttering and speaking to himself.

### 12. The Family of Isadore Katz

*(Whose Wife Is Epileptic)*

[This family was known to the Jewish Welfare Bureau first in 1908 when Mr. Katz was ill with rheumatism and out of work and Mrs. Katz was also ill. They had spent two weeks in the Almshouse and had then come in to Mrs. Katz's parents, who asked help for them. Small amounts of relief were given, but because the man refused employment and insisted on trying to carry on a business of his own, further aid was refused.

In December, 1910, during a clothing strike, Mrs. Katz again asked help. His relatives were interviewed. It was agreed that he was neurasthenic and a "poor provider." Emergency relief was given, and the contact of the agency with the family ceased.

In January, 1912, Mr. Katz asked help in the form of a loan. He did home tailoring and did not have the money to purchase the necessary supplies for a job he was doing. In April of that year, too, one of the children had diphtheria just at the time of Mrs. Katz's confinement, and medical help was secured.

Similarly, through the following decade, services were asked and rendered, until in 1922 the Bureau felt the need of more specialized and constructive advice from the medical and psychiatric expert, and such help was sought from the Dispensary and especially the Diagnostic Clinic. The following letters illustrate the relationships

among these various divisions of the philanthropic organization and between several of these divisions and the patient.]

1. Letter, dated January 6, 1922, from the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago, to Dr. Harry J. Hellman, 52 Washington Street, Chicago, a member of the Diagnostic Group:

*Re* Rachel Katz
1228 Independence Avenue
No. 48152

*Jewish Welfare Bureau problem.*—The Katz family has been known to our organization since 1908, the longest period during that time in which we were not active on the case being one and one half years. During these fourteen years we have endeavored in every way to induce and to assist Mr. Katz to support his family adequately but to no avail. They have been evicted times without number, have lived in basement rooms hardly habitable, and have moved countless times. Mrs. Katz has epilepsy and is said by her husband to have frequent and very violent attacks during which she cannot be left alone as she throws knives and other articles and is a menace to the children. There are four children, Rebecca, fifteen, in high school; Ruth, eleven; Sam, nine; and Mildred, six, 11 per cent underweight, who has been diagnosed as having epilepsy. Sam and Ruth are 8 and 9 per cent underweight respectively. The Katz family are well connected, but the relatives having assisted them for fifteen years refuse to do anything further until some constructive plan is made for the family. They feel that both Mr. and Mrs. Katz are unfitted to care for the children and that the children should be removed to proper homes. The relatives are willing to pay for the children's support should this action be taken. At the present time we have a visiting housekeeper who visits daily, purchases, and supervises preparation of food, and we are paying the landlord directly, sending coal and clothing; and, until a decision is reached by the Diagnostic Clinic, the relatives are willing to help bear the expense of the family.

*Parental history.*—Mrs. Katz was born in Hungary. We have learned through relatives here that she comes of very good family. She has a prosperous brother in Budapest, and her connections there are people of splendid standing. Her father, eighty, and mother, seventy, recently celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage. Her father, she says, has had diabetes for a number of years. Mrs. Katz has four brothers and one sister.

*Background history.*—Mrs. Katz went to school for eight years, the first four years to the Burger Schule. She could do excellent needlework in the past, but has given it up. She states that she was engaged to marry a man to whom her parents emphatically objected, and for this reason they

sent her with her sister to America. Mrs. Katz seems really to care for her husband and shields him and sympathizes with him. She is thoroughly accustomed to the idea of accepting relief from charitable organizations, and is incensed with her wealthy relatives for not supporting her family entirely. The home is not a pleasant one. It is extremely untidy, and Mr. Katz's brother who is mentally unbalanced stays there, sleeping during the day and working as a dishwasher at night. Several years ago Mrs. Katz kept a roomer who was a habitual drunkard at her home, evidently without thought of the effect upon the children. We feel that she is entirely untruthful with us. At present the wife of Mr. Katz's brother is in the hospital, and Mrs. Katz is caring for her one-year-old baby.

*Occupational history.*—When Mrs. Katz first came to this country she did housework. She claims to have taken in washings at various times to supplement her husband's earnings. At present she is making a very poor success of keeping her own home.

*Medical history.*—Mrs. Katz states that she first suffered from epileptic seizures about three weeks before her first child was born (1906). She states that she has grown steadily worse and that often when she is worried about financial matters she has as many as two or three spells a day. The family state that she grows violent during her spells and throws knives and other articles, but we are inclined to believe that this serves as an excellent excuse for Mr. Katz to stay at home and away from work. Our reason for doubting this statement is that Mrs. Katz has undertaken the care of an infant niece, which she would hardly do if the danger were very great.

In 1913 she was diagnosed as having hysteria and inguinal hernia. In 1921 the diagnosis was bronchitis, tonsillitis, and inflammation of the skin.

*Social condition.*—The Katz family have so long been dependent on outside aid that as far as we can determine they have accepted this as their social state for the rest of their lives. The oldest girl is in high school, and recently the mother went to the school and complained of having no food; and Rebecca's friends brought baskets of food to the house, but the family evidently felt no qualms in the matter. The Katz family have been wholly untruthful with us. We have never been able to determine exactly what Mr. Katz's earnings were, nor what outside aid they were receiving. At one time when asked concerning these matters they stated that a pocket book was found; at another time that a woman whose name they have forgotten paid the rent. It is usually, however, Mrs. Katz who explains these rather intricate matters, while Mr. Katz merely corroborates when asked to. They had at one time a $22 gas bill and another time a gas bill of $81.87, and they now have gas opened up in their landlord's name.

*Jewish Welfare Bureau experience.*—The family, known to us since 1908, have gone through such unpleasant experiences as being taken to the Poor House by the County Agent, of having been evicted a number of times,

still they show no sign of making any adjustment for the future. Until now, their rents have been $5.00, $8.00, $9.00, $12, but recently without our advice they moved into a $28 flat, but have never been able to pay one month's rent. They have claimed on numerous occasions to have been without food for several days at a time. Although Mrs. Katz was sent to Europe after the first child was born she returned. They claim to get on very well with each other and the family seems harmonious. The Jewish Welfare Bureau suggested that Mrs. Katz in compliance with the recommendation of the Dispensary go into the County Hospital for observation and that the children be placed at a convalescent home until they are of normal weight, and in the meantime Mr. Katz be assisted in obtaining work. At such a time as he would be able to care for them the family would be reunited. To this they strenuously objected, refusing to have the home broken up. At present Mr. Katz is making no effort to find work. Their food, clothing, coal, and rent are being paid for; and a visiting housekeeper will visit daily observing Mrs. Katz especially until a decision in the case is reached by the Diagnostic Clinic. Should the home be broken up, the relatives will adequately care for the children.

2. Letter, dated January 7, 1922, to Dr. Harry J. Hellman, 52 Washington Street, Chicago, from the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Isadore Katz
1228 Independence Avenue
No. 39001

*Jewish Welfare Bureau problem.*—[This paragraph is identical with the first paragraph in the letter about Mrs. Katz. See above, p. 330.]

*Parental history.*—Mr. Katz, who is forty-three years old, was born in Hungary, the third of six children. His father, a shoemaker, is living in Chicago with his recently married third wife. He is sixty-eight years old and self-supporting. Mr. Katz tells us that as far back as he can remember his mother suffered from severe headaches and stomach disorders. He knows of no illness of his father, and states that he is at present in fairly good health. Mr. Katz has a brother Alexander, who is mentally unbalanced. When asked for the history of his brother's mental disorder, Mr. Katz states that until the boy was ten or twelve years old, he seemed normal but when he grew old enough to attend sheep and goats in the fields, the family noticed a rather queer change which grew steadily worse. The brother is at present living with the Katz family and when interviewed seems unable to talk coherently or logically or to answer the most simple questions. Other brothers of Mr. Katz are fairly prosperous, two of them owning a six-apartment building. They have never, however, been particularly interested in our patient.

*Background history.*—Mr. Katz states that he went to school in Hungary for four years, and claims to be able to read and write Hungarian. On leaving school he learned the tailoring trade and practiced this until he came to this country. His father was a shoemaker and never very prosperous. He was brought over by a brother and met his wife in New York. Mr. Katz seems to show little, if any, initiative. He has come to our office in the morning for an afternoon appointment, and has sat the entire day waiting for an interview without the slightest protest. He shows no evidence of feeling at all humiliated by his position and, when confronted with the fact that at one time for a period of three months he was supposed to have deserted his family and was really in hiding at his own home, he stated that a man would go to any ends to secure necessary food, obviously considering the rather usual means of working to gain his food entirely out of the question. Mrs. Katz's relatives consider him an utterly worthless, lazy malingerer, and immediately after the birth of his first child he sent his wife back to her people in Europe. She, however, returned to him after a year, and they have been dependent on every type of organization, such as organized charities, private charities, girls' clubs, schools, county agents, individuals, and even the County Infirmary.

*Occupational history.*—Mr. Katz apprenticed himself as a tailor in Hungary before coming to this country. On coming here, however, he engaged himself as a porter at a summer resort. He went from there with his wife to Oklahoma to join a brother and worked with the railroad although he does not give a very clear account of his type of work with the railroad. He claims to have done work on repairing locomotives, upholstering of chairs, etc. From Oklahoma he removed to Nebraska, where his eldest child was born, and still did odd jobs on railroads. He has been at various times porter, tailor, upholsterer, painter, peddler, and in 1918 had a camera and went about making the sort of pictures known as "tintypes." He has never in our knowledge of him worked steadily, and of late uses his wife's epileptic spells, during which he claims she grows violent, as an excuse to stay home. Although, according to our latest report from the Dispensary, he can do light work, he is not making the slightest effort to find work. He has procured and has been given horses any number of times but he either finds peddling unsuccessful, the horse unfit to work, or makes some other excuse. At one time when our organization bought a good horse for him it became very sick, and on examination it was found that he had shamefully mistreated the horse, having beaten it and failed to water it. It was necessary to take the horse from him and give it veterinary care. Mr. Katz's earning capacity, when he has worked, has varied from $1.00 to $2.00 a week, stayed rather constantly at $5.00 or $6.00 a week, and at times reached $30 and $35 for very short periods.

*Medical history.*—Mr. Katz has always greatly emphasized his physical inability to work.

In 1913 he was diagnosed as having chronic articular rheumatism, and light work was recommended. In 1918 he was at Zion Hospital and discharged with a diagnosis of chronic rheumatism. In 1920 he claimed to be unable to work on account of an injury to a finger which he kept bound up, and when sent to the Dispensary he was found to have a perfectly healed and very normal finger. In December, 1921, the diagnosis was: "Traumatic Neurosis. Cause—Trauma. Wassermann negative. Remarks—Patient's complaint followed directly upon an unusual strain of the muscles of the back. Any work such as heavy lifting will, of course, tend to protract this. Any light full-time employment is recommended." Mr. Katz claims to have lifted a very heavy barn door and to have suffered a severe muscular strain. He claims to be unable to sleep at night, to be extremely nervous, and in such pain during the day that he can do no work whatever.

*Social condition.*—[This paragraph is identical with the corresponding paragraph in the letter about Mrs. Katz. See above, p. 331.]

*Jewish Welfare Bureau experience.*—[This paragraph is identical with corresponding paragraph in letter about Mrs. Katz. See above, p. 331.]

[Incident to the diagnosis, Mrs. Katz was prevailed on to go to the County Hospital for observation. After her return the visiting housekeeper was called on to assist in improving the standards of housekeeping. Her reports for a portion of the period are as follows.]

*Visiting Housekeeper, 1922, April and May.*—Since Mrs. Katz's return from the hospital she has been keeping her house in immaculate order. Upon visits made as early as ten o'clock in the morning this state of orderliness and cleanliness prevails, including pantry and bathroom. An antique cabinet was given by a relative. She readily accepted the suggestion that it be used for the books which she has mentioned having no place for, and were piled up in the hall.

At eleven o'clock Mrs. Katz has been found resting, her lunch prepared and in the oven. She herself dresses neatly in light dresses or aprons, well ironed. She is also dressing the children neatly in white clothes.

Mr. and Mrs. Katz raved at the improvement in Mildred, whose desire for food has developed under supervision. Her capacity for food is almost equal to Ruth's: whereas before she merely pecked here and there at food before her.

Mrs. Katz asked permission to attend cooking classes. She was not absent from one class, and her immaculate dress was a good example for the others. Since she had received so much instruction in her home, her assistance in class was very valuable. She very aptly explained to the mothers what she had gained. Worker heard her relating to a new mother how she had cut down the amount of meat and fish used at a meal by initiating a variety of foods to make a balanced meal. The children of various mothers

coming into the class occasionally irritated her very much, especially if they were near the food; at such times she threatened not to return.

Mrs. Katz is very proud of her housekeeping and told the other women how pleased all members of the family were with her change.

3. Letter, dated July 8, 1922, from Social Service Department of Zion Dispensary, to the superintendent of the Jewish Welfare Bureau:

*Re* Katz, Isadore—Rachel
1228 Independence Avenue
No. 4261B—4262A

The following is the report of the Diagnostic Clinic on the above-named patients:

[The medical diagnosis is omitted.]

*Recommendations.*—The Diagnostic Group stated that Mr. Katz was able to do any kind of full-time work. As he was eager to peddle fruit, it was suggested that he be allowed, if possible, to do that. He is to work irrespective of whether Mrs. Katz claims to be feeling ill or not. We will ask the Visiting Nurse to go in daily for a while to observe and reassure her as soon as you notify us that Mr. Katz is working, so that he will not have any cause for worry in that respect.

Mrs. Katz is to report to the Wednesday or Saturday Neurological Clinic which meets at 1:00 P.M. May we ask you to urge her to come?

An abdominal support has been recommended and ordered for her.

*July 12, 1922.*—Mr. and Mrs. Katz again in office. She stated that she had come along as she felt much better and wished to hear what we were going to tell Mr. Katz. Mr. Katz was informed of the doctor's findings, which infuriated both Mr. and Mrs. Katz. Mrs. Katz threatened to go to the doctors and tell them exactly what she thinks of them. Mr. Katz states that before him the doctor stated that he really should have hospital care and that he wished the doctors might come to his home at night to hear how he suffered. He states that he does not sleep at all. He insists that we give him a horse. It was explained to him that many of our people wished to be established in business, such as moving picture business, drygoods business, and so on, but that we could do this only when no other course could be followed. With him, since the doctor stated that he could work full time, and since he already had had a horse when they recommended his peddling we thought that he should accept a job. This he refused to do, and they were told that, unless Mr. Katz would co-operate, it would be impossible for us to go on further as we are at present doing. They left highly indignant, stating that Mr. Katz by no means

would accept a job, that they knew where they were going, although they refused to tell visitor.

Visitor spoke about the matter with supervisor and superintendent, who both concurred in the plan that we would send the family one more week's groceries together with a registered letter stating that we were giving Mr. Katz a week to think the matter over and that unless he would endeavor to get work or accept work which we can get for him could go no further in financial assistance.

4. Letter, dated August 10, 1922, to the Superintendent of Zion Dispensary from the District Supervisor of the Jewish Welfare Bureau:

*Re* Rachel Katz
No 48152

May we call your attention to the following situation which has just arisen: On January 6, seven months ago, we referred both Mr. and Mrs. Katz to the Diagnostic Clinic, and on July 8, we received the final recommendation of that Group. Recommendations as to the treatment of Mrs. Katz were as follows:

"Mrs. Katz is to report to the Wednesday or Saturday Neurological Clinic which meets at 1:00 P.M. May we ask you to urge her to come."

On July 24, you notified us that Mrs. Katz failed to keep the appointment in the clinic which was made for her. We spoke to her in regard to this and received her promise to report on the twenty-ninth which she did. On August 3, we received the following report:

"The above-named patient attended the Neurological Clinic Saturday, July 29. As she would not co-operate to the extent of keeping a list of her epileptic seizures which she was requested to do by the doctor, he has refused to treat her further. We regret that there has been any difficulty."

We will not at this time go into detail as to the difficulty the situation in the Katz home presented as that was very carefully explained in our letter to the Diagnostic Group written January 6, to which we now refer you for full particulars so that you may have a clear understanding of the problems which confront us. We had great difficulty in getting Mr. and Mrs. Katz through the clinic, their co-operation never coming easily. Mrs. Katz after much work on our part was persuaded to enter Cook County Hospital for observation January 12. This was recommended by Dr. Hellman of the Group, who wanted to observe her there. She was later asked to return for further observation, which she flatly refused to do. We finally had to force this issue by withdrawing all relief, this only after weeks of patient urging.

Mr. Katz's examination was completed months before his wife's, but the Group did not want to discuss his case until Mrs. Katz's examination was completed. This necessarily meant a great delay. For six months

while the cases were being considered our organization with the help of relatives assumed financial responsibility. We are at a loss to understand how the Neurological Clinic can take the attitude they do when the patient was referred for treatment by the Diagnostic Group after a definite diagnosis of "epilepsy" was made. Mrs. Katz is a difficult patient we know, but, with nervousness which is a natural result of her disease, it seems to us more patience and understanding than was displayed in the clinic will have to be used.

Will you kindly look into the matter and let us know whether Mrs. Katz is to receive the treatment recommended so strongly by the Diagnostic Group, or is there to be no further co-operation from the Dispensary in helping us to improve her physical condition?

5. Letter, dated August 15, 1922, from Dr. Harry J. Hellman to the director of the Social Service Department of Zion Dispensary:

Replying to your letter calling my attention to the memorandum from the Jewish Welfare Bureau concerning Rachel Katz, I beg to report that anyone familiar with the treatment of epilepsy would be at no loss to understand how the Neurological Clinic should assume the attitude they did relative to the above-mentioned patient. Inasmuch as I dealt with this situation personally, I may state that the refusal of the patient to co-operate with the physician's request was not due to any nervousness. I do not feel that her conduct is a natural result of her epilepsy. I am unable to understand how the Jewish Welfare Bureau can infer that insufficient patience or understanding was displayed.

Mrs. Katz should receive treatment for her epilepsy. The treatment for this disease requires great co-operation between the physician and the patient. There is no one medication nor specified amount of any drug which will suffice to cure the disease. Both the type of medication and its dosage must be ascertained by observation. Among the things to be observed are: the number and type of attacks. The patient's memory is very defective and unless these observations be written down they are worthless. Mrs. Katz was instructed to keep such a record; she categorically refused and became rather argumentative. Although as a member of the Diagnostic Clinic, I feel that Mrs. Katz should receive treatment, just as with Pooh Bah in the "Mikado," in my capacity as a member of the Neurological Clinic I should say that the patient must thoroughly understand that she is to co-operate with the physicians as fully as she can. Furthermore, in her particular case, I think it would be distinctly advantageous to her regeneration if instead of feeling that any organization is making concessions to her, she develop the idea that it is necessary for her to make concessions. Of course, the Neurological Clinic is very pleased to treat her, providing she accepts this treatment in the proper spirit. Under other conditions it would impress me that institutional care, where she can be properly controlled, would be the only way out.

6. Letter, dated November 15, 1922, to the director of the Social Service Department of Zion Dispensary from the District Supervisor of the Jewish Welfare Bureau:

*Re* Isadore and Rachel Katz
1228 Independence Avenue

Since last seen by the Diagnostic Clinic Mr. Katz refused to do any work other than peddling; obtained a horse on credit for which he paid $50, paying this amount out at the rate of 50 cents a day. He claims to have cleared sums varying from $3 to $20 a week. During this time we have paid their rent regularly and have also given small amounts irregularly. At present Mr. Katz claims to have a gas bill of three months amounting to $15 and the gas has been turned off. However, since they have electric lights and we furnish coal, they are not suffering from this. He is in debt to the grocer to the amount of $12 and still owes $7.00 for the horse.

Mrs. Katz has been having a number of seizures lately. On November 13 while in our office she had two seizures and was sent home in a cab. She called later stating that she had had another seizure. According to Mr. Katz she had one on November 11, two November 12, three November 13, two November 14, and two November 15. The oldest daughter, Rebecca, has been so humiliated by receiving clothing and food from the high school which she attends that she has stopped school and is awaiting a certificate so that she may go to work.

We have endeavored to impress upon Mr. Katz that he is not giving the children a fair chance, and that by relieving Mrs. Katz of the obligation and aggravation of caring for the house with insufficient funds, her condition might be improved. However, he refuses to hear of breaking up the home or of taking a steady job where his weekly income would be assured.

We shall gladly furnish any further information which you may desire.

7. Letter, dated December 9, 1922, from the director of the Social Service Department of Zion Dispensary to the superintendent of the Jewish Welfare Bureau:

*Re* Rachel Katz
1228 Independence Avenue
No. 4262A

The above patient was reconsidered by the Diagnostic Clinic on November 29.

The Group recommended that the patient be put under intensive medical treatment for epilepsy for one month, during which period she is to report to the Neurological Clinic weekly. At the end of this time she is again to come before the clinic. In case the patient fails to co-operate, all financial assistance is to be withdrawn and the children removed from the home.

We are enclosing a special diet order for the patient.

8. Letter received January 20, 1923, from the Dispensary stating that Mrs. Katz had been reconsidered by the Diagnostic Clinic on January 4, 1923. The Group recommended that patient be treated for hysteria in addition to epilepsy and referred her to the Psychiatric Clinic, to which she reported for the first time on January 16. Inasmuch as the hysteria is due to the condition in the home, it will be essential to make such social adjustments as are necessary in order to assist in the treatment given at the Dispensary.

9. Letter, dated August 17, 1923, to Miss Elizabeth Myers, Mental Hygiene Clinic of Zion Dispensary, from district supervisor of the Jewish Welfare Bureau:

*Re* Mrs. Rachel Katz
1228 S. Independence Avenue
No. 4262A

May we ask if Dr. Rusk is now ready for a conference on Mrs. Katz? We find that the situation in the home is unaltered, although every effort has been made to help Mr. Katz become self-supporting. In the early part of June against our better judgment, we paid $15 for a peddler's license for Mr. Katz, who assured us that with this assistance he could and would make a living for his family. Two weeks ago Mr. Katz sold his horse and wagon for $40 and is again without means for obtaining a living.

We have been advised that constant worry over their financial distress is detrimental to Mrs. Katz's condition, and we are at a loss to know what steps to take in the future.

May we hope to hear from you at an early date?

10. Letter, dated August 30, 1923, to the director of the Social Service Department of Zion Dispensary from the district supervisor of the Jewish Welfare Bureau:

*Re* Mrs. Rachel Katz
1228 Independence Avenue
No. 4262A

In a conference with Dr. Rusk on Mrs. Katz on August 28 he advised us that Mrs. Katz has been receiving treatment at the Dispensary for the past year and there is no apparent change in her condition. He, therefore, suggested that we refer the patient to the Diagnostic Clinic for reconsideration.

As we are at a loss to know what plans to make for the family for the future, we again wish to ask the advice of the Diagnostic Group. May we hope to hear from you at an early date.

11. Letter, dated September 7, 1923, to the director of the Social Service Department of Zion Dispensary from the district supervisor of the Jewish Welfare Bureau:

*Re* Rachel Katz
1228 Independence Avenue
No. 4262A

Your letter of September 4 regarding Mrs. Rachel Katz at hand, and in compliance with your request we are sending the following additional social history:

The Katz family has not received any assistance from our organization since June 8. At that time Dr. Rusk of your Dispensary recommended that the Katz's gas bill of $20 be paid and Mr. Katz be provided with the necessary funds to get a vehicle license as Mrs. Katz was greatly worried about the family's finances, which resulted in a greater number of seizures. We complied with this request and received a promise from Mr. Katz that he would provide for his family in the future. He failed to do this, and about six weeks later sold his horse and wagon for $40. Two weeks ago, Mrs. Katz tells us, her husband obtained a job as janitor in a Catholic school and church and is to receive $100 per month. Rebecca, the oldest girl, is also working and is earning $16 a week as an operator at the telephone company.

Although the financial situation of the family has improved, Dr. Rusk advises that Mrs. Katz's condition remains the same. The home conditions are also much better. Mrs. Katz keeps the home neat and clean and is following the diet instructions given her by our visiting housekeeper.

### 13. The Family of Lewis Morozoff

(*A Mental Defective and His Wife, Esther, Who Is Diagnosed as Constitutionally Inferior*)

[This family was first known to the Jewish Welfare Bureau in September, 1913, when there was only one child, Harry, born in London in 1910. Mr. Morozoff was born in Russia in 1883; Mrs. Morozoff in 1889. They had been married in London and later in 1912 migrated to the United States and came to Chicago. He applied to the Bureau for help in finding work. She complained of ill-health and was referred to a hospital for care.

Eight months later, April 24, 1914, he applied for aid in finding work, and she was ill with appendicitis. There was now a baby daughter, Rosa, and during this year Mrs. Morozoff underwent an

operation for appendicitis, and Mr. Morozoff was assisted in finding employment. He seemed quite unable to find jobs for himself or to hold jobs that were got for him. Both he and she behaved in an excited manner in the office of the Bureau. There is a record of their having lived in a disreputable rooming-house where she supported the family by scrubbing and washing.

Throughout the year 1915 the Bureau was in contact with the family. Mr. Morozoff was out of work during the clothing strike of that year, there was anxiety about the baby, but he went back to work and for two years the family was again lost sight of.

In January, 1918, the police reported the family to the Protective Association as neglecting the children—there was by that time a third child, Anña, born in 1916—and the Protective Association referred the case to the Bureau. At this time there was a real "first interview," in which the story of their various journeyings was brought out as well as the fact that Mrs. Morozoff had at one time left her husband and children and stayed away for several days without letting them know where she was. She was found to be in poor health, and Mr. Morozoff was again having trouble in finding and keeping work.

On July 25, 1919, he asked help in a quarrel with a neighbor, and then again for ten months there was no contact.

The following year, however, April 17, 1920, Mr. Morozoff again applied for aid because of an alleged claim against a former employer for unpaid wages, and in August of 1921 Mrs. Morozoff appealed for help in disciplining Harry, who was eleven years old and becoming incorrigible. The record of this contact contains interesting evidence of sympathy for the boy, for whom reading-matter was supplied and kind personal service provided. Mrs. Morozoff was still in very poor health, and Mr. Morozoff in and out of work. At this time Mrs. Morozoff talked of suicide and several times came to the office and dramatically attempted to swallow poison. She was highly excitable and during this period the story of her youth was elicited (see below, p. 345) in connection with the evident talent for dancing of the little daughters. At this time too, the condition of the home was described at some length. It was then a three-room rear flat, very poorly furnished and badly ventilated, looking over an alley and close to a stable. In the summer, Harry and his father slept on a cot on the back porch but in the winter the two slept in the same bed with Rosa, the older little girl.

There was again the story of Mr. Morozoff's unemployment and low pay, of debts, of Mrs. Morozoff's poor health. Again and again she threatened suicide, saying that if she died the children would receive proper care. A boy, Joseph, was born in January, 1921.

During this entire period many forms of service were rendered the family—services connected with their health, the children's schooling, protection from loan sharks and instalment-house abuses, and at the beginning of the year 1922, the family was transferred from the Child-caring to the General Family Welfare Division of the Bureau.

The year 1922, like the preceding years, meant continuous or recurring unemployment for Mr. Morozoff, constant ill-health for Mrs. Morozoff, and for the children all the exigencies of childhood, such as the children's diseases, necessitating hospitalization, etc. In March, it became necessary for Mrs. Morozoff to undergo an operation, and plans were made to place the children; but one was ill with measles and, as the others had been exposed, the plan of placing was abandoned, and a practical nurse from the Health Department was brought to the home by the Home-Finding Bureau. There were serious difficulties in this plan. The nurse could not be allowed to cook the children's food, because of Mr. Morozoff's religious views. Later, when the mother returned to the hospital for an operation and was sent to a convalescent home for recovery, the children were placed by the Home-Finding Bureau. At this time, Mrs. Morozoff, who was diagnosed as "hysterical," without special treatment for this special malady being provided, proved herself an unendurable person at the convalescent home and tried life at the County Infirmary, where the food seemed to her so impossible that, although rest had been imperatively prescribed for her, she returned home.

The year passed in this unhappy and unpromising manner. The older little girl had to be sent to the hospital for treatment of gonorrhea, the family suffered eviction, and finally, hopeless of Mr. Morozoff's keeping any job, the family was moved and given equipment for a cleaning, pressing, and repair shop.

The following year, 1923, was largely a repetition of the experience of 1922. Mr. Morozoff was in and out of work, and also in and out of the Bureau; Mrs. Morozoff continued excited, ill, and unhappy. Finally in September, 1923, it was decided that both Mr. and Mrs. Morozoff should be examined by the Diagnostic Clinic.

On October 11, 1923, the following letter was written to the Dispensary with reference to Mrs. Morozoff:]

*Re* Esther Morozoff
No. 93804

*Reasons for referring to Diagnostic Clinic.*—We are referring Mrs. Esther Morozoff to the Diagnostic Clinic in order to be advised whether she is physically and mentally capable of supervising her home.

*Problem of the Bureau.*—During the nine years in which we have known Mrs. Morozoff we have tried to form effective plans whereby she would be able to cope with the ordinary everyday conditions connected with her household and also to bring about an adjustment in the domestic difficulty existing between her and her husband. In neither of these things have we been successful. We can probably attribute this result to the fact that Mrs. Morozoff herself, although willing to take care of her home and children, is handicapped by her mental attitude toward the problems she must meet. She is constantly threatening suicide, and this idea coupled with nervousness and irritability make it practically impossible for us to help Mrs. Morozoff adjust herself in her home so that she can properly manage it.

*Parental history.*—We have been told that our client's father died at the age of seventy-three after having been ill with tuberculosis for a period of three years. The mother lived to be sixty-seven years old. Mrs. Morozoff relates that her mother had been ill the greater part of her life. Very often and without any warning, she would begin to talk irrelevantly. While in this state she would tear her clothes off, dance around the room, and strike anything or anybody within reach. Mrs. Morozoff also said that her mother suffered with a peculiar formation in her throat which constantly choked her and prevented her from eating spiced foods. She does not know the exact nature of this growth.

The family were in good financial circumstances, and the mother was able to get to Nauheim yearly to see whether she could not be cured. No change in her condition was brought about. Some months prior to her death she had long periods of insanity alternating with periods of normalcy. One sister was an inmate of an insane asylum in Warsaw. She was subject to spells of behavior during which she would throw furniture around, tear clothes, and at times would become so violent that it was necessary to strap her on a bed. This sister is still living in Europe, although Mrs. Morozoff does not know whether those attacks continue through later life. Another sister, still living, was in a tuberculosis sanitarium for a considerable length of time. A third sister has been ill practically all her life due to several operations on her legs. Our client does not know the cause of these operations. A fourth sister, Mrs. Berg, was examined by the Diagnostic Group, who recommended that her children be taken away lest they grow up as

irresponsible and neurotic as the mother, for the latter was a chronic complainer. She was very hysterical and constantly exaggerated her illness. The patient was found physically fit to take care of her children, but mentally she was found incapable of doing this. When she was suffering from a spell she would often attack her husband. Harry, the oldest child of Mrs. Berg, had glandular tuberculosis. It seems that he, like his mother, had spells of hysteria. A fifth sister, married and living in Russia, suffered with violent headaches which left her in a very nervous and irritable state. There are three brothers, all of whom are living, and, according to Mrs. Morozoff, did not suffer from any illnesses with the exception of one who always had terrific nose bleeds.

Mrs. Morozoff's family consisted of a father, mother, and fifteen children. Five of these children died in infancy. We were unable to ascertain the cause of their death. The financial condition of the family was good and permitted them to live in a large, well-furnished home. Our client states that even though they were able to employ servants, both she and her sisters were given daily household tasks to attend to. According to information we have received the relationship between the father and mother was a very congenial one. The father was considered a good singer and often acted as Kantor in the Temple. He was a successful business man; he was interested in a wholesale fruit and fish concern. The community considered him a Hebrew scholar. He was also able to read and write German, Russian, and Polish. The mother could only read Hebrew, but without any knowledge of the context. Mrs. Morozoff's sisters attended school longer than she herself did. The oldest sister completed a course equivalent to our general high-school curriculum. She is able to read and write English, French, and German fluently. All the girls were taught to play on the piano. This was considered a very extraordinary accomplishment at that time, as very few homes had pianos and few parents thought it advisable for girls to be given such an intensive education. The father attempted to train his sons to enter his own business, but he was successful with only two of them. The third had always expressed a desire to leave home but had been urged to remain at his studies. The family expected him to take up the higher branches of learning. Suddenly, however, he disappeared. The parents had feared this, for at various times he seemed to be dissatisfied and begged to be permitted to discontinue his studies and seek work elsewhere. He went to London, where after trying to earn a living at various trades without success, he joined a vaudeville troupe. He had always had a desire to sing and dance on the stage. He toured the principal cities of Europe for many years with different companies. He now has in Paris a company of his own which includes his wife and six children. Mrs. Morozoff showed us pictures to substantiate these facts. All the other sisters and brothers are married. The neighbors considered the family honest and self-respecting.

*Background history.*—Mrs. Morozoff was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1889. She was the youngest child in the family. She attended school between the ages of six and twelve. It seems that the father assumed a very domineering attitude in the home to such an extent that the children feared his presence. In order to make his wishes understood, he would often resort to beating them. He was especially stern about the conduct of his daughters. The client related that on one occasion she had returned home from a visit a trifle later than she should have returned and was not admitted to the house. It was this restraint that had induced the brother to leave the home. Mrs. Morozoff told us that many visitors called on the family, and she would often sing and dance for them. She always cherished an ambition to go on the stage, and a few of her father's friends, actors by profession, would often coach and teach her. She would try to qualify for minor parts in the smaller theaters, but her parents always objected strenuously.

After Mrs. Morozoff stopped school at the age of twelve, she remained at home and simply assisted with the housework. When about fifteen years old, she became interested in and joined the Socialist-Revolutionary party in Warsaw. In view of the fact that one of her sisters had married a soldier she had an opportunity to meet many others in her sister's home. She took advantage of this and distributed the party's literature secretly. She related that whenever there was a rumor of a possible pogrom, she would manage to go to the contingents of soldiers stationed in the city, spread the literature among them and try to induce them not to shoot the Jewish inhabitants. At the age of sixteen, news was brought to the family that the police authorities were eager to arrest the person who had been instrumental in spreading the propaganda of the Socialist party. Her parents, fearing that she would be discovered and sent to Siberia, arranged for her departure in the company of an aunt and uncle who were en route to London. These relatives opened a grocery store in London, and Mrs. Morozoff helped them manage the business. She contended that she was particularly valuable to them because she was able to compute figures very rapidly. While in London she met her brother and through his influence joined his company at various times.

One evening while visiting friends she was introduced to Mr. Morozoff. He fell in love with her and after a very brief courtship persuaded her to marry him. She said that she did not wish to get married, but was forced to do so because of her husband's threats on her life. Very soon after her marriage she became pregnant, and, acting upon the advice of a neighbor, sought medical aid in order to have an abortion performed. Mrs. Morozoff said she decided to do this because she did not want to have a child while she was still so very young. After this operation she became seriously ill for many months. She does not know the exact nature of this illness, but remembers that it was necessary to have ice packs placed over her body.

Two years after her marriage she began to find it difficult to see out of her right eye. She went to a hospital in London where her blood was tested and was told that there were impurities in her system. She was given some medicine, and after having taken it found that the condition of her eye was improving but her teeth began to fall out. She then decided not to go for any more treatments. There was a gradual loss of vision, and she is now totally blind in the right eye.

Soon after this Mr. Morozoff became ill. His wife is positive that the disease was an infectious one, although she could not give the exact name.

Mrs. Morozoff was diagnosed as having tuberculosis. And when she wrote of her condition to her mother in Russia, her mother urged her to go back to Russia to try to regain her health. She did this, and while she was away, Mr. Morozoff consorted with other women. Friends of the family advised her of the condition of affairs, and also urged her to return to London as it was rumored that her husband intended to leave the city for South America in company with another woman. Mrs. Morozoff came back immediately for the purpose of securing a divorce. Her husband refused to consider this, contending that he still loved her and promising that he would be faithful. She decided to give him another chance. Three years after this, Harry, the eldest child, was born. There was constant domestic friction in the home due mainly to the fact that Mr. Morozoff continued to be unfaithful. At one time he left his wife and went to Paris. He visited a sister-in-law in that city and due to her persuasions returned to London. Mrs. Morozoff again demanded a divorce but could not obtain it.

Mr. Morozoff finally left for America nine months prior to his wife's arrival here. During this interval he sent her money regularly. When she finally came to the United States with Harry, she found that her husband had lost his position and no home awaited her. It became necessary for the family to stay with the sister, Mrs. Berg. This arrangement existed for about a week when due to the incessant quarreling of the children, Mrs. Morozoff was forced to leave. Her husband apparently made no effort to alleviate the situation. The three were obliged to pass the night in Douglas Park. Mrs. Morozoff went to a friend of her mother's and begged that she be permitted to stay there with Harry until her husband would be able to find some work. She sold all her possessions in an effort to pay for the board of the family. While boarding here, she met some visitors who told her that if she would come and take care of their household she could have a room and food in return for her work. She immediately took advantage of this proposition. In fact, she was very glad of the opportunity as Mr. Morozoff had not yet secured any work. The family moved to the flat, and Mrs. Morozoff fulfilled her obligations as care-taker. She had no idea of the nature of the place, but soon learned that the people who had engaged her services were immoral and had rented the flat for immoral purposes. Although her husband recognized the character of the place,

he made no effort to remove his family. She performed her task, but one afternoon one of the visitors demanded an introduction to her, and she became so frightened that she took the baby and ran away. She was then introduced to a woman interested in a small charitable organization and related her story with the result that the flat was raided. Mrs. Morozoff emphatically contends that her husband would have offered no objection if she had resorted to immoral practices herself.

From this time she was known to the Jewish Welfare Bureau.

*Occupational history.*—During her girlhood while living in her father's house, Mrs. Morozoff had merely the daily household duties to attend to. After she went to London she assisted her uncle in managing his grocery store. Since her marriage she has been a housewife.

*Medical history.*—Mrs. Morozoff relates that her health declined since the birth of her first child. Prior to her marriage she had had an illness, the name of which she does not know, that necessitated operations on various parts of her head.

In March, 1922, she entered the hospital and a diagnosis of cholecystitis and post-operative adhesions was made. She was to return for an operation in April. Upon her return on that date she was again discharged with the same diagnosis and sent to a convalescent home. She refused to stay there, and left of her own accord. In July, 1922, she was again examined at the Dispensary and rest at the County Infirmary was recommended. She went there on August 7 and returned August 8, contending that she could not get well there. (For further medical history kindly consult Dispensary summary.)

*Social history.*—The family consists of Mr. and Mrs. Morozoff and four children. Although Mrs. Morozoff does try her utmost to make the home life a congenial one, she cannot do so. This is probably due to the incompatibility existing between her and her husband, and also to the economic situation in the home. She feels, too, that her husband's demands upon her are excessive. [Certain entries recording conferences between the visitor and Mrs. Morozoff showing the visitor's ability to secure Mrs. Morozoff's confidence and giving evidence of a highly excited state of mind on the part of Mrs. Morozoff, especially regarding her relations to Mr. Morozoff, are omitted from the record.] On several occasions she has expressed a desire that she might be so operated on that child-bearing would be impossible. Mr. Morozoff uses vile language not only in his general conversations but in addressing his wife. As a result the children do likewise whenever their wishes are not granted.

Mrs. Morozoff finds it practically impossible to supervise the children and attend to their needs. Although she has every wish to be a devoted mother, the smallest task is described in a most exaggerated form.

In 1922 the children were boarded by the Home-Finding Bureau. After the physical examinations were completed, it was found that Rosa

was infected with gonorrhea and she was sent to the Juvenile Sanatorium. Esther, a short time later, was taken to the Dispensary after her mother had discovered evidence that the child had been tampered with by her older brother, Harry, with whom she had been sleeping.

Recent tests at the Juvenile Psychiatric Bureau have brought out the following facts:

Esther, seven years of age, has an intelligence quotient of 89, which places her in the dull and backward class. She was found to be pleasant and co-operative in everything, except questions as to her sexual experiences. It was possible that she had been mistreated by her brother Harry and by another boy in the neighborhood. Unusually close supervision was advised in a foster home which should be chosen with particular reference to the character of children in the neighborhood, and in the home itself. Harry, thirteen years of age, has an intelligence quotient of 87. He was considered dull and slow of comprehension. He was inclined to be suspicious and most unco-operative. He denied having mistreated his sister Esther, in spite of the fact that evidence of such behavior was offered by Rosa and partially admitted by Esther. He shows some signs of a neurotic disposition which may develop into a real handicap. His dreams are vivid and disturbing, and he is inclined to ask for things which he does not show the mental ability or aggressiveness to obtain for himself. It was further recommended that if the family should be broken up he be placed in a home away from his sisters toward whom he acts tyrannically at every opportunity. Rosa, eight years of age, was classified in the dull and backward group with a mental rating of 80. She talked freely of Esther's experiences, but denied any similar experience on her own part. She probably has many duties around the home which have not given her the opportunity for delinquency that the other children have. It was felt that with her defective intelligence she will need very close supervision.

Joseph, aged two, was found to have adequate intelligence. He is very egocentric in his actions. His mother is very fond of him and by her failure to understand his reactions is strengthening him in his behavior. It is very likely that he will become a real behavior problem as he grows older. The mother does not seem to be able to grasp the necessity for the kind of supervision the children need. In fact they seem to dominate her. She complains she receives no help from the father in disciplining the children. Naturally the entire burden falls upon her and she is not capable of handling it. Very often she becomes so nervous, irritated, and excited that she can think of no other measures than beating them.

Mrs. Morozoff herself has told us that she frequently pinches and abuses the children when they exasperate her. Later, of course, she is sorry for her actions but on the spur of the moment seems unable to resort to any other form of punishment. We do not mean to convey the impression

that this can be attributed to ignorance but rather to her poor physical condition, which in turn, is probably aggravated by her mental state.

During our contact with Mrs. Morozoff she has many times wished to commit suicide. On one occasion she ran into the office wildly hysterical, pulled a bottle out of her pocket, and attempted to drink it. When the liquid was taken away it was found to be Sloan's Liniment. It was later discovered that the disturbed state of her mind was due to a quarrel she had had with Harry. In order to meet the situation she had beaten him and he in turn struck her. During another visit to the office she threatened to take her life and later a bottle of oil of cloves was found in her bag.

Mrs. Morozoff claims that she very often has sensations of dizziness and becomes irresponsible for her actions. It is during these periods that she is tempted to kill herself. At one time she opened a gas jet and was saved by the timely arrival of Harry. She also attempted to jump out of the window. She feels that the children would receive better care and attention if she were dead for then there would be no economic stress as they would undoubtedly be taken care of in some institution.

She has often expressed a desire to be separated from her husband. While Mr. Morozoff is in the room, his wife will speak of him in most uncomplimentary terms. He, however, never contradicts or replies. There is no doubt that she resents his presence in the home. She has told us that at times his conduct towards her aggravates her to such an extent that she becomes filled with a desire to kill him, and is sure that if she could lay her hand on some weapon she would take his life. She has threatened to leave the children and disappear unless arrangements were made whereby he could be prevented from living with the family. All the children, with the exception of Harry, are fond of him. Harry's dislike may probably be attributed to the frequent and severe beatings given him.

On one occasion Mrs. Morozoff left her family and persuaded a friend to permit her to stay in her house. She threatened that unless this were done she would kill herself. This outburst was probably due to the fact that Mr. Morozoff was not working. He is a presser by trade, but does not work steadily and consequently has never been a large wage-earner. This is strongly resented by Mrs. Morozoff, who wishes to be financially independent. During the time when her husband is working steadily she will never come to this organization for assistance, and is very proud of the fact that she does not have to do so.

From our observations of Mr. Morozoff, he appears to be of a rather low mental grade and incapable of doing any better than he has done. Mrs. Morozoff is often ashamed of his lack of manners and intelligence. She characterizes him as a "senseless mule." She talks incessantly, becomes extremely excited, and often very stubborn. In the latter state she some-

what resembles a child who resorts to pouting. At times in the midst of her conversation, she will allude to a funny incident or describe a situation in a manner which indicates that she has a keen sense of humor. Regardless of how casually she may mention her husband she will always add a phrase tinged with sarcasm. She is extremely cynical in her attitude toward the present state of affairs and says she cannot count on a more hopeful future for she never will have the latter as long as her husband is with her. Although we have found it difficult to work with Mrs. Morozoff as she is constantly changing her plans, vacillating from one side to the other, she will ultimately agree to follow our plans as there is no doubt that she has the welfare of the children at heart.

We wish to obtain the advice of the Diagnostic Group so that we may be guided in our future plans for the family.

*October 29, 1923.*—Met Mrs. Morozoff and took her to the Dispensary to start her through the Diagnostic Clinic. She told worker that her husband had reported to the Dispensary and when he came home was very furious because he thinks that he is being troubled for no purpose whatsoever. This is due to the fact that once when he kept a clinic appointment he was told by one of the physicians that he was in perfect health and the physician did not know why the Bureau bothered to send him to the Dispensary. He further stated that he absolutely would not go through the Diagnostic Clinic. First of all, because he is in good physical condition, secondly, because he refuses to leave his position as often as will be necessary. Mrs. Morozoff herself seemed very discouraged as although her husband follows out worker's recommendations, when he comes home he is very angry, and scolds her, claiming that it is due to her illness, etc., that he is forced to go to the Dispensary.

*October 30, 1923.*—Called Mr. Morozoff on the telephone and instructed him to come into the office on the evening of November 1.

*October 31, 1923.*—Diagnostic Clinic appointments for Mrs. Morozoff received from the Dispensary.

*November 1, 1923 (evening).*—Mr. Morozoff in office. He claimed that he cannot see the sense of going through the Diagnostic Clinic as he feels perfectly well as before stated, and the doctors, in Mr. Morozoff's language, laughed when he came into the clinic and asked why he wasted his time coming there. At first asserted positively that he would not consider going through. Finally, however, after much persuasion and talk he promised that he would keep the necessary appointments.

*November 3, 1923.*—The following diagnostic letter was sent to the director of the Social Service Department of the Dispensary by the district supervisor of the Jewish Welfare Bureau:

*Re* Lewis Morozoff
42876—8706B

*Reasons for referring to Diagnostic Clinic.*—We are referring Mr. Lewis Morozoff to the Diagnostic Clinic in order to ascertain whether there is a reason for his wife's assertions that he has no inclination to support his family properly and that he is largely responsible for the serious domestic friction and the disturbing undercurrent of unrest in the home.

*Problem of the Bureau.*—In the time during which we have known the amily we have never been able to determine why Mr. Morozoff has always given the impression of being such a negligible factor in the household. He does not seem to be able adequately to provide for his family nor to assume and fulfil the duties as its head. The problem is further complicated by the fact that there is a decided incompatibility between him and his wife. He has definitely told us that he feels the only solution lies in the separation of the family as he is sure that neither he nor his wife is capable of giving the necessary guidance and care to the children. Mrs. Morozoff, who is also a diagnostic patient at present, is of the same opinion. Mr. Morozoff seems unable to maintain a position of responsibility or dignity in the home. Whether this is due to an innate inability, or to a lack of interest brought about by the discouraging conditions in the home, we have not been able to fathom.

*Parental history.*—We have not been able to secure very many facts concerning Mr. Morozoff's parental history. The family lived in the typical small Russian village consisting of about twelve houses. The father, a tailor by trade, could not read or write any language but Russian. His knowledge of Hebrew was very meager. He was divorced at the time he married Mr. Morozoff's mother, and the children of this first union were cared for by their own mother. Mr. Morozoff and his two sisters were the children of the second marriage. The mother was able to read Hebrew, but had no knowledge of the context. Mr. Morozoff is sure that his two sisters are living, but could give no definite information about his parents. He does not know how much schooling his sisters had as he left them when they were still very young children. He advised us that he cannot remember any member of his family suffering from any illness. They had always been in good physical condition. The family enjoyed no especial prestige in the village, but were known to be honest and self-respecting.

*Background history.*—Mr. Morozoff was born in Stozen, Russia. Due to the fact that the family was always in such poor financial straits, he was

not able to receive any education other than a few lessons in Hebrew. He can read Yiddish but cannot write it. During the time he has been in the United States he has never learned to write his name. We gathered from him that in addition to the financial situation in the family, his parents did not consider it necessary for their children to receive even a fair amount of education. Judging from Mr. Morozoff's information, the education given to the sisters was probably very meager. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a tailor and a little later became a journeyman tailor, traveling from village to village. Apparently his experiences during this particular period were not unusual. At the age of twenty, he was forced to become a soldier. He soon decided he did not want to serve his full time, and on one occasion when his parents came to visit him at the barracks they managed to smuggle some clothes to him. With the use of a friend's passport he ran away to England. He lived in London and earned his livelihood by becoming a pants operator. Soon after his arrival in London, he was introduced by mutual friends to Mrs. Morozoff, and three months after the meeting persuaded her to marry him. After they were married a short while she had an operation from the effects of which she became very ill. From this time, he asserts, she has always been sick. We gathered that there was considerable domestic difficulty at this time, which Mr. Morozoff explains by claiming that his wife's continual illness made home life unbearable, and he was forced to resort to outside sources for whatever pleasure or amusement he could get.

Mr. Morozoff came to the United States at the suggestion of his wife's sister, who had preceded the family here. He received a letter from her in which she urged him to emigrate to America, assuring him that he would surely be able to earn a living here. He came to Chicago and lived with her family. He claims that he worked steadily as an overall operator and sent regular remittances to his wife. Nine months after his arrival here Mrs. Morozoff and the baby followed.

*Occupational history.*—Mr. Morozoff is a tailor by trade and followed this occupation in Russia. When he went to London be became a pants operator, and on his arrival in the United States found work as an overall operator. He has had various other jobs, such as distributing advertisements, carrying building materials while a house was under construction, and has also made awnings. He feels, however, that he is not able to attempt anything but tailoring.

*Medical history.*—Mr. Morozoff asserts that with the exception of a very few times when he suffered from "cramps" he has never been ill. He does not feel that he has any physical handicap. (For further medical history kindly consult Dispensary record.)

*Social history.*—[Identical with that of Mrs. Morozoff.]

*Experience of the Bureau.*—During our nine years contact with the family we have found it necessary to assist them intermittently. This was

probably due to the seasonal unemployment characteristic of Mr. Morozoff's trade and to his inability to secure work in any other line during such periods. He seems to lack initiative and sufficient power to try a different line of work in order to meet the deficiency in wages. To our knowledge the highest amount he has ever earned was $35 a week. This occurred during the height of the season in his own trade. We were told by his employer that he is a very mediocre workman. He denied his wife's assertion that his demands upon her are excessive. He refused to discuss the matter further and ended it by becoming very angry and displaying a temper that would surprise the casual observer, because of his apparently natural slowness and calmness.

Mr. Morozoff says that although he is very fond of his children, he is often forced to think of leaving them as he can no longer tolerate his wife's actions. He says that she has no respect for him, and often resorts to quarreling with him and insulting him in the presence of the children, who in turn do likewise. He has great admiration for his wife, because he feels that she is intellectually superior, and contends that if it were not for her "crazy nervousness," the entire family would be in a much happier state. He does not think that her present mental and physical condition are due to any fault of his, but rather to the fact that practically every member of her family has been subject to physical disability or mental disturbance. He asserts that had he known this at the time he was about to marry her he would certainly have changed his mind. Life has been made intolerable for him because Mrs. Morozoff has been sick for so many years. He told us that if he only could have looked into the future, he would have thrown his wife into the "river" years ago and thus freed himself of what he calls "a rotten life."

He is positive that neither he nor his wife is able to bring their children up properly. He admits that he is completely overpowered by the problem and thinks Mrs. Morozoff is in no physical condition to meet it. The explanation of his own inability is simply that he "doesn't understand." He has given the impression of being an easygoing, indifferent type of person. He largely attributes the present state of his affairs to the fact that he has "no luck in America," and to his wife's perpetual illness. He, however, seems unable to take the reins in his own hand or even meet or tide over the difficulties arising in the family. We, on the other hand, are unable to make any definite plans for the family because we are handicapped by not knowing how to treat this incompetence on the part of both father and the mother.

*Later.*—Received information that Mr. Morozoff is to be at the Dispensary on Monday morning, November 5.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mr. Morozoff and notified him of appointment, which he promised to keep.

Met Mrs. Morozoff and took her to Dr. Caplan's office. On walking through the downtown streets, worker could not help but observe how interested, alive, and alert she was in passing the different shops. She said that she wishes that some day she might go through White's, as she has heard so much about the department store and has never been in there. Worker told her that, as soon as she was through with her doctors' visits and felt better, we would surely plan an afternoon downtown. Mrs. Morozoff replied that it would be more worth while for her to go through the different shops now and not bother about going to the doctors as the latter could not be of any help to her anyhow.

*November 4, 1923.*—Telephoned Mr. Morozoff again reminding him of appointment at Dispensary.

*November 5, 1923.*—Met Mr. and Mrs. Morozoff at the Dispensary. Started Mr. Morozoff through and took Mrs. Morozoff to Tuberculosis Clinic. Also arranged for X-ray pictures required.

*Later.*—Notified Mr. Morozoff of appointment for next day in the Eye Clinic. He again stated that he simply would not attend every day, but nevertheless promised to appear for the following appointment.

*Later.*—Advised Mrs. Morozoff of the appointment for the following day.

*November 7, 1923.*—Met Mrs. Morozoff at the Dispensary but examination could not be made that day.

*Later.*—Called Mr. Morozoff and advised him of the appointment for the afternoon in the Ear, Nose, and Throat Clinic.

*Later.*—Gave Mrs. Morozoff a card with Mr. Morozoff's appointment for November 8, 1923. Mrs. Morozoff told worker that Harry refuses to return to the Ear Clinic and that his ears are in very bad condition. He is finished with visiting the Eye Dispensary and has had his glasses changed there. Mrs. Morozoff says that it is impossible for her to manage Harry and he has gotten into the habit of calling her names. He is simply beyond her control and beyond that of his father. He goes out whenever he pleases and returns whenever he wishes to. She said the children quarrel incessantly and she has no power over them. She said that in the morning by the time the children go to school she is so worn out trying to meet their wishes that she is absolutely exhausted.

*November 8, 1923.*—Mrs. Morozoff telephoned that she had received the stove that the Bureau had ordered.

*November 9, 1923.*—Letter sent to Home-Finding Bureau to arrange for placing the children while Mrs. Morozoff went to the hospital.

*November 12, 1923.*—Called Mr. Morozoff on the telephone and notified him of appointment for the following morning (November 13, 1923) at the office of Dr. Henry, the neurologist. Mr. Morozoff said that he would not go. He did not feel that there was any use in his going and did not want to leave the shop. After much persuasion, however, he promised to meet worker.

*November 13, 1923.*—Mr. Morozoff went to Dr. Henry's office.

*Later.*—Left appointment for Mr. Morozoff to be at the Dispensary on the afternoon of November 15.

*November 15, 1923.*—Mr. Morozoff telephoned to say that he was keeping appointment, but this was absolutely the last one that he would keep. Worker advised him that he would not be called upon to attend any other clinics. Word received that Mrs. Morozoff was the first on the list and would probably be able to go to the hospital any day.

*November 16, 1923.*—Letter sent to the Home-Finding Bureau asking that they be prepared to take the children.

*November 19, 1923.*—Letter received from Home-Finding Bureau saying that they could care for the children.

*November 21, 1923.*—Mrs. Morozoff telephoned that she was feeling very ill.

*Later.*—Telephoned Dispensary. Left doctor's call.

*November 22, 1923.*—Spoke to Head of Home-Finding Bureau and told her of conditions in the Morozoff family and that we may be able to get a bed shortly. She said that the Bureau will be able to board the children the early part of the coming week so that we could accept, for Mrs. Morozoff, the next bed vacated at the hospital.

Mr. Morozoff telephoned to say that Mrs. Morozoff was still feeling ill, that no doctor from the Dispensary had called and that it had been necessary for the family to call a private physician in the evening. Requested that worker come to see Mrs. Morozoff.

*November 23, 1923.*—Called. Found Mr. Morozoff at home cleaning the house. He said that his wife had gone to the Dispensary that morning, and was very anxious to know whether there would be a bed vacant for her as she was feeling bad and wished to go to the hospital. He had not been able to go to work as he had to stay home with his wife.

*Later.*—Called worker at Dispensary and was told that she did not know definitely at that time whether or not there was an empty bed for Mrs. Morozoff.

*Later.*—Discussed with Mr. Morozoff the plan of having the furniture put into storage. He felt that this would be the best idea as no doubt Mrs. Morozoff would not be able to take care of the household and the children on her return from the hospital. Explained to him, however, that it would be necessary for him to contribute something toward the maintenance of the children and toward the warehouse expenses. He said that he realized this and would certainly do it, but he was afraid that he would not have any work at his own trade. Told him that during the slack season he must get work at any trade at all.

*Later.*—Called at school and spoke to Harry's teacher. Was told that Harry was extremely irritable in class. He quarrels incessantly and complains that other boys are continually striking him or picking quarrels with him. The teacher did not think that he was inherently bad, but felt that he did not get the proper supervision at home and that he seems to be worried all of the time. She also feels that his physical condition is not up to par. Worker explained to her that the only findings were connected with his eyes. This defective vision has been attended to, and at present he is attending the Ear, Nose, and Throat Clinic of the Dispensary because his ears are in a very bad state. His work is fair. He might be able to do better work if he would concentrate. He is very headstrong and resents being corrected or spoken to. His attendance has been very irregular due to the fact that he has had to go to the Dispensary so often during school hours and also because the illness of his mother keeps him at home. His behavior in school is not good. The teacher felt that Harry is difficult to handle because of his nervousness and extreme irritability.

Rosa does not seem to grasp work very quickly although she tries hard. She is clean and neat in school. She seems to be interested at all times, but is not strong in her work. Her conduct is good.

Esther's work is very good. She is a very lovable child. She is naturally bright and is fond of her school work. Her personal appearance is not at all times very neat.

While visiting the classes worker received a message stating that Home-Finding Bureau requested worker to call.

*Later.*—Called Home-Finding Bureau and was told that the Morozoff children could be placed that day.

*Later.*—Called at the home. Mrs. Morozoff was told that she was to report at the hospital that afternoon. Brought the children to Home-Finding Bureau.

*December 4, 1923.*—Called at the Empire Warehouse. Made arrangements to have the Morozoff furniture called for on the morning of December 5.

*Later.*—Telephone Mr. Morozoff and advised him of this.

*December 5, 1923.*—Mr. Morozoff telephoned to say that the furniture had been called for.

The following letter received from the Director of the Social Service Department of the Dispensary:

*Re* Lewis Morozoff
No. 8706B

The above patient came before the Diagnostic Clinic November 22. Mr. Morozoff was found to be a mental defective. He cannot make an adequate living because he is mentally deficient, and being mentally deficient he also cannot cope with the situation of living with a hysterical wife, a psychopathic individual.

The group recommends that a separation, a temporary one at least, be effected between Mr. and Mrs. Morozoff and that the children be taken care of elsewhere. Medically, Mr. Morozoff was found to be negative.

*Later.*—Telephoned call from hospital stating that Mrs. Morozoff was going to be discharged that afternoon.

*Later.*—Mrs. Morozoff in office. Telephoned Mrs. Ratsky, friend of Mrs. Morozoff, who said that she would be willing to keep Mrs. Morozoff overnight or until a room could be found for her. Mrs. Ratsky herself cannot keep her indefinitely as she has no available space.

*December 6, 1923.*—Called Mrs. Morozoff. She said Mrs. Ratsky is going out to look for a suitable room for her and would let worker know immediately. She is very anxious to live in the neighborhood where Mrs. Ratsky is as they are very good friends.

*December 7, 1923.*—Called at Mrs. Ratsky's home, 1500 Buffalo Avenue. It was evident to worker that Mrs. Ratsky is very fond of Mrs. Morozoff. Mrs. Ratsky is an elderly woman, and judging from the way in which she spoke of Mrs. Morozoff, advising her to take care of herself, etc., and seeing that she was properly clothed before going out, her affection for Mrs. Morozoff was quite plain.

*Later.*—Went to see two of the rooms suggested by Mrs. Morozoff. One was entirely unsuitable. The other one was quite large, had good

ventilation, and was very clean. It has a big well-equipped bed, dresser, chair, and a rug. The house itself was very warm. Although not steam heated it was furnished with furnace heat. Mrs. Morozoff was given the privilege of using the kitchen any time she wanted to, and also could bathe every day. The Bureau will pay $15 a month for the room. Mrs. Morozoff seemed very satisfied and happy. Advised her to come to the Dispensary the afternoon of December 13.

*December 11, 1923.*—Letter received from Home-Finding Bureau.

*December 13, 1923.*—Met Mrs. Morozoff at a meeting of the Diagnostic Group, which recommended that Mrs. Morozoff live away from her family and receive treatment for hysteria.

*Later.*—Explained to Mrs. Morozoff that living away from her family as she was at present doing was part of the treatment recommended by the doctors; that we expected her to eat properly. Instructed her not to worry about anything nor to imagine that she had any ills, etc.

*December 14, 1923.*—Learned from Free Employment Bureau that Mr. Morozoff was employed by Mr. Isaac Waldman, who runs a cleaning and dyeing establishment. When business is in full swing Mr. Morozoff should earn on the average of $30 a week. He is boarding at 4383 Fourteenth Street.

*December 19, 1923.*—Letter sent to Home-Finding Bureau.

Mrs. Morozoff in office. Stated she had just come on a friendly visit to see the worker. She looks very much better physically and claims that she is feeling very much better. She also said that her appetite is improving, and in fact hopes she will be able to manage on the money given her to buy the food which she feels she wants to eat now. This is quite a difference as usually she was unable to eat any food whatsoever. She seems very much happier, and when worker told her that we had been told Mr. Morozoff moved near her boarding home, she said with her usual sarcasm that she knew no matter how hard she tried she couldn't get rid of him, nor keep him away from her, but she wished worker to know that she did not instigate the present state of affairs—in fact she had advised him to move to a different neighborhood. Told her that she would be invited to the mothers' party. She is very anxious and eager to go and suggested that she would like to sing for the mothers. Also gave her a ticket for an entertainment given at the People's Alliance.

Later on when Mrs. Morozoff shows very definite signs of physical and mental improvement, steps will be taken to interest her in the

Workshops, so that she may be partially self-supporting at least, together with the fact that working in the shops will open up another avenue of interest for her.

*December 28, 1923.*—The following letter received from the director of the Social Service Department of the Dispensary:

*Re* Esther Morozoff
No. 80493

The above patient again came before the Diagnostic Clinic December 13. Upon previous recommendation Mrs. Morozoff had been sent into the hospital for a gall-bladder and genito-urinary survey. The result of the findings from this survey were negative.

The group further recommends that the patient's family be separated from her and that she be treated in the Mental Hygiene Clinic of the Dispensary for hysteria. An appointment for Mrs. Morozoff has been made for January 3, 1924.

*December 31, 1923.*—Met Mrs. Morozoff in office. She had come to get clothes which had been ordered for her. She claims that she is very nervous and had been ill the past few days. Worker again spoke to her and explained that the manner in which she is now living is simply a form of medicine which we hope will cure her from whatever nervousness she may think she has, that she has been examined by many physicians who have not found any physical trouble that is alarming. She complained about the room in which she is living and said it is too cold for her and that she knows of another room in a steam-heated flat in the same house in which her friend, Mrs. Ratsky, is living. This room is $15 a month and Mrs. Morozoff is very anxious to take it. She said that it is a front bedroom with a large window. The house is warm all of the time. She will have kitchen privileges and can take a bath any time that she wants to. She will also be near Mrs. Ratsky, with whom she is always very happy. Advised her to make the change if she wished to. Worker asked Mrs. Morozoff how she spends her time during the day. She said that she goes visiting and is spending much of her time reading. She also told worker that she is reading English as much as she possibly can. It was apparent, however, that she was very much worried about the children and at times Mrs. Morozoff gave the impression that she wished she could have them back in her own household. She agreed, however, that she realizes her present mode of living is helping her as far as her health is concerned. She is going to try to interest herself in various things so that her mind will not dwell upon the children, etc.

*Later.*—Mr. Morozoff in office at request of worker. He is still working at the same place but not regularly and is only employed about three hours a day. He stated that he would be more than willing to contribute toward the care of the children and give the sum stipulated by the Home-Finding Bureau if he were only earning enough. The highest wages he received were $12 one week, and he needs this to cover his own expenses. He feels that Mrs. Morozoff is looking very much better, but he despairs that she will ever change as far as her characteristics are concerned. He is of the opinion most emphatically that she will always worry, will always be nervous, and will never be satisfied. He agreed with worker, however, that our present plan should at least be tried out for some length of time until we could be assured of results. Mr. Morozoff has visited the children. He says they look very well and seem to be happy. He told worker that whenever he meets Mrs. Morozoff she has an English book with her and is constantly reading. When he asked her why she does not read Yiddish, she said that it was time that she knew some English and besides she did not want to break her promise to worker to try and read English. Worker will try and interest Mrs. Morozoff in going to the People's Alliance for the English classes there.

*January 11, 1924.*—The following letter sent to the director of the Social Service Department of the Dispensary:

*Re* Esther Morozoff
No. 80493

May we ask you kindly to co-operate with us in the following: On December 28 the Diagnostic Group recommended that Mrs. Morozoff be separated from her family and that she be treated in your clinic. We have been wondering whether it would not be a good plan to work with Mrs. Morozoff along lines that would ultimately make it possible for us to induce her to go into Industrial Workshops for a few hours each day. It is very possible that at present she has too much time in which to think of her supposed illnesses and we find that she is indulging in these thoughts. There is also a danger that she will become pauperized if the Welfare Bureau continues indefinitely to contribute.

May we ask you, therefore, to kindly let us know whether or not you would consider treating Mrs. Morozoff with the above-mentioned object in view.

*January 14, 1924.*—Met Mrs. Morozoff at the Storage Warehouse to see whether we could not get some of her clothes which Mr. Morozoff had stored. Was unable to do this as the clothing was

packed and the keeper did not know the exact place. Suggested that Mr. Morozoff be asked to look for it.

*January 18, 1924.*—Letter received from Dispensary, saying that worker's plan had been referred to the Mental Hygiene Clinic.

*January 28, 1924.*—Mrs. Morozoff at the Dispensary. She told worker that she is very happy in her new home as there is always plenty of heat. She said her only worry at present is the fact that she has such a very large appetite and the funds received from the Bureau hardly cover this. Worker could not help noticing the improvement in her physical condition. Worker went on to talk with Mrs. Morozoff about the possibility of going into the Industrial Shops and was told that she would be very glad to do this but was afraid that she would not be able to go into the Sewing Shop because of the fact that her eyes bothered her when she did any close work. Asked how she spent her spare time and was told that she is going to learn how to read English, and when worker suggested going to the People's Alliance she said she would gladly do so as soon as the weather was a little warmer. She goes to the movies once a week. She told worker that she sees Mr. Morozoff very infrequently. She seemed more calm than usual.

*January 19, 1924.*—Letter received from Mental Hygiene Clinic of Dispensary, approving the plan of having Mrs. Morozoff work in the Industrial Workshops, spending three hours a day there and reporting for treatment at regular intervals to the Dispensary.

*February 12, 1924.*—Letter written supervisor of Industrial Workshops, making application for Mrs. Morozoff's admission to the Industrial Workshops.

## SECTION III

## CASES IN WHICH THERE ARISES THE PROBLEM OF "NON-RESIDENCE" OR OF INADEQUATE ADJUSTMENT TO THE COMMUNITY

### 14. The Family of Tito Lucca

*(An Italian Laborer Permanently Incapacitated by an Incurable Skin Disease)*

*September 25, 1917.*[1]—The House of Help [a Settlement in one of the crowded[2] Italian neighborhoods] reported the family and asked investigation. The man is ill, and there are six children. No agency is registered on the case.

*September 26, 1917.*—Visited. The family was found with some difficulty. In inquiring for the family, visitor was told by neighbors that a new family had moved to the first floor of the rear house on the lot about a week before, that the man had such an "awful-looking face" that one tenant had moved away. Visitor finally found the landlord, who said that he knew nothing about the family except that a week ago they came from the country and that the man's sister whose name the landlord does not know, although she lives on the second floor of the front house, has paid a month's rent ($11). Landlord's wife handles all the business.

Visitor went to second floor front and found an old lady, Mr. Lucca's mother, who could speak no English. She called a neighbor to interpret and called Mr. Lucca, who was in the front room. Another neighbor went to ask the sister, Mrs. Pagini, and Mrs. Lucca, who had gone to the baker's, to come home.

Mr. Lucca's face and forehead are terribly disfigured; it makes one fairly ill to look at him. The neighbor who interpreted cried

[1] [There are in this record four episodes: (1) September 26, 1917—March 17, 1919; (2) March 17, 1919—March 18, 1921; (3) March 18, 1921—July 15, 1922; (4) July 15, 1922 to present time. During the first the question of the legal residence of the family is important.]

[2] [This is one of the older areas in which there are often two or even three buildings on a lot. See "Housing Conditions in Chicago, VII. Two Italian Districts," *American Journal of Sociology*, XVIII, 509.]

most of the time while talking for him. Said it made her heart sick. The story he gave was as follows:

He and his wife come from the same town in Italy, where they were married in 1900. They came to the United States in 1904 and have lived in Lewiston, Illinois, for the past thirteen years, and, up to the time of his accident, he was employed in a mine. Could not give the name of the mine. About five and a half years ago he was walking along the track in the mine when some men who were pushing a car behind him shoved him off the track; he fell and broke his arm. As nearly as he could explain, he felt that the doctor who attended him did not know what was the trouble and did not treat him properly. Blood poisoning resulted, and he had ten operations on his face. From the state he received $20 per month and, from what he called the "city," $10 per month. A church society gave $6.00 a week for three weeks and $2.00 thereafter for six months. They lived on this amount for over five years, but it was such a meager amount for eight people that he went to the city and told them it was impossible to subsist on it any longer and that if they could not give him more he would have to go elsewhere with his family. Mr. Lucca said they told him to go. He wrote to his sister, Mrs. Pagini, telling her of the situation, and she sent him $30. A week ago he and his family came to Chicago and moved into the first floor, rear house, the sister having paid the rent for one month. She now says that she can do nothing further for them. Mr. Pagini, his sister's husband, is a laborer, who does not work regularly, and they have five children. She will also be confined very soon. His mother, sixty years old, lives with Mr. and Mrs. Pagini. He has no other brothers or sisters, and Mrs. Lucca has no relatives in the United States. Mr. Lucca is a citizen; he has no insurance. There are six children living: Angelina (born June 26, 1902), Palma (born March 13, 1906), Lucy (born January 20, 1908), Joseph (born October 30, 1911), Mary (born February 1, 1913), Frank (born Feburary 15, 1915); and two dead. Mrs. Lucca says she is willing to work but could find no employment in Lewiston. Mr. Lucca says that he feels well and is strong, but no one will employ him in his condition.

Told Mr. and Mrs. Lucca and his sister that the County Agent would undoubtedly give them transportation to Lewiston if they were willing to return and that if they refuse they would have to be responsible for their own support. Advised them to go to the Deportation Agent in the County Agent's office and talk with him about the

matter. They seemed unwilling to consider this, insisting that they could not live in Lewiston on $30 a month. Mrs. Pagini knows Mrs. Besorgno[1] (she is godmother to one of her children), and it was she who reported the family to the House of Help.

Talked with Mrs. Besorgno, 2110 East Street, explaining to her the situation given above.

*October 8, 1917.*—Miss Cutler, House of Help, telephoned that Mrs. Besorgno was there yesterday with Mrs. Lucca, asking what could be done for them. Miss Cutler said she went over the matter very carefully, telling them about the County Agent and that he would have to handle the situation. The assistance they were getting from what they call the "city" in Lewiston was from the Mothers' Aid. Miss Cutler told them that if they did not decide to return very soon she feared that they would lose it. She also told them that if they refused the transportation of the County Agent they would have to look out for themselves while they stayed in Chicago. They agreed to think the matter over and let Miss Cutler know their decision.

*October 9, 1917.*—Telephoned Miss Cutler; she has heard nothing further from Mrs. Lucca or from Mrs. Besorgno.

*October 20, 1917.*—Miss Reber, Visiting Nurse, called, asking if we knew family. When she called yesterday they seemed in need. Gave her report.

*November 12, 1917.*—Miss Stearns, Juvenile Court officer, in office. The County Deportation Agent has referred the family to Juvenile Court for returning to Lewiston. He has learned from there that they were Lewiston residents and had received $10 a month from the Overseer of the Poor.

[The following correspondence is of interest at this point:]

Letter from the County Deportation Agent, Charity Service, to the Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, dated November 8, 1917:

I wish to report the non-resident case of Mr. Tito Lucca, his wife, and six children, who came to Chicago about five weeks ago from Lewiston, Illinois, where they have lived for fourteen years prior to coming to Chicago.

The family have applied to this office for relief. We communicated with the authorities of Lewiston, Illinois, and have now received a reply in which it is stated that the family belong in Lewiston and were receiving $10 per month from the Overseer of the Poor.

[1] [She was a well-known member of the Italian community.]

Mr. Lucca is unable to work on account of injuries received in the mines at Lewiston, and the family will, no doubt, be permanently dependent unless returned.

They have refused to return to Lewiston at the expense of this County, and I would, therefore, request that you kindly have a petition filed, and the family brought into court, with a view to having an order issued by the Court, compelling them to return to Lewiston, where they legally belong, if necessary in charge of an officer.

I trust you will give this matter your earliest attention, advising me of the date of hearing.

Letter to the Lewiston Associated Charities from the Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court of Cook County, Chicago, dated November 26, 1917:

I am writing you for information regarding the family of Tito and Carlotta Lucca, who moved from Lewiston to Chicago some time in September of this year.

Shortly after coming to Chicago the family applied to the County Agent and the Welfare Agency for aid.

An investigation on the part of the County Agent shows that the family does not belong to this county, but to Lewiston County. The Deportation Agent is at present considering deporting them.

We should like to know what contact you have had with the Lucca family. Can you give us any information regarding the injury that Mr. Lucca states he received in some mine several years ago? Can you give us any information regarding the condition of his face?

At present Mr. Lucca states that the family is self-supporting. As he refuses to see a doctor, we cannot determine whether or not his physical condition will permit him to do any work.

Can you also give us any information regarding a minister calling himself the Rev. B. A. Leopardi, who tells us that he lived in Lewiston for eight years and that it was through his efforts the Lucca family moved to Chicago.

We shall be grateful for any other information you can give us that will be helpful in making a plan for this family.

Letter from the Lewiston Associated Charities to the Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court of Cook County, Chicago, dated November 27, 1917:

The family of Tito and Carlotta Lucca have been known to the Society since its inception in March, 1913. During all this time Mr. Lucca has been suffering from Lupus, or tuberculosis of the skin of the face, and the disease has been steadily progressing, although during the entire time he was constantly under the care of the best surgeons in the community. He

has been treated many times in one of our hospitals and every local means used to make his condition as tolerable as possible. The attending physician has always informed us that the disease is non-infectious, and there is no permanent cure. The general health of Mr. Lucca has been apparently good, but no outside work has been possible by reason of his hideous disfigurement. The only record which we have of an injury in a mine is that of a broken arm sustained in 1911. This injury seems to have left no permanent effect.

The family received constant aid from public and private sources, until the departure of the family for Chicago in September of this year. Mr. Lucca was a member of an Italian fraternal organization and received a sick benefit from them during 1913 and 1914. In 1914 the family were found to be receiving much disorganized assistance, and the children were sent out to beg in this and neighboring communities. After a great deal of effort the relief forces were co-ordinated, adequate assistance secured for them and the begging was stopped. Before Mr. Lucca's sickness he started buying a little house, borrowing the money from a local private bank. The officials of the bank allowed him to live in this house without paying the interest on the mortgage. The County Supervisor gave $10 a month and fuel in winter. The Associated Charities gave them an average of $2.00 a week in groceries, extra fuel, one quart of milk daily and shoes and clothing as needed. The Infant Welfare Department supplied milk for the babies. In April, 1915, the Mothers' Pension of $20 was secured from the County by reason of Mr. Lucca's incurable illness. The Associated Charities ceased giving the order for groceries but did supply extra flour as needed. A garden on their own lot supplied the family with vegetables for summer and winter, and they earned a fair amount by selling surplus vegetables. In October, 1916, the Mothers' Pension was cut to $16, as Angelina had reached the age of fourteen. We arranged, however, so that she stayed in school, as after several years of irregular attendance and unsatisfactory scholarship she had begun to do really good work.

We were much encouraged by the manner in which she planned with our workers regarding the expenditure of their income. The past summer Mr. Lucca announced that he would not allow Angelina to return to school in September. The girl was very anxious to finish the eighth grade, and we thought it wise that she do this. A school pension was consequently arranged for from a private source, and the offer made to the family, but it was refused. A few days later they announced their intention of going to Chicago and living with relatives. It was very evident that they expected the assistance which they had received here to be continued by Cook County and Chicago agencies, although we told them decidedly that this would not be possible and that they would be returned to Lewiston should they apply for aid. They said that it was arranged that Mrs. Lucca and Angelina should both work in the Carmen Garter Factory and that the whole family

would live with Mrs. Dick Pagini, a sister of Mr. Lucca. We have always been sure that the Paginis gave the family more or less regular assistance although the Luccas always denied it. Mrs. Rosa Lucca, the grandmother, lived in Lewiston the greater part of the time but always left for Chicago when she seemed needed here, particularly at the time of the advent of the babies. It is true that Rev. B. A. Leopardi was the one who encouraged them to beg and we know that he made a strong effort to get control of the Mothers' Pension when it was granted. Something over a year ago the Congregational church had a new pastor, and he considered it best to have his church give up their assistance and interest in the mission, so Mr. Leopardi left the city.

Personally we are willing to say that the dealings which he had with our Society were not of a sort to inspire our confidence in any way. Before the Luccas left the city the bank sold the house for them, and they had a small amount of money remaining after the mortgage was paid, but we are not able to state the exact amount. We recognize the fact, of course, that the Luccas still have legal residence in Lewiston County. It is very uncertain, however, whether the judge of the County Court will renew the Mothers' Pension should they return, since they left against the advice of the Probation Officer and others who are interested in them.

Letter from the Cook County Deportation Agent to the Deputy Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court of Cook County, Chicago, dated December 11, 1917:

Will you kindly refer to my letter of November 8, *in re* non-resident case of Tito Lucca and family of 2450 West Street, and advise present status of case.

I received a letter dated November 10 in which it is stated that the case was assigned to one of your officers who would report action taken.

The family came from Lewiston, Illinois, and the township had been giving them $10 per month some time before they came to Chicago.

Mr. Lucca is in such condition that it is doubtful whether he will ever be able to secure employment, and the family consists of himself, wife, and six small children.

Cook County should not be burdened with the care of this family, and I would request that you kindly have the case brought into court as early as possible, with a view to compelling the family to return to Lewiston, Illinois, where they legally belong, and where they lived for fourteen years prior to coming to Chicago in September of this year.

Letter from the Juvenile Court of Cook County, Chicago, to the Assistant County Agent, dated December 12, 1917:

Our officer has made an investigation with regard to the Lucca family and finds that Angelina is working in the Carmen Garter Company, earning

$6.00 per week. Mr. and Mrs. Lucca work at home for the same factory and make $8.00 to $10.00 per week themselves. The family has not applied for aid for some time.

Rev. B. A. Leopardi is greatly interested in the family. He says that he is willing to sign an affidavit that this family will never become dependent upon Cook County, and he is determined to fight any attempt to return them to Lewiston.

We do not see at the present time that we have grounds for action in this court, while we are of the opinion that the family should be returned at once.

Our stand in this case was explained to you by an officer of this court in conference at your office, and I am merely confirming this by letter.

*December 5, 1917.*—Miss Stearns, Juvenile Court, in office; reports that case came up in Juvenile Court Committee.[1] It was decided that as the family was not actually dependent they should not be deported by the Juvenile Court. The Deportation Agent plans to take the case into the County Court, where he believes deportation will be secured. It was learned during the investigation that the family occupied in Lewiston a comfortable little home, on which they were making payments. An Italian minister, Mr. Leopardi, urged them to come to Chicago and is insistent that they stay here. Mr. Lucca's trouble is diagnosed Lupus.

*February 21, 1918.*—School Children's Aid has registered. They will give clothing unless advised to the contrary.

*Later.*—Telephoned Deportation Agent. He thinks that all aid here should be refused.

*Later.*—Letter written Miss Stearns, Juvenile Court, Chicago:

*Re* Lucca, 2450 West Street, Tito and Carlotta; Angelina (born June 26, 1902), Palma (born March 13, 1906), Lucy (born January 20, 1908), Joseph (born October 30, 1911), Mary (born February 1, 1913), Frank (born February 15, 1915).

You will remember the Lucca family of 2450 West Street, who were in the Juvenile Court in December. Mr. Lucca, as you know, has Lupus, and I wonder if at that time it was determined whether he was an open case. This now seems highly likely, and in that event I think it would be advisable to quarantine the family. In which case they might be deported through

[1] [See Helen R. Jeter, *The Chicago Juvenile Court* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 104), p. 100, for account of this committee. The Juvenile Court could have acted only by declaring the children dependent and depriving the parents of their custody.]

the activities of the Health Department. The situation has come up for us once more as the School Children's Aid are asking whether they shall supply clothing. The Deportation Agent feels very strongly that this should not be done, and it seems to me that if we could ever justifiably stand for deportation for any family this is one.

*February 25, 1918.*—Letter written to Miss Lawson, School Children's Aid:

We have a registration from the School Children's Aid asking our advice as to whether clothing should be supplied for the Lucca children. The family is an Italian family who came to Chicago from Lewiston, Illinois, in September, 1917. Mr. Lucca has Lupus, or tuberculosis of the skin, and is terribly disfigured. They were well cared for in Lewiston, where they had lived for thirteen years, as it was possible for them to receive county aid and help through the Funds to Parents law. Here it is not possible for any public agency to assist them as they are not legally resident. This seems so dangerous to the children from the point of view of possible contagion that I feel we should not keep them here. The Deportation Agent has asked us not to supply anything, even clothing. If Mr. Lucca is now a danger to the family it may be the Health Department will quarantine them and eventually send them back to the county in which Mr. Lucca can receive sanitarium care and the family support.

*February 26, 1918.*—Deportation Agent telephones that Mr. Lucca has been in his office; said family have not asked for aid of any kind. He asks that we write him a letter stating that the School Children's Aid has taken up the family.

*February 27, 1918.*—Letter received from the Juvenile Court:

We have received your letter of recent date regarding Tito and Carlotta Lucca, who have been living at 2450 West Street. Our contact with the family ceased in December, 1917. At that time our investigation showed that the family was self-supporting. Angelina worked in the Carmen Garter Company, earning $6.00 a week. Mr. and Mrs. Lucca did work at home for the same factory, making from $6.00 to $10 a week. We reported to the Deportation Agent that we had no grounds for bringing the case into court at that time. He stated that he expected to take up the matter with the County Court. We have never had a doctor's diagnosis regarding Mr. Lucca. Miss Carpenter of the Lewiston Associated Charities informed us that Mr. Lucca was under the care of the best doctors of Lewiston during the time the family lived there, and that they said the disease was not infectious, although there is no known permanent cure. In case you have a report from a doctor stating that Mr. Lucca is a menace to his family or to the community, the case could be taken up again.

*February 28, 1918.*—Miss Clay, volunteer, visited Taylor School and learned that four of the Lucca children received aid February 14. Met Miss Torrey of Western Chapel in the schoolroom. She said that Mr. Leopardi, a Protestant Italian minister, had asked them to help the family. Said he knew the family in Lewiston, where he also lived. Explained the situation to her and to the teacher. Miss Torrey said she would take up with Mr. Leopardi the question of their return to Lewiston.

*Later.*—Telephoned physician in Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Clinic, who said that he would put a quarantine officer on the case at once.

*Later.*—Letter written Deportation Agent:

I found after talking with you about the Lucca family the other day that clothing was given to the children February 14 through the Taylor School, who appealed for it to the School Children's Aid. While our visitor was at the school, Miss Torrey of Western Chapel came in. She said that Mr. Leopardi, who conducts a Protestant-Italian mission on South Street, had asked Western Chapel to help the family. He is the very man of whom you told me, who made the statement in court that the family would not become dependent. I telephoned the physician of the Municipal Tuberculosis Dispensary concerning Mr. Lucca's condition and possible contagion, and he said that he would send a quarantine officer at once. Would it not be possible to take up the question of returning the family to Lewiston since Mr. Leopardi, who became responsible for them in court, is already asking aid for them? I should be very glad if our visitor can help out on this in any way.

*March 5, 1918.*—Miss Lawson, School Children's Aid, telephoned to say that clothing had been given the family before Family Welfare report was received. It was necessary to give promptly as children were out of school on this account. They will keep Agency's letter and follow suggestion in future.

*March 7, 1918.*—Letter received from Deportation Agent:

Your letter of February 28, referring to the Lucca family received. We are ready at any time to pay the transportation for this family's return to Lewiston, Illinois. If you can get the consent of the family to return or the Juvenile Court to order their return, we will see that arrangements are made at once for their transportation.

*March 18, 1918.*—Telephoned Miss Torrey. She will be able to go with visitor March 22 to talk with them about returning to Lewiston. Is glad to have opportunity to visit family as children attend Western Chapel.

*March 22, 1918.*—Visited with Miss Torrey. Mr. Lucca left for Minnesota March 5; he is with some railroad, working on the tracks. Secured the work through his brother-in-law, Mr. Pagini, who is employed by the same company. Mr. Pagini left Chicago February 19, and his "gang" was sent to Blackfoot, Montana. Mrs. Pagini, who was present, showed letter which had just come from him. Both men were to receive $2.60 per day. Mrs. Lucca has not heard from her husband, nor has he sent any money, but she thinks this is because he has not yet received his pay.

Mrs. Lucca is still doing work at home for the Carmen Company. Showed case of garters with which children were helping. She is paid $2.50 per case and sometimes does two and three cases per week. Angelina is still employed by the same company at the factory, earning $6.00 per week.

Mrs. Lucca said they would not consider going back to Lewiston as neither she nor Angelina could find any employment there. They manage to get along on what they earn, though it is rather difficult.

Of her own accord Mrs. Lucca spoke of clothing from School Children's Aid. She had not told the children to ask for any, but they had done so because the other children were given clothing and they thought they were entitled to some too.

*March 26, 1918.*—Probation officer in office. Gave above report.

*April 9, 1918.*—Letter received from Deportation Agent: "Will you please refer to my letter of March 6 regarding the Lucca family and advise present status of the case and oblige."

*April 10, 1918.*—Letter written to Deportation Agent:

> When we last visited the Lucca family we found that Mr. Lucca had gone to Minnesota a few days after our last letter to you. He was to earn $2.60 a day working with a railroad gang. The family had not yet heard from him. Mrs. Lucca was doing home work for the Carmen Garter Company; with the children's help she earned $5.00 to $7.50 a week, and Angelina earned $6.00 in the factory. They again refused to return to Lewiston and said they could manage. The Juvenile Court Officer could see nothing that could be done under the circumstances.

*September 6, 1918.*—Mrs. Lucca in office with neighbor to interpret. Wanted to know if Welfare Agency knew of work for Mr. Lucca. He returned from Montana in June. Said he was some better, but his face is still "sore."

Angelina was married two weeks ago in court to her own cousin, Frank Montiori. They had known each other when family lived in

Lewiston, and he came on later to Chicago. Mrs. Lucca said that they had been going together off and on and that she learned that he had wronged her daughter. She insisted upon their being married and knows that they were because she saw the certificate. They left at once for Montana. Does not know their address and has not heard from them. This robs Mrs. Lucca of the support Angelina was giving her. Offered to arrange institutional care for the children but she refused this, saying she would go out to work herself.

*November 27, 1918.*—Miss Cutler, House of Help, telephones that Mrs. Lucca, who is a member of the Mothers' Club, has asked no assistance until last night, when she said that her earnings of $12 were not sufficient and asked for coal. Miss Cutler told her the House of Help does not give relief, but she has money she can spend for this if the Family Welfare Agency approves.

*Later.*—Telephoned the Juvenile Court and talked with probation officer. They can do something with the case only if we can get a doctor's certificate that Mr. Lucca's trouble is infectious. The physician in Lewiston thought that it was not.

*December 1, 1919.*—Probation officer in office. Mr. Lucca is not in infectious condition.

*February 6, 1919.*—Miss Cutler, House of Help, in office to read record. Mrs. Lucca is six months pregnant. One of their volunteers took her over to the Lying-In Dispensary this morning to arrange for her confinement. Mrs. Lucca has been working in a wire factory but was obliged to stop last week because of her condition. Miss Cutler said that she is not at all well. Mr. Lucca has been taking care of the children. Rent is paid to the twentieth. They hear nothing from their married daughter. Miss Cutler will take up matter of relief with County Agent. Yesterday the Settlement gave flour and oatmeal from their own supplies.

*February 7, 1919.*—Miss Cutler telephoned that she talked with County Agent, and he agreed to grant supplies.

*February 8, 1919.*—Miss Cutler telephoned that she had just returned from County Agent's office, where she went with Mrs. Lucca. County Agent refused supplies and told Mrs. Lucca that he was going to send her and her family back to Lewiston. Mrs. Lucca said that she wouldn't go, and County Agent said if she refused that he would place the children in a home and she and Mr. Lucca could shift by themselves. He referred to Mr. Leopardi, saying that he was to blame for the family's staying here. He said he would write him a

note to come down to his office and talk with him about the matter. He told Miss Cutler that he would call her as soon as he heard from Lewiston.

*February 27, 1919.*—Talked with Miss Cutler, House of Help. She had gone back to see County Agent taking Mrs. Lucca with her. He had forgotten the fact that they had been there before and when she stated the situation again he at once gave supplies. She also saw superintendent of the Lying-In Hospital, who said that Mrs. Lucca had been to their clinic that afternoon; she is in wretched condition and suffers considerable pain. They will take care of her confinement.

*March 5, 1919.*—Talked with general superintendent. He advised that Welfare Agency care for the family with Mr. Lucca removed from the home.

In conference with Visiting Nurse Association. Nurses feel that Mr. Lucca should be examined at the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium to secure medical opinion as to his remaining at home.

*March 7, 1919.*—Miss Torrey telephoned saying that Mr. Lucca is sick in bed; has a high fever. Thinks he may have influenza. She has called county doctor. Mrs. Lucca said that county supplies are about exhausted, but she had a letter from County Agent this morning inclosing a card and saying that he would give supplies again this coming month. Miss Torrey judged from this that he had dropped the matter with Lewiston and intends to continue giving relief.

*March 8, 1919.*—Sent grocery order for $3.00.

*March 11, 1919.*—Miss Torrey telephoned she had talked matter over with Mr. Lucca about going to County Infirmary, and he has promised to go. Volunteer will take him to County Agent asking for admission.

*March 15, 1919.*—Visited. Mr. Lucca asked if he could go to County Infirmary next week instead of March 17. Explained to him difficulty he would have asking County Agent to change their arrangement. Mr. Lucca will go March 17. Left cash grant $3.00.

*Later.*—Letter written to landlord, inclosing check of $10 in payment of rent from February 20 to March 20.

*March 17, 1919.*—Letter received from Miss Torrey inclosing the following letter written to her by County Agent:

I understand that you called at this office today with reference to having one Tito Lucca admitted to our County Infirmary at Oak Forest. We are

very familiar with this case, the attention of this family having been called to us on October 16, 1917. At that time they had been in residence but three weeks, having come from Lewiston, Illinois, where they had lived previous to coming to Chicago, for fourteen years. At the time of their application for relief in October, 1917, we communicated with the authorities of Lewiston County and had their consent to return the family to Lewiston, acknowledging that they were legal charges of their county. Mr. Lucca refused, however, at that time to return to Lewiston at the expense of this County, consequently no further relief was given them, as it is understood that when a non-resident family applies for relief and we are able to establish their legal settlement and obtain the consent of the authorities to return them one of two alternatives is given either to return at the expense of Cook County to where they are legally entitled to aid, or be cut off and denied any further assistance from this County. In December of 1917 we referred this case to the Juvenile Court with request that an order be issued by the Court compelling Mr. Lucca and his family to return to where they legally belong. There appeared at the hearing one Rev. B. A. Leopardi, who seemed to be very much interested in this family and who stated to the Court at that time that he was willing to sign an affidavit that the Lucca family would never become dependent upon Cook County and that he was determined to fight any attempt to return them to Lewiston County. Since that time the family have appealed to different organizations for help, who have in turn referred them to this department. It is certainly an injustice to the taxpayers of Cook County to be obliged to pay taxes for the support of individuals or families that are non-residents of this County after their legal residence is established, and the consent of the authorities of the County to which they belong is obtained to have them returned, and who are not only willing but obliged to support them. This County has all and more than it can do to support its own legal charges without allowing non-residents to remain here until they establish a legal settlement. The law distinctly states that, when a non-resident applies for relief in any form, such dependents shall be returned to the state or county to which they legally belong. I have written the Rev. Leopardi several times to call at this office to see me regarding this family, but for some reason he has ignored our communications. On February 27 I again referred the case to the Juvenile Court, informing them that this family were appealing for relief from the County and stated that inasmuch as the Rev. B. A. Leopardi had assured the Court, if the family are allowed to remain here, that at no time would they appeal to the County for assistance. We informed the Juvenile Court that, under the circumstances, it is now up to the Rev. Leopardi to see that this family are provided for.[1]

[1] [This statement of the County Agent contains the usual interpretation of the Pauper Law. See below, p. 847. A careful reading of the statute will justify,

*Later.*—Miss Torrey telephoned Mr. Lucca went to the County Infirmary this morning.[1]

*March 19, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca said that her husband was sent to the County Hospital for a few days and from there they will send him to Infirmary.

*March 20, 1919.*—Visited Taylor School. Joseph's teacher says he is well cared for and neat. Does good work and is bright. He is in first grade. Lucy's teacher said she is fair in her studies. Clothes not very well taken care of and seems to be poorly fed. Palma's teacher said that she was not well cared for, that the bath attendant reported that she was often dirty, and that she was not especially good in her studies though quite regular. She was absent today because her father had been taken to the hospital. She said that they were interested in the family and that last Christmas they had sent them canned goods.

*Later*—Miss Modelli, Italian visitor for the Charitable Corporation,[2] telephoned asking if we know the Lucca family. They were reported to her yesterday by a neighbor and when she called later in the afternoon, Mrs. Lucca told her no one was giving her any assistance. Miss Modelli gave her $2.00. The Church of the Holy Virgin paid last month's rent. Gave her a full report of our contact with family and our plan, telling her that our visitor had been in just before she came and left $8.50 cash grant. Miss Modelli said that Mrs. Lucca told her she was Catholic and would continue to be so. Said nothing to her about Western Chapel. Miss Modelli is willing to take over the supervision and support of the family or share the budget with Welfare Agency.

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however, a quite different interpretation, authorizing a return of applicants to the county of residence but directing that relief be given.

This letter illustrates in an admirably frank way the deterrent attitude of the Poor Law authorities and presents the logic on which a state-wide system of care and treatment should be urged. The entry of this date closes the first episode.]

[1] [The second episode is recorded in the entries between March 17, 1919, and March 18, 1921. During this period the Family Welfare Agency cares for the family until the period of residence conferring eligibility under the Mothers' Aid Law has elapsed. A budget is made out, and regular assistance is given. Many entries during this period are omitted. Mr. Lucca finds it difficult to remain away from the family, but submits to the condition in order that his family may receive aid. He does not go to the Infirmary until after two months at the County Hospital, where every effort was made to treat and cure his malady.]

[2] [A sectarian relief organization that did not at this time use the Social Service Registration Bureau.]

*March 22, 1919.*—Letter written to pastor of Western Chapel:

We find that the Church of the Holy Virgin has paid Mrs. Lucca's rent the same month for which she accepted rent from us. The Charitable Corporation also gave assistance the same day that we did. Miss Modelli came in just after we had given $8.50. Mrs. Lucca told her that she was receiving no help, so Miss Modelli gave $2.00. The Charitable Corporation wish to assist with the family and intimated that they would take over the relief entirely. When they suggest this on Catholic families, it is our custom to leave the situation to them entirely. If Mrs. Lucca has not joined the Protestant church and still receives assistance from her Catholic parish and the Charitable Corporation wish to take charge, I do not see that we can do other than let them. Please let me hear what you think about it at your earliest convenience, as I have not replied yet to the Charitable Corporation.

*March 25, 1919.*—The pastor of Western Chapel and Miss Torrey in office. It was decided that Mrs. Lucca should be left to decide what church she wanted to belong to. The pastor stated that the family had planned to join the church at Easter time.

*March 26, 1919.*—Visited. Mr. Lucca is still at the County Hospital. Talked with Mrs. Lucca of conference with Western Chapel and told her that it was decided that she should choose whether she will continue to attend Western Chapel or go to the Catholic church. Told her that we were willing that she should take time for the decision, also that Charitable Corporation were also willing to assist her. Mrs. Lucca said at once that she wanted to attend the Chapel and that she had joined the Protestant church while in Lewiston. Said that neighbors must have reported her to the Church of the Holy Virgin and that she did not herself appeal to them. Left cash grant, $8.50.

*April 7, 1919.*—Visited County Hospital and talked to nurse in Ward 32, who gave the following report with regard to Mr. Lucca: He was admitted March 17, 1919; diagnosis blastomycosis, skin eruption, not infectious, but too disagreeable to allow him to have meals in the dining-room. Recently he has undergone an operation for mastoid, from which he is recovering in Ward 32. Later he will be returned to Ward 55 for treatment of the skin disease. It will probably be some time before he is well enough to return home. They had not thought of sending him to the County Infirmary.

[Entries between April 7, 1919, and May 17, 1919, are omitted as they contain only the items recording the assistance and supervision of the mother and children in the home.]

*May 17, 1919.*—Called at Social Service Department, County Hospital. Mr. Lucca is now in Ward 55, where he will receive treatment for his skin trouble. The doctor does not believe that there is any cure for him, though they are going to give electrical treatments. They will notify Welfare Agency when there is nothing further the hospital can do for him and will see that he is transferred to the County Infirmary.

[Entries are again omitted between May 17, 1919, and December 17, 1919. Mr. Lucca has been sent to the Infirmary. The baby "Mike" has been born (July 4, 1919). The children have country outings and Mrs. Lucca goes to see Mr. Lucca from time to time. The Western Chapel continues to help. Angelina and her husband come back to Chicago to live October 20, 1919.]

*December 17, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca said that Mr. Lucca told her not to come to the Infirmary again as he will be at home around Christmas. Mrs. Lucca said family does not want him home, even for a few days; she also said he does not intend to return to the Infirmary. She asked if Welfare Agency would write to Infirmary and try to prevent him from coming. Mr. Lucca told her that he was tired of it at the Infirmary, as he had to work too hard and did not get enough to eat. Coal received December 16.

[Entries recording assistance and care are omitted.]

*January 14, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca says that Mr. Lucca's mother has a grocery store at North Avenue and Little Street. She lives with her daughter, Lucia Pagini. The two families are not on friendly terms as Mrs. Pagini was married in Italy, had had three children; then came to this country and married Mr. Pagini. The other husband is still living. Mrs. Pagini has three children by the second marriage. Mrs. Lucca asked visitor to have Lucy's shoes repaired and asked for shoes, underwear, and a waist for herself.

[Entries omitted.]

*February 5, 1920.*—Called at Taylor School; Palma is good in scholarship, also in attendance. Lucy's teacher reported the same about her. Joseph is a nice, clean little boy; attendance and application also good.

[Entries omitted.]

*March 4, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca much worried as the last time she visited Mr. Lucca he said he wanted to come home at Easter and remain there. He told her that, if the Welfare Agency stopped assisting, she could go to work and he would look after the children.

Mrs. Lucca says she is not strong enough to do this, and the baby is too young to be weaned. She asks that Welfare Agency prevent his coming home but does not wish him to know that she has asked this; is also afraid of having more children if he returns.

*March 23, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca asked for clothing for Palma and Lucy. Baby had been sick, and she took him to Dr. Zoni, who prescribed some medicine which cost her $1.50. Mrs. Lucca's stove was repaired, and the bill amounted to $6.35. She asked if Welfare Agency would pay this. Lucy and Frank were home from school as they are ill.

*Later.*—Telephoned for county doctor.

*March 27, 1920.*—Palma in office; gave her pass to County Infirmary.

*March 29, 1920.*—Called at the Pagini Grocery. Mrs. Lucca, Sr., is a very old woman. She takes care of the store in the morning, as her daughter, Mrs. Pagini, works; in the afternoon, Mary Pagini, her granddaughter, looks after the store. Mrs. Lucca said she would like to visit her son at the Infirmary but has no one who could take her. She is not on friendly terms with her daughter-in-law; says she never lets the children come to see her. Intimated that Mrs. Lucca would rather have Mr. Lucca at Infirmary and be supported by the Welfare Agency than have him at home and go to work herself. Mrs. Lucca denied that Mrs. Pagini's first husband was still living in Italy.

*March 30, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca said when she visited Mr. Lucca, March 28, he called her names and was very angry as he thinks she is hindering his coming home. He wishes to spend Easter at home, and she is certain if he does she cannot get him to return. The children are well again; county doctor attended them.

*Later.*—Called on Mrs. Besorgno. She said she went with Mrs. Lucca to visit Mr. Lucca, March 28, and was surprised and disgusted with the way he treated his wife. He insulted her and accused her of wanting to be rid of him. If he cannot get a pass to come home, he threatened to run away and go to work on a farm; says he is tired of working there for nothing. Other patients are paid for their work while he receives only his board. Mrs. Besorgno knew the family in Lewiston. It was about seven years ago that Mr. Lucca was hurt in the mine there, and during his incapacity Mrs. Lucca did washings to support the family. The Besorgnos came to Chicago about six years ago but kept up a correspondence with the Lucca family. When the Luccas came here in June, 1917, they found conditions

about the same as in Lewiston, and Mrs. Lucca went to work for a Wire Company, earning $12 a week. She stopped working when she was four months pregnant. Mrs. Besorgno said that though Mr. Lucca is attached to his family, he is an egotist and wishes his wife to support him at home.

[Entries recording regular care are omitted.]

*May 6, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca said that it is absolutely impossible for her to pay the gas bills and asked if Welfare Agency would help her with bill for this month. She needs a dress, also dishes, but does not know how she will be able to buy these things as the money she receives from Welfare Agency is hardly enough for their food. Mrs. Lucca complained of a large hole in the floor under kitchen sink through which mice come in. She has told the landlord about it and he has promised to fix it, but nothing has been done.

[Entries recording care are omitted. Palma gets her working-papers and goes to work in a trunk factory, July 6, 1920, and then in a candy factory, July 16, 1920. There are various services with reference to the repair and cleanliness of the house, Mrs. Lucca finds difficulty in making the allowance do, the children's shoes are always out of repair, etc.]

*August 27, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca said landlord refused to put a lock to the back door and to put a pane in the kitchen window. Joe needed shoes, and Mrs. Lucca bought a pair second hand. She also bought two pairs of stockings for Mary and Lucy, one shirt for Joe, and an umbrella. Mrs. Lucca asked Welfare Agency to help in buying a dress and a pair of shoes for Palma. She also needs a winter coat. Mrs. Lucca worries very much about Mr. Lucca, who wants to come home now. Mr. Lucca suggests that he come home and care for the house while Palma and Mrs. Lucca go out to work. She asks if Welfare Agency can prevent this.

*September 9, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca said on September 4 she went to Infirmary to see Mr. Lucca, and he has planned to stay there this winter but would like to come home for Christmas and stay a few days. Palma bought a dress and shoes. Children and Mrs. Lucca need underwear.

*September 14, 1920.*—Ordered two quarts of milk daily until October 1.

*September 29, 1920.*—Miss Brown, House of Help, telephoned that Mrs. Lucca was there to have them notify Welfare Agency that Mr. Lucca had returned home.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. Lucca said that he came home September 26. He stated that he feels much better and intends to remain with his family for two or three weeks. Mr. Lucca showed visitor the pass from Infirmary for thirty days signed by superintendent. Mrs. Lucca was very much excited. She said that when Mr. Lucca came home Sunday he promised to leave the same day, then the day after, but he now insists upon remaining at home for about a month. It was very apparent that Mrs. Lucca did not wish her husband to know how she felt about his remaining at home. Told Mr. Lucca that if he stays at home for more than a few days, he has to take the entire responsibility of his family. Mr. Lucca was very much impressed by visitor's statement and said he would think it over as to when he will return to the Infirmary. While Mrs. Lucca was taking visitor to the door, she begged visitor to do whatever is possible to compel Mr. Lucca to go back at once. Mrs. Lucca said that she could not notify Welfare Agency, because Mr. Lucca would not allow her to leave the house and frightened the children into not reporting him to the Agency. Mrs. Lucca said that she went to the House of Help while shopping, and Mr. Lucca was very suspicious when she returned, because he thought she had been away too long.

*September 30, 1920.*—Miss Brown, House of Help, telephoned that Mrs. Lucca is there again begging them to call up and notify Welfare Agency that Mr. Lucca is now refusing to return to Infirmary at all. Miss Brown said that Mrs. Lucca is so excited that she is walking up and down the office like a "mad-woman." Promised to visit.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. Lucca stated that he told Mrs. Lucca he would not return to Infirmary because he wanted to frighten her, as he believes that she wishes to get rid of him. He said that he feels he has a right to see his family once in a while and stated that it was not his fault that he has this terrible disease. Told him that it is not his children's fault either, and therefore he must do what is for their good. He insisted upon remaining longer, but visitor told him that the longer he stayed the harder it would be to leave his family. Told Mr. Lucca that visitor will return tomorrow for a definite answer regarding his return to Infirmary.

*October 1, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Lucca returned to Infirmary this morning at 11:45 A.M. Mrs. Lucca put him on the train and said that he was very sorry to leave his family, but hopes that Welfare

Agency would let him come home a few days at Christmas time. Mrs. Lucca stated that she now has a repugnance for Mr. Lucca's disease, but never felt so when he was at home. Ordered two quarts of milk daily until November 1.

*October 12, 1920.*—Visited. Met Palma who was returning from work. She appeared rather untidy. Her shoes and dress were in bad condition. Gave note for Mrs. Lucca to call at Juvenile Court October 14, at 10:00 A.M.

[It is now three years since the family moved to Chicago from Lewiston and they are now no longer ineligible under the Mothers' Aid Law so far as residence is concerned.

Maintaining the family has meant a heavy pecuniary burden on the Welfare Agency. The following letter illustrates the kind of special appeal that had frequently to be made to possible contributors:]

I am writing you in the hope that I can interest you in the Lucca family. Mr. and Mrs. Lucca came to Chicago in the summer of 1917 from Lewiston, Illinois. He had been injured in an accident and later has suffered from what he thought to be blood poisoning of the face, which had incapacitated him for work. The family had received $30 a month pension from the County while in Lewiston, but had come to Chicago as they could not live on that amount. Mr. Lucca was able to do some work during the first year that they were in Chicago, but soon the trouble with his face became much worse and he was so terribly disfigured that he was unable to obtain employment. Because of his disfigurement his family was ostracized, as nobody would associate with them; and, in fact, no other family would remain in any building to which they moved. In August, 1918, the oldest daughter, Angelina, who was then sixteen, married; and so the only member of the family who was a steady wage-earner was removed from the family. There are six other children, Palma, age fourteen; Lucy, twelve; Joseph, eleven; Mary, ten; Frank, five; and Mike, nine months. We have been helping them regularly since March, 1918, and a recent diagnosis from the County Hospital states that Mr. Lucca is suffering from Blastomycosis, an incurable skin disease. On October 2, 1919, Mr. Lucca was finally persuaded to enter the County Infirmary at Oak Forest, having come to the realization that this was the only fair thing for him to do as he was such a handicap to his family. He has been fairly well satisfied there but, of course, at times becomes very restless to return home. We are most anxious that he should stay where he is, as we feel that it is much better for him and for his family that he should be there. Mrs. Lucca and the children

are entirely dependent upon us for support. Their expenses amount to $100 a month. Following is an itemized list of these expenses:

| | |
|---|---|
| Rent | $ 10.00 |
| Food | 52.26 |
| Fuel | 3.75 |
| Light | 2.00 |
| Clothing | 27.58 |
| Household incidentals | 2.50 |
| Household furnishings | 2.50 |
| | $100.59 |

Mrs. Lucca will not be eligible for a pension from the County because of the incapacity of her husband, until September, 1920, and in the meanwhile we will continue to take care of her. It would be of the greatest possible assistance to us if you would feel interested to help us meet the expenses for this family.

*October 20, 1920.*—Visited. Joe at home. Was unable to go to school for two weeks as he had no clothing. Mrs. Lucca said she cannot get along on her income. She owes about $10 to the grocer, and Palma and the other children need clothing very badly. Took Joe to the store and purchased pants, blouse, hat, stockings.

*October 25, 1920.*—Mrs. Lucca called at the Juvenile Court. She has written to Lewiston for the birth certificates of the children. Left two waists and one suit of underwear with short sleeves for Mrs. Lucca and a beach suit for Frank.

*Later.*—Purchased shoes for Frank and Mary, and two pairs of stockings for Frank.

*October 29, 1920.*—Ordered one-half ton soft coal from Lake Shore Fuel Company.

*November 10, 1920.*—Children received the following from the School Children's Aid: Lucy, two suits underwear, one pair shoes, one pair stockings, one dress. Mary, same. Joe, two suits underwear.

*November 11, 1920.*—Notification received Juvenile Court: "Application refused—Man able to work."

[Entries of regular care are omitted.]

*December 29, 1920.*—Palma has been out of work for a week and a half. Mr. Lucca came home from the Infirmary December 24 and returned December 27. Mrs. Lucca bought three pairs of rompers for Mike, for which she paid 59 cents apiece. Asked if Welfare Agency would reimburse her.

*December 30, 1920.*—Letter written to the judge of the Juvenile Court, Chicago, by the district superintendent, Family Welfare Agency, Chicago:

We are most anxious to know what decision you reached, in regard to the eligibility of the family of Tito and Carlotta Lucca for a pension. As Mr. Lucca is in the Infirmary and only one child in the family is able to work, we are carrying a large share of the support of the family, and are therefore awaiting your decision. If we can be of any service to you in this matter, please call upon us.

*Later.*—Judge of the Juvenile Court telephoned that he believed that Mr. Lucca will have to be brought to court in order to decide whether or not he is incapacitated for work.

*January 4, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca said that the dress visitor bought for Palma shrank after it was washed. Lucy now wears it. Palma returned to work this morning. Mr. Montiori (Angelina's husband) was there when visitor called. He is a very nice-appearing man and well dressed. Is out of employment at present. The Art Shop where he worked was closed two months ago. Since that time he has been unable to find other work. He said that the last time he called to see Mr. Lucca at the Infirmary he was more resigned and understands that the best thing he can do is to remain in the Infirmary. Mr. Montiori talked to the superintendent, who said that Mr. Lucca does not belong at the Infirmary and should secure work on some farm. Mr. Lucca wished to work and, if possible, receive a regular salary in order that he might contribute toward the support of his family.

Angelina is working while Mr. Montiori is unemployed. The baby is very small for his age and looks very delicate. It was a bottle baby, and Mrs. Montiori takes him to the Infant Welfare Station at the House of Help.

Ordered two quarts of milk daily until February 1.

*February 5, 1921.*—Notification received from Juvenile Court that a $55 grant has been recommended for the family. Ordered two quarts of milk daily until March 1.

*February 24, 1921.*—Ordered one-half ton of soft coal.

*February 24, 1921.*—Visited. Palma quit work a month ago because of a misunderstanding. Forelady told the other girls to stay home, and Palma thought she was also to stay home. Superintendent, Ever Sweet Chocolate Company, said that as long as Palma

quit of her own accord, he did not feel he could take her back. However, Palma was called back a month later.

Mrs. Lucca said that Angelina is staying with her for a few weeks as Mr. Montiori went to Lewiston to see about some work.

*March 12, 1921.*—Mrs. Lucca said she is very sorry about what was reported to Welfare Agency by probation officer, that is, that the Montiori family are boarding with her, when this was only a temporary arrangement, and Welfare Agency knew about this. In regard to Palma getting married, Mrs. Lucca said this is also untrue. It is also untrue that she has a girl boarding with her and that Mr. Lucca comes home oftener than Welfare Agency allows. Bought a pair of shoes for Mary and a dress; also a pair of pants and waists and hats for Joe and Frankie; also a pair of shoes for both; one suit of underwear for Mrs. Lucca.

*March 18, 1921.*—Notification received from Juvenile Court that an allowance of $55[1] was granted for family.

*May 28, 1921.*—Met Mrs. Besorgno, who said that Mr. Lucca came home several days ago and he plans to go back to Infirmary May 30. He intends to remain in Infirmary for a month and then come home for good. Mrs. Lucca cannot leave the house because he is afraid that she will report him to the Welfare Agency. He has frightened the children and has told them not to tell he is at home. Says he is strong and wishes to go to work. Mrs. Besorgno said Mrs. Lucca wishes to see visitor as soon as possible.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. Lucca feels that if Juvenile Court will grant a pension he can stay at home and enjoy life. Insists that it is Mrs. Lucca who wishes him to remain away from home. Explained to him that if pension was granted, he would have to remain away. He intends to go back today to Infirmary. He said that he has no plans for the future. He states that he feels fine and wishes to go to work. His face is still masklike and most repulsive.

*June 4, 1921.*—Visited. Mr. Lucca returned to Infirmary. Mrs. Lucca said that Palma works only two or three days a week. Her last week's wages amounted to $5.00 and for the two previous weeks $8.00. She has been home most of this week. Mrs. Lucca has called

[1] [The amount allowed was $5.00 less than the maximum allowed at that time under the Mothers' Aid Law, which was $60. It was, as indicated by the letter quoted above, about $5.00 more than half the budget estimated by the Agency as necessary. See Abbott and Breckinridge, *The Administration of the Aid-to-Mothers Law in Illinois* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 82).]

at Infirmary, where Mr. Lucca seems to be more content. Mrs. Lucca asked if Welfare Agency would assist with rent.

*June 25, 1921.*—Visited. Palma was laid off from work entirely. Mrs. Lucca asked if Welfare Agency would help her during Palma's unemployment.

*June 28, 1921.*—Palma in office saying that she was told by forelady to stay at home until they call her. She has no idea how long this will be. Telephoned Illinois Free Employment Bureau. Sent Palma to Bureau.

*July 6, 1921.*—Frank Montiori in office saying that Palma went to the Illinois Free Employment Bureau yesterday morning and has not returned.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca said that Palma left the house with a Polish girl, who lives next door, saying she was going to look for work. She has not returned. Mrs. Lucca has no idea where she could be. Said that she believes that she left because she slapped her for staying out late. The day before she had scolded her for staying out until eight o'clock. She does not know if she keeps company with a boy, and is very worried about the matter. Frank Montiori gave most of the information to visitor as Mrs. Lucca felt too badly to talk. Feels that this is a terrible disgrace for the family, and Mrs. Lucca wishes to move from the neighborhood at once. Told Mr. Montiori to report Palma's absence to the police.

*July 12, 1921.*—Mrs. Lucca in office saying that Palma came back last night. They telephoned to the police station, and two policewomen came and took her to Juvenile Detention Home. Palma stated that she was at a boarding-house on Monroe Street, where she was given free board and room. The Polish girl, who was with her, supplied the funds for amusement. Telephoned Juvenile Detention Home. Palma entered there last night and registered as Pauline Rice. The officer on the case can be reached at his office in the County Building.

*July 13, 1921.*—Visited. Palma at home. Probation officer gave Mrs. Lucca a note for Palma's release from the Juvenile Detention Home. Palma did not seem to realize the situation. Said she is very happy to be at home and will do anything to remain at home. Said she was at the Chicago Women's Shelter, and went away from home because the Polish girl invited her to go with her some place where they could work and be independent. The other girl's father, who is a drunkard, was very abusive to his daughter. Probation officer

has called and ordered Palma to go to the court for a physical examination, as Mrs. Lucca insists upon this. Girl stayed at Chicago Women's Shelter.

[Entries recording assistance in the form of milk, the children's outings, one month's rent, etc., omitted. The Welfare Agency supplied milk continuously until the following February.]

*November 16, 1921.*—Juvenile Court officer in the office saying that she will not recommend an increase in the pension because she is afraid the County Agent will oppose it and will make it disagreeable for them. Asked Welfare Agency to continue supplementing Palma works for the Alpha Chocolate Company, and earns $10 a week.

*December 3, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca said that Palma was laid off and she cannot manage on her pension money if Welfare Agency will not help her. Said she was unable to pay the rent this month and if she had to buy milk for the children she would not be able to get along at all. Mrs. Lucca said that the children received clothing from the School Children's Aid.

Family taken by House of Help for Christmas basket.

*January 12, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca said that Palma has not found work yet and she stays at home and helps Mrs. Lucca with the housework. They have a very hard time getting along on the pension money; the children are in need of clothing, and Mrs. Lucca has no money to buy them any. Angelina, the married daughter, works at the Carmen Corset Company and leaves her baby with Mrs. Lucca all day.

*February 15, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca said that Palma has secured some work today but she does not know where, nor does she know whether it is a steady position. She asked if the Welfare Agency would send some coal and pay the rent next month so that she can get on her feet again. Lucy was home with a very bad cold for three days. Mrs. Lucca said that the last time she went to see her husband in the Infirmary he wanted very much to come home as soon as Palma finds a steady job. Mrs. Lucca wants the Welfare Agency to prevent this. Told Mrs. Lucca that the Agency would take care of the coal but as Palma is working she has to take care of the rent herself.

*March 8, 1922.*—The landlady called to know if the Welfare Agency is going to pay the rent for the family. Told her that as Palma is working at present the family has sufficient income to take care of the rent.

*March 9, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca said that Palma has worked for the past two weeks only three days, earning $7.00 each week. This week she had not gone to work at all and she cannot afford to pay the rent from her pension money. Palma is working in a millinery concern doing piece-work. She has no experience yet and therefore her wages are very low. Besides she does not work full time. Mrs. Lucca said that she has contracted debts at the grocery store and she has no way in which to pay for them if Welfare Agency should stop relief.

*March 11, 1922.*—Juvenile Court officer telephoned that Mrs. Lucca called there saying that her income is insufficient and therefore she could not pay the rent this month. Asked if the Welfare Agency would help Mrs. Lucca with the rent until the oldest girl works. Probation officer said she could not do anything toward increasing the pension for the family as she must avoid trouble with the County Agent. She believes that if the Welfare Agency will help until Palma works regularly, the family will be able to get along nicely.

*March 22, 1922.*—Probation officer in office. She said that Palma has found some work at the Alpha Chocolate Company and is being paid $12 a week. She does not know whether or not the work will be steady but feels that the present income is sufficient for the family, if Welfare Agency will continue sending two quarts of milk.

*March 24, 1922.*—Palma in office, saying that she was laid off on Wednesday. She could not give the name of the place where she worked. The landlord wants this month's rent to be paid on Monday or he will evict them.

*March 29, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca said that Palma only worked for the Alpha Chocolate Company three days and was laid off because of slackness. She does not seem to be able to find work and, when she does find something, is laid off a few days later. She said she cannot pay the rent from her pension money and the landlord has called several times asking for the money in a very pressing way. She said the children are in need of shoes and clothing and she cannot buy them. Gave Mrs. Lucca letter for Palma to Illinois Free Employment Bureau.

*April 7, 1922.*—Visited. Left address of a factory where Palma was to apply for work. However, Palma secured work on April 5, but Mrs. Lucca did not know the address of the place.

*April 14, 1922.*—Landlord in office saying that beginning April 20 rent is to be raised to $16. Electricity has been installed.

*April 19, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca said that Palma was laid off again last night on account of slackness. She said she will be unable to pay the landlord this month as the rent is being raised. Asked Welfare Agency to send in some coal, and also for clothing for the three youngest children who need it very badly.

Gave Mrs. Lucca a letter to Gordon Brothers for work for Palma as follows:

> We are sending to you the bearer, Palma Lucca, in the hope that you can place her in your factory. Her father is in the County Infirmary, and the family has no income except what they receive from the Juvenile Court, Mothers' Pension. There are six children in the family, and this pension is not enough for their support. For this reason it is imperative that Palma secure work.

*April 20, 1922.*—Gordon Brothers Company telephoned that they could not take Palma on now as they have no work for her but as soon as they have something will let her know.

*Later.*—Palma notified visitor about being unsuccessful in securing work at the Gordon Brothers Company and asked visitor if Welfare Agency would pay the rent this month as her mother could not afford to do so.

*April 21, 1922.*—Palma is still unemployed. Mrs. Lucca said that she cannot possibly pay the rent and besides she needs coal. She has run up a bill of $17 at the grocery store. She cannot manage on her pension money. She said the landlord calls almost every day and is quite troublesome.

*Later.*—The children attended the Weighing Clinic and, except Frank, were found to be normal weight.

*Later.*—Juvenile Court officer reports that she will take up the matter of an increase. However, she will consult the doctors at the Infirmary first.

*April 25, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca in office, saying that Palma has secured some work in a millinery shop. She is doing piece-work and is able to make only $1.00 or $1.50 a day. Mrs. Lucca would like to have Palma work in some factory where she is paid by the week and where she will have a steady job as the present one is only temporary. Gave Mrs. Lucca a letter for Palma to the Excelsior Candy Company.

Told Mrs. Lucca that in May Welfare Agency will withdraw assistance and Palma will have to secure a position where she can make enough to supplement the Mothers' Pension. Mrs. Lucca said that

even if Palma works and makes $10 or $12 a week she cannot manage on this because the rent was raised to $16 now. She will have to do without milk for the children and reduce their diet in general.

[The third chapter, that covering the period March 18, 1921, to July 15, 1922, records the experience while the court is paying the regular but inadequate allowance in to the family. It is clear from the record that Mrs. Lucca was an artist at begging and not too scrupulously truthful. The testimony from Lewiston had been to the effect that during the early years of the family's life in the town, there was no Family Welfare Agency; Mr. and Mrs. Lucca came from Italy apparently practiced beggars, the children begged at school and from any promising source. About three years before they moved to Chicago a welfare agency was organized and an attempt was made through active publicity to stop promiscuous benevolence.

The needs of this family were brought to the attention of the Lewiston Welfare Agency early in 1914, when a Mothers' Pension was applied for. During these years much kindly service went into the care of the family but there were many difficulties. Even then Mrs. Lucca wanted what she wanted and most of the things she wanted seemed perfectly reasonable—clothes and food for the children, rent, etc. Mr. Lucca was being treated either in the home or in a hospital and Mrs. Lucca would not do work outside the home merely to show a spirit of independence.

There was already the possibility of turning from the Catholic to the Protestant church and from the American to the Italian community, and this habit continued. She never let pass an opportunity of presenting her needs. An interesting sample of her method is supplied by the following letter which Mrs. Lucca wrote in October, 1920, to the school authorities and which the authorities turned over to the Welfare Agency.

Dear Principal Ball:

I am very sorry that my son Joe did not come to school for three weeks. He has no suit, shoes, stockings, shirts, and underwear, and he can't come to school unless he is dressed. Mary and Lucy need shoes, stockings, and underwear. Please see if you can provide them, because the money my daughter makes is not enough for food. With thanks in advance from

Mrs. Lucca

In April of 1921, another interesting illustration of her methods was furnished by the experience of Mrs. Adams, who at the request of

the Western Chapel had given her a Christmas basket the previous December. Mrs. Adams had called a number of times on the family, given clothing and food, then paid gas bills and bought a gas plate all without learning that the Welfare Agency gave any help. As the gas bill seemed high, Mrs. Adams asked the gas company to look into the situation, found that the light was very wastefully used, asked the Welfare Agency to substitute a cheaper equipment and was greatly surprised that the Agency knew the family.

However, in the entry of April 25, 1922, Mrs. Lucca shows how thoroughly she understands the situation and how capable she is of dealing with it, when she holds over the Agency the threat of *not giving the children enough to eat* unless the Agency continues its contribution.]

*April 29, 1922.*—Notification received from the Juvenile Court that an increase in pension from $55 to $85 has been recommended.

*May 4, 1922.*—Called and found that Mrs. Lucca had called at the court regarding her pension.

*Later.*—Mrs. Lucca in the office. She was at the Juvenile Court this morning. Does not believe she will get the $85 but does not know why. Said she will have to return to court when the probation officer will notify her. Palma works regularly.

*Later.*—Telephoned Juvenile Court, Mothers' Pension Department. They said that if Mrs. Lucca receives $85 a month pension, together with Palma's wages of $13, this would bring them considerably over budget. Therefore the case will be continued in order to reach a definite decision.[1]

*May 10, 1922.*—Notification received from Juvenile Court that pension has been increased to $65.

*May 13, 1922.*—Learned from the Charitable Corporation that Mrs. Lucca had applied there for help. No assistance had been given the family. Gave report of Welfare Agency contact.

*June 9, 1922.*—Visited. Mr. Lucca came home about two weeks ago, and says he intends to remain at home. Nothing could induce him to return to the Infirmary. Said that he has tried to stay at the Infirmary for the sake of his children, but now he feels that his place is in the home, as the children are more obedient to him. Said he is very

[1] [See Abbott and Breckinridge, *The Administration of the Aid-to-Mothers Law in Illinois* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 82), pp. 56 ff., for an account of the way in which children's earnings are treated in determining a family budget.]

anxious to get work and help support the family. He knows that he cannot do any hard work, but now that Palma is working, and Lucy will soon be old enough to work, the family will be able to manage—even if his wages are small. Said if the court forces him to return to the Infirmary, he will kill himself. Mrs. Lucca will call at the Juvenile Court and notify probation officer of his presence in the home. Palma is working regularly.

*June 15, 1922.*—Probation officer telephoned asking if Welfare Agency could try to secure work for Mr. Lucca. Replied that Welfare Agency would take no responsibility in finding work for Mr. Lucca as we understood that the court would take entire charge of pension families. Probation officer said that the situation in the Lucca family is very problematic as Mr. Lucca has no intention of returning to the Infirmary and she feels it will be quite difficult for him to secure employment. However, they have taken no action as yet and will give Mr. Lucca time to find work.

*June 26, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca in office saying that Palma quit her job at the candy factory about three weeks ago. She gave as her reason for leaving the fact that some of the chocolate dippers' hands were covered with eruptions caused by the chocolate. She was afraid she would have the same trouble. She is now working in a different place earning $11 a week. Mrs. Lucca said that Mr. Lucca called at the Illinois Free Employment Bureau, but they had no suitable work for him. However, the superintendent took his application and promised to notify him as soon as some work comes in.

*Later.*—Telephoned probation officer and notified her about Palma.

*July 13, 1922.*—Took Lucy to Mrs. Robert Small, 7211 Verona Avenue, for the summer. She is to help with the housework.

*July 16, 1922.*—Mrs. Small telephoned that yesterday she found her little girl's dime bank opened and $4.00 missing. Lucy went out last night and spent a great deal of money. Mrs. Small is sending Lucy home today.

*Later.*—Visited. Talked to Mrs. Lucca. She said that she gave Lucy 10 cents and the married daughter, Angelina, gave her 15 cents when she went to Mrs. Small's. Mr. and Mrs. Lucca were very shocked to learn that Lucy had taken the $4.00 from Mrs. Small and would not believe it until Lucy confessed. They had never known her to take anything before either in their own home or other homes where she had been sent on summer outings. They will send Mr. Montiori to bring Lucy home.

*July 17, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca in office to inquire about summer outing for the children. She was very downhearted; began to cry when she told that Lucy had confessed that she took the money. Mr. Lucca beat her quite badly Saturday when she came home and tied her to the bedpost where she remained until midnight, when her mother sent her to bed.

*July 18, 1922.*—Mary, Joe, and Frank were sent to Barbersville, Illinois, for two weeks' summer outing, guests of Samuel Lane and Robert Bartlett.

*August 2, 1922.*—Letter received from the Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Chicago, to superintendent, Family Welfare Agency, dated August 1, 1922:

> You are at present assisting the family of Tito and Carlotta Lucca. The pension of $65 which this family was receiving from the Juvenile Court was stayed on July 15 because Mr. Lucca had returned from the Infirmary and was considered able to work. The report from the superintendent of the institution showed that he was a good worker, but could not be given remunerative work there because he could not pass the civil service examination on account of his physical infirmity.

*August 17, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca in office with Lucy. Mrs. Lucca states that she is quite willing that Mr. Lucca return to the Infirmary. She realizes that she is better with him away. Mrs. Leopardi's husband has also tried to persuade him to return but unsuccessfully. Mr. and Mrs. Leopardi have each gone with him to find work, but no one will consider him because of his appearance.

Mr. Lucca insists that he lost his appetite and became seriously ill every time he tried to go to the dining-room at the Infirmary. He is very unwilling to consider going back and asks help with rent until his friends can find work for him.

Lucy has still one-half year in sixth grade so cannot work.[1]

*Later.*—Letter written to the superintendent, Illinois Free Employment Bureau, Chicago:

> I believe you have already made some effort to place in employment Tito Lucca. I realize that it is difficult to find work for a man so disfigured, but I should appreciate knowing whether he has come to you as directed and the results of any efforts you have made. Mr. Lucca was judged able to work, and because of his return from the Infirmary, the Mothers' Pension given to the family was stopped. What is your opinion as to employing him?

[1] [Little attention has been paid to the school records lately, but the family has been under the care of the Juvenile Court and the school records are in their files.]

*Later.*—Letter written to superintendent of the County Infirmary:

May we know if in your opinion Tito Lucca, who recently left the Infirmary, is in an infectious condition? There have been times in the past when doctors examining him have spoken of possible danger to other members of his family. Is it the opinion of your doctor that he is safe with other people?

On Mr. Lucca's return from the Infirmary the Mothers' Pension of $65 a month was discontinued. We are told that you considered the man able to work although you realized how difficult it would be for him to secure work. He has found nothing and has applied to our organization for assistance.

*August 20, 1922.*—Letter received from the superintendent of the County Infirmary;

Replying to your letter of August 17, regarding Tito Lucca, danger of infection in such a case may be disregarded. Lupus Vulgaris is or was of comparative frequency in Central and Southern Europe, but the writer has never known of a case developing in the United States. I may say that all the cases found here are imported. It would seem to the writer considering the ages of the children it should not be necessary for this family to apply for relief. Why not induce Lucca to return to the Infirmary?

*August 21, 1922.*—Mr. Lucca was asked to come to the office August 18 and again August 21 so visitor could accompany him to Illinois Free Employment Bureau and to different places for work, but he failed to come either time.

*Later.*—Letter written to the superintendent, Illinois Free Employment Bureau, Chicago:

May we know whether Tito Lucca has come to you recently for employment? Mr. Lucca is very much disfigured about his face but is said to be in good physical condition for work. We realize that he will be a hard man to place, but shall very much appreciate any further effort that you can make to find him work. I gave Mr. Lucca a letter referring him to you recently, and he told me that he had already been there and promised to return.

*August 23, 1922.*—Letter received from Illinois Free Employment Bureau:

Referring to your letter of August 21 relative to Tito Lucca, we wish to advise according to our records he has reported to the office once.

We would suggest that you redirect him to our Mr. Ziemann, who we feel confident will be able to place him in suitable employment.

*August 25, 1922.*—Letter written to the Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Chicago, by the superintendent, Family Welfare Agency, Chicago:

Early in the month you wrote us with regard to the Lucca family because of the man's return from the Infirmary and staying of the pension.

To date, Mr. Lucca has been unable to secure any kind of work because of his appearance. We have offered to have one of our men students go with him and make a final effort to secure something.

We are wondering if Mr. Lucca is unable to get work whether upon his return to the Infirmary, the pension would be granted again. We understand that the superintendent at the Infirmary considers Mr. Lucca able to work. This undoubtedly is true if any employer can be prevailed upon to take a man whose appearance is so very objectionable.

If the pension should be granted again would Mrs. Lucca be put on the long waiting list or could she be considered earlier?

*August 28, 1922.*—Letter received from the Juvenile Court, Chicago:

I have your letter of August 25, in regard to the Lucca family. I wish I knew just how to answer your questions. The Chief Probation Officer is on his vacation, and the judge will not be back until the middle of September. I really feel that this case should be taken up again with the judge.

The officer who investigated this case never agreed with the Welfare Agency workers as to Mr. Lucca's inability to work. She felt that, with his glasses on, the man was not so objectionable in appearance that it would be impossible for him to secure employment. Of course, when he returned from the Infirmary and they felt that he was able to work we found it necessary to stay the pension. In view of his efforts to find work, it is possible that the judge would be willing to consider him incapacitated, and to reinstate the pension. I shall be glad to take it up with the judge on his return and let you know just what his opinion is.

*September 12, 1922.*—Met Mrs. Besorgno, who said that the Lucca family are having a very hard time getting along. Mrs. Lucca was compelled to go to work at the Alpha Chocolate Company. Mr. Lucca stays at home. Mrs. Besorgno says he has flatly refused to look for work, as he is ashamed to go on the streets. Palma is working.

*October 2, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca has called at the office several times complaining of the family situation. It is impossible to get along on the present income. Mrs. Lucca is not well and feels that she must discontinue work soon. Mr. Lucca refuses to return to the Infirmary and is indifferent to the whole situation. Sits at the window all day and does nothing but urge Mrs. Lucca to get to work on time.

Mrs. Lucca would like to have Mr. Lucca returned to the Infirmary. Asked if Welfare Agency could not compel him to do this or else give assistance to the family.

*October 23, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca in the office saying that Mr. Lucca has decided to return to the Infirmary. Would like to talk with visitor, who called later and found Mr. Lucca determined to go back for the sake of his family. Said he has made every effort to find work and has also had his friends looking for work for him. Said that although he knew that his work at the Infirmary was paid for by his family receiving a pension, he wanted to try living at home. Asked if Welfare Agency would allow him to come home twice a month. He feels that this will save his wife time and money. He will also be happier if he is allowed to return home every two weeks. Would like to be put back at the old work at the Infirmary.

*October 27, 1922.*—Letter written to Probation Officer, Mothers' Pension Division, Juvenile Court, Chicago:

> You will recall our correspondence during August in regard to the Lucca family. You stated then that this was a case which might be taken up again with the judge. We are wondering if this has been done, and if so the result of the conference with him. Mr. Lucca has to date been unsuccessful in getting work and expects to return to the Infirmary this week.
>
> Will you reconsider Mrs. Lucca for a pension again and let us know whether she will have consideration in the near future or whether she goes on the waiting list?

*November 4, 1922.*—Visited. Mr. Lucca returned to the Infirmary November 1. Mrs. Lucca plans to continue working until she gets her pension back. She is now working in the laundry department of the Sheridan Hotel from 4:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M. Lucy is taking care of the children during her mother's absence. Mrs. Lucca owes money to the grocer. She claims that she does not know the address of her sister, Mrs. Pagini. Stated that Mrs. Pagini is married again to a widower with four children. She visits the family occasionally.

*November 18, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca has stopped work as the children are afraid to stay home at night. There was a fire next door in which two people were burned to death. Mrs. Lucca has made reapplication for pension. Palma is working regularly.

*November 19, 1922.*—Called at 624 Virginia Avenue, address of Mrs. Pagini. She was recently married to Mr. Joe Grassi, who has four children. Mrs. Grassi has been married twice previously. She had three children by her first, and three children by her second

husband. She is now seven months pregnant. Of the ten children only two are working. Mr. Grassi works in a machine shop and earns about $25 a week. They have bought the house in which they are living. Have paid down $4,000. Mr. Grassi owned a house on Superior and Western Avenue. He sold this and bought the present place. There is a $5,000 mortgage on the property. Family has a six-room flat, which is comfortably furnished and well kept. There are two flats—the second of which is rented for $30 a month. Mrs. Lucca, Sr., lives with the family and helps in whatever way she can with the care of the house and the younger children. She is about seventy years old. Mrs. Grassi said that she does not visit Mrs. Lucca often because of the large family, and because of her present condition. However, she never did get along very well with Mrs. Lucca as she at first believed that Mrs. Lucca sent Mr. Lucca to the Infirmary to get rid of him. However, she now thinks that the Infirmary is the proper place for him. They visit Mr. Lucca once in a while and take him fruit.

*December 8, 1922.*—Mrs. Lucca has been in the office several times saying she cannot get along on Palma's wages. The children are all in need of clothing. Later the landlady telephoned about the rent. Told her Welfare Agency would pay the November and December rent.

*December 14, 1922.*—Letter written the head of Mothers' Pension Division, Juvenile Court, Chicago:

> We still seem to be in doubt as to what Mrs. Lucca's number is upon the Mothers' Pension waiting list.
>
> You will recall that I wrote you on August 25 and again on October 27. I have just paid a month's rent for the Lucca family but we are not certain whether we should make our plans to carry her over several months or whether you are going to be able to consider her in the near future.

*December 19, 1922.*—Talked to Juvenile Court officer, who said that Mrs. Lucca has been put on the waiting list and will have to wait her turn for a pension. Gave report of what the Agency has been doing for the family.

*Later.*—Letter received from Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Chicago:

> In answer to your letter of December 14, relative to the Lucca family, we intend to take up this matter with the judge as soon as an opportunity presents itself. In the meantime, we have placed the name of this family on our waiting list, and the number is 848. As soon as judge gives an opinion, we will let you know.

*December 28, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Lucca stated that Palma was laid off on December 26 and has not secured any other work. Mrs. Lucca feels that she cannot get along on Palma's wages and the little assistance she has been receiving from the Welfare Agency. She showed visitor that she needs a spring for her double bed and also some sheets and pillow cases. She needs underwear and clothing, shoes for herself and underwear and clothing for all the children. She is entirely out of coal.

*December 30, 1922.*—Visitor called about 10:00 A.M. Mrs. Lucca was not up. None of the children had had breakfast. The house was upset. Palma had not started out to look for work. They received supplies from the County Agent on December 29. Palma received $5.00 back pay on December 28.

*January 19, 1923.*—Read the County Agent's record of Lucca family. It shows the following visits. October 8, 1917, when Mrs. Lucca applied, February 28, 1919, July 3, 1919, October 2, 1919, March 19, 1920, October 2, 1922, November 27, 1922. Assistance was given during the periods covered by the above dates. The history, investigation, and information are the same as on the Welfare Agency record.

*Later.*—Priest at Church of the Holy Virgin promised Welfare Agency to call on the Lucca family and urge them to attend church.

*Later.*—Visited school. Lucy is in the sixth grade of the Taylor School. Her teacher stated that Lucy had not come to school for two months in the fall, therefore, she will not pass into seventh grade until June. If she had applied herself, she would have been able to pass in February, but she has not been interested in her school work. Joseph is in Grade V. His teacher stated that he attends school regularly and is clean. He is extremely interested in his work and will pass into the sixth grade in February. Mary is in Grade III. Her teacher is interested in her because she is quick to learn. The teacher also had Palma and Lucy when they were in third grade and she feels that Mary's mentality is superior. Frank is in first grade. His attendance has been good; sometimes he comes to school looking dirty and ragged. He tries very hard to learn and does well.

*February 1, 1923.*—During January Mrs. Lucca was visited on the third, eleventh, eighteenth, and twenty-fifth. The house is generally in fairly good order. Mrs. Lucca seems to be a good housekeeper. The children go to bed at 7:30 and get up at 7:00. They have oatmeal and milk for breakfast. Palma and Lucy get up first

and start the fires. They have enough chairs so that they all sit down at the table together for their meals. During the cold weather the children do not take weekly baths. There are two bedrooms and two full-sized beds and one child's bed. Mrs. Lucca, Frank, and Mike sleep in one bed; Palma, Lucy, and Mary sleep in the other double bed; and Joseph sleeps in the child's bed in the same room with the girls. Welfare Agency arranged with Salvation Army to send a single bed to Mrs. Lucca. She has not put it up as yet since she will not have it in the front room, which they use as a sitting-room. However, she is planning to take down the small bed and put it in the girls' bedroom, and have Joseph and Frank sleep in it. Mrs. Lucca has refused to arrange otherwise.

The front room is very scantily furnished, since they have no rug. The only articles of furniture are six chairs, a dresser, and stove. Mrs. Lucca stated that they have had to sell their furniture from time to time.

Mrs. Lucca continually asks for clothing for herself and the children. She was given from the storeroom a dress for Palma and one for Lucy, and a suit, underwear, and stockings for Mike, and a sweater for herself. She has received enough sheeting to make four sheets. She has a sewing-machine and is able to make over clothing.

*February 2, 1923.*—Notification received from Juvenile Court that pension of $67 has been recommended. She will receive her first payment March 8.

*February 26, 1923.*—During February the following calls were made: the seventh, twelfth, and twentieth. A suit, shoes, and stockings were bought for Mike and a pair of pants for Joe. The children and Mrs. Lucca received shoes from the County Agent. Mrs. Lucca's rooms have been in fairly good order. She has continually complained that she could not get along with the assistance she received.

*February 27, 1923.*—Notification received from Juvenile Court that pension of $67 has been granted.

### 15. The Family of Washington Johnson

*(A Migrant Negro Laborer)*

*September 2, 1919 (Tuesday).*—Dr. B. R. Stoll reported that family (negro) needs assistance. There are six children. Mr. Johnson formerly worked for the Indiana Steel Company.

*September 4, 1919 (Thursday).*—Visiting nurse of Indiana Steel Company telephoned asking assistance. Mr. Johnson is at the County Infirmary, suffering with tuberculosis. [No agency was registered on the case.]

Visited. Family is living in poor-looking flat building in which they pay $17.50 for three rooms that are scantily furnished, foul smelling, and dirty. Mrs. Johnson complained that the windows cannot be raised.

*History of Mrs. Johnson.*—Mrs. Johnson is a tired-looking woman, thirty years old, willing to seek employment, but she has no one with whom to leave the small children. Jennie (born August 20, 1906) thirteen, J.C.[1] (born November 8, 1909) nine, and S.T.L. (boy, born November 28, 1910) eight, could go to the Douglas School. Washington (born December 27, 1913) five, I.V. (born May 20, 1916) three and one-half, and Ernest (born April 15, 1918) one and one-half, cannot stay alone. She was born on a farm near Meridian, Mississippi. Was left an orphan when very young and she lived with her brother in Meridian until she was twelve, when she began working at service. She was married at the age of fifteen and accompanied Mr. Johnson to Hattiesburg,[2] Mississippi.

*History of Mr. Johnson.*—Mr. Johnson was also born and brought up on a farm near Clark, Alabama. He received very little schooling, and, when still a boy, left home to find work in a nearby town. In Hattiesburg he worked on log trains as a steam loader. About two years ago when everybody was coming North for higher wages, Mr. Johnson joined a group, came to Chicago, and found work with the Indiana Steel Company. A few weeks later he sent for his family.

[1] [The names given the children illustrate a practice not uncommon among certain groups of negroes of giving children names in the form of initials. Here "J.C." becomes Jesse, "S.T.L." Estelle—though a boy—and "I.V." Ivy.]

[2] [Hattiesburg, Mississippi, where Mrs. Johnson has spent her early married life, is in the pine region from which turpentine is now obtained. Mississippi as a whole was, according to the Census of 1890, 43 per cent white and 57 per cent colored. The county from which Mr. Johnson came in Alabama was only 43 per cent colored and 57 per cent white.]

At first, Mrs. Johnson did not like Chicago and she returned South to visit her sister, Mrs. Clacy Hopkins, who lives in Mississippi. When Mr. Johnson became ill about three months ago, Mrs. Johnson found work at the Western Steam Laundry, earning $10 per week. She worked there until the latter part of August, when Mr. Johnson became too ill to be left alone with the children. She received $9.00 back pay on September 3.

Mr. Johnson has been attended by Dr. Stoll. He was also treated at the South Side Dispensary. Mr. Johnson has two brothers in Chicago; his father and two brothers and a sister are in Alabama; and one brother lives in Jackson, Michigan.

Mrs. Johnson asks assistance with food and clothing for the children, who did not enter school because they had none. She stated that Mr. Johnson has always been an excellent husband and father. Gave $4.00 grocery order. Two previous addresses were obtained. Referred family to County Agent.

*September 5, 1919.*—Reported to source. Telephoned Indiana Steel Company visiting nurse who stated that she had visited twice in the home and found the family in need. She gave no relief. Mr. Johnson worked for the company for one year. His disability would not entitle him to compensation. He can only receive emergency relief.

*September 10, 1919.*—Visited Dr. Stoll. Doctor has known family since July 9, when Mr. Johnson was too ill to work. He responded to treatment and tried to return to work on August 1. The riot that began July 27 delayed his employment. Dr. Stoll later referred him to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary, and Mr. Johnson was sent to County Infirmary.

Dr. Stoll made a number of visits but gave his services gratis. He will be glad to co-operate with the Welfare Agency in making a plan for the family.

*September 23, 1919.*—Referred family to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary and to Infant Welfare.

*September 25, 1919.*—Visited. Children are in school. Baby has not been very well and has been attended by Dr. Stoll, gratis. Family received County Rations No. 4 and two pairs of shoes on September 9. Gave $4.00 grocery order.

*September 29, 1919.*—Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium report received.

Mrs. Johnson, Jennie, J.C., I.V., and Ernest under observation. S.T.L. and Washington, glandular tuberculosis.

*October 2, 1919.*—Infant Welfare nurse reported that baby was registered October 1. General condition good, rachitic, requires general diet. Nurse thinks Mrs. Johnson a good co-operative mother.

*October 4, 1919.*—Visited. Jennie had scrubbed and cleaned the house thoroughly. Mrs. Johnson has had trouble with her eyes. Referred her to the South Side Dispensary. Gave $5.00 grocery order and $2 cash.

*October 6, 1919.*—Visited Mr. Johnson's brother, Jefferson Johnson. Talked with Mrs. Jefferson Johnson. Family lives in three basement rooms, simply furnished and fairly clean. They pay $12 a month rent. Mrs. Johnson has two children under five years. She came to Chicago from Hattiesburg, Mississippi, three months ago. Prior to her coming Mr. Jefferson Johnson lived with Mr. and Mrs. Washington Johnson.

Mr. Jefferson Johnson has a grocery store at Thirty-fifth Street and Jameson Avenue, and Mrs. Johnson said that he gives the family groceries as often as they call for them. Mrs. Jefferson Johnson considers her husband's sister-in-law a good woman and an excellent mother.

Visited Mrs. James Johnson, wife of Mr. Johnson's brother who is working in Jackson, Michigan, earning $7.40 per day. His wife and seven-months-old baby are rooming in a basement flat at 2250 Southern Avenue. Mrs. Johnson stated that she gave Mrs. Washington Johnson $8.00 during the month of September. She feels that Mr. James Johnson will be willing to contribute regularly toward the support of the family.

Visited Mr. Johnson's brother, Kenneth Johnson. Talked with Mrs. Johnson. Family is living in six nicely furnished, clean rooms. Rent $17 per month. Mr. Johnson works at one of the packing plants, earning $22 a week. Mrs. Johnson is twenty-five years of age, is the mother of six children, three of whom are living. The oldest is seven years and the youngest is four months. Mrs. Johnson works three days per week in order to assist with living expenses. She pays $10 per month on furniture bill. Mrs. Johnson is willing to assist family but feels that she and Mr. Johnson are financially unable to contribute toward their support.

Mrs. Johnson visits family occasionally. She considers her sister-in-law a good woman but thinks she is too proud. She stated that Mr. Washington and Mr. Jefferson Johnson had a grocery store in Hattiesburg before they came to Chicago. They made plenty of

money, and Mrs. Johnson employed a woman to assist with the housework.

*October 13, 1919.*—Visited. The children were at home for Columbus holiday. Mrs. Johnson was dressing them to visit the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary. Gave $4.00 grocery order and $2.00 cash.

Referred Mrs. Johnson to County Agent for special rations. She receives two quarts of milk daily.

*October 22, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson had gone to grocery, and two little girls were at home getting dinner. Baby, playing on floor, had only a small amount of clothing, and coughed constantly. Gave $4.00 grocery order and $1.00 in cash.

*Later.*—Wrote superintendent, County Infirmary, asking about Mr. Johnson's condition; also sent a letter to Welfare Agency at Jackson, Mississippi, asking about Mrs. Johnson's sister, Mrs. Clacy Hopkins; and to Indiana Steel Company, asking Mr. Johnson's work record.

*October 24, 1919.*—Reply from County Infirmary received:

Acknowledging your letter of October 22, in regard to Washington Johnson, alias "Wash." We have a patient here by the name of "Wash" Johnson, admitted to our Tuberculosis Hospital September 2, 1919. He is in our Ward No. 4, and quite ill, with rather a high fever every afternoon. His lungs on examination show evidence of tuberculosis, but his sputum is negative. He has also pleurisy. The outlook in his case does not seem to be favorable.

*October 26, 1919.*—Reply from Indiana Steel Company received:

Replying to your letter of the 22d inst., *re* Johnson, beg to advise that a "Wash" Johnson, who worked under pay-roll number 87–521 was employed at this Works as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| First employed | 5–14–18 | Quit 6–28–18 |
| Rehired | 8– 6–18 | Quit 8–20–18 |
| Rehired | 9–10–18 | Left 9–19–19[1] |

This is no doubt the man that you refer to, and upon making inquiry of his foreman, I find that he was a very faithful worker.

*October 28, 1919.*—$3.00 received from Dr. Stoll on current rent.[2]

[1] [Mr. Johnson had been admitted to the County Tuberculosis Sanitarium on September 2, 1919.]

[2] [The colored community were contributing generously at this time. For a considerable period after the immigration from the South began, the Welfare Agency

*Later.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Johnson and all children home. House very dirty and cold. Mrs. Johnson feeling well, also children. Stated that she had just received a special delivery letter to come to County Infirmary at once as Mr. Johnson was very ill. She was getting dinner, food looked very nice. She and children need shoes and clothing badly. Two small children were barefooted and each wore only one garment. Told her to have teacher write to County Agent for shoes and to keep them in out of the rain so long as they had no shoes or clothing, as they all had colds. Stated she would be willing to make over anything given her for children. Also asked assistance in coal. Gave $5.00 grocery order, $1.10 fuel.

*October 30, 1919.*—Visited Douglas School. Received following report:

*Jennie*: Absent 2 days, tardy 1. Teacher was not there, could not get other reports.

*Jesse* (*J.C.*): Scholarship good, deportment good. Has only been in room nine days.

*Estelle* (*S.T.L.*): Absent October 22, 23, 24, all day. Scholarship good, deportment fair.

*Washington*: Absent four days, scholarship fair to unsatisfactory, deportment good.

*November 5, 1919.*—Wrote Tom Johnson, Woody Pines, Alabama, Mr. Johnson's father, asking for suggestions and assistance.

*Later.*—Visited at night. Mrs. Johnson and the children visited the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary November 1. Mrs. Johnson stated that Mrs. Jameson had visited and had given clothing for Ernest and I.V. Gave $1.10 for fuel, $4.00 grocery order and $1.00 for household incidentals.

*November 6, 1919.*—Telephoned Mrs. Jameson, who stated that she purchased clothing for the children—$7.00.

*November 10, 1919* (*Monday*).—Visited. Found Mrs. Johnson and children all at home. Stated that all of them had been to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium on Saturday and are doing fairly well.

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had pursued a policy which the County Agent had urged on the Agency of giving only emergency relief to new arrivals, leaving to the County Agent the decision as to whether the family should be enabled to remain here or forced by misfortune to return South. In the meantime, however, much solicitation among the colored people had aroused a number of persons to a sense of their responsibility and their opportunity. This family had, however, been in the state and county the year required by the Pauper Act. See below, however, for the opinion of relatives on the subject of sending the family South, the entry of March 17, 1920.]

Mr. Johnson was not any better on Saturday when Mrs. Johnson visited. Referred Mrs. Johnson to County Agent for coal. Gave $4.00 grocery order and $1.20 cash.

*November 11, 1919.*—Visited neighbor at previous family address. The Johnsons were very nice, hard-working people. The children were very well behaved. They tried very hard to get along on the little Mr. Johnson could make until he became too ill to work. The neighbors think they are "deserving" people.

*November 13, 1919.*—Visited Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Received following report. Mrs. Johnson has an open case of tuberculosis now and should go to County Tuberculosis Sanitarium. A nurse will visit the home this afternoon and talk with Mrs. Johnson about going to the hospital. The children will have to be put in a home. Will inform Family Agency after the nurse visits the home.

*November 14, 1919.*—The following letter received from Welfare Agency of Jackson, Mississippi:

> Am sorry I have waited so long to answer your letter October 28, but haven't been able to see Clacy Hopkins. Have sent her several messages by her relatives, but she hasn't been in to see me. I don't know her but have tried to learn something about her from other people; and they tell me she has several children, her husband is dead, and they don't believe she is able to assist the family you are writing about. Should she come in town to see me and offer any plan whereby she might help them, I will write you. Am glad to help you in this work but sorry I can't give you more information in regard to this case.

*November 15, 1919.*—Visited. Gave $4.00 grocery order and $2.00 cash.

Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium nurse requested that we place the children for the time that Mrs. Johnson, who has incipient tuberculosis and is an open case, is in the hospital.

*November 18, 1919.*—Visited. Gave clothing donated by Mrs. Jameson and $1.25 for fuel.

*November 22, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson will go to the Sanitarium as soon as notified by the Dispensary. She stated that she is now seven months pregnant. Visitor explained that children would be placed in the Home for the Friendless. Gave $4.50 grocery order and $1.00 cash.

*November 24, 1919 (Monday).*—Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary telephoned nurse that Dispensary received notice today that Mr. Johnson left County Infirmary. Nurse will visit family

today, as Mrs. Johnson may be admitted to Sanitarium on November 26.

*November 25, 1919 (Tuesday).*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson gave visitor list of clothing requested by Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium nurse. Mrs. Johnson asked visitor to telephone the nurse that it would be impossible for her to go to the Sanitarium tomorrow. Gave $4.00 grocery order and $2 cash for fuel.

*November 26, 1919.*—Telephoned the nurse, who will make arrangements for Mrs. Johnson to enter Sanitarium on Saturday, November 29. Purchased for Mrs. Johnson two suits of underwear and two pairs of hose.

*November 28, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson is prepared to enter Sanitarium tomorrow. Mrs. Brown (case) will look after the children until visitor calls to take them to the Home for the Friendless tomorrow afternoon. Gave $2.00 cash for incidentals.

*November 29, 1919.*—Telephoned superintendent, Home for the Friendless. Children will be admitted at once.

Visited. Found both Mr. and Mrs. Johnson at home. Mr. Johnson returned late last night and Mrs. Johnson wished to remain at home over Sunday. Visitor explained that she will be forcibly hospitalized[1] if she does not go to the Sanitarium as requested.

Mr. Johnson wished to keep the children at home. He visited the University Hospital, where the physician told him that he had been gassed while working in the gas department of the Indiana Steel Company. Mr. Johnson does not wish the children taken out of the home if he can prevent it. Visitor explained that he should go to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary at once. Gave $4.00 grocery order and $2.00 for kerosene and fuel.

*December 1, 1919 (Monday).*—Reported to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary that Mr. Johnson is in the home and wishes to keep the children there. Nurse will visit today.

*December 2, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson went to the Sanitarium yesterday. Visitor took the children to the Home for the Friendless and sent Mr. Johnson in taxicab to the County Hospital.[2]

*December 4, 1919.*—Telephoned Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary. Nurse stated that the house will be fumigated

[1] [See below, p. 867, for rules governing hospitalization of persons ill with tuberculosis.]

[2] [Possibly for new diagnosis; possibly the place at the Infirmary was no longer available; possibly because his condition was already so serious.]

by Health Department today and the furniture may be stored tomorrow. After fumigation the mattresses may be used with safety.

*December 5, 1919.*—Visited and with assistance of Mrs. Brown (case) gave furniture to Talbot Brothers Storage Company for storage at $3.00 per month.

*December 19, 1919.*—Mrs. Johnson telephoned that she is getting along nicely at the Sanitarium. She asked visitor to send a sweater, a knitted cap, and woolen stockings for sleeping, as she is outside most of the time.

*Later.*—Telephoned the County Hospital. Received the report that Mr. Johnson is very ill, prognosis, bad.

His father had sent him a check for $60 some time ago, but Mr. Johnson had never received it.

*Donation.*—Sent Mrs. Johnson clothing donated by Mrs. Jameson.

*January 23, 1920.*—Telephoned superintendent of the Social Service Department, County Hospital. She interviewed Mr. Johnson at visitor's request.

*January 28, 1920.*—Wrote Tom Johnson, Jackson Lumber Company, Woody Pines, Alabama:

> Your letter of January 11, in which you stated that you sent your son, Washington Johnson, $60 was received sometime ago. Mr. Johnson is now very ill in the County Hospital here. He tells us that he never received the money which you sent him. Mrs. Johnson is in the County Tuberculosis Sanitarium, and the children are at present being care for in a Home. Mrs. Johnson is expecting confinement soon. Any money which you could send your son's family could be sent in care of the Welfare Agency.

*March 14, 1920.*—Visited Mrs. Johnson at the home of Jefferson Johnson. Mrs. Johnson was in a very cheerful mood and stated that she had never felt so well since she had come to Chicago. The infant born January 21, 1920, is fat and robust looking. Mrs. Johnson has no plan for herself and family. She would like very much to be re-established, but she feels that assistance from relatives is very uncertain.

Mrs. Johnson visited Mr. Johnson at the hospital today. He is very anxious to return to Alabama. Mrs. Johnson has visited the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium and the nurse has visited in the home. She stated that there is a balance of $5.00 or $6.00 due the South Side Furniture[1] Company on the beds and refrigerator.

[1] [This is one of several instalment-house situations illustrated by the records given. See above, entry of December 5, 1919.]

*March 15, 1920.*—Visited Mr. Johnson at the County Hospital. He had received a check from his father which he indorsed and asked that visitor use for his transportation to Alabama. He is planning to travel alone and leave the family here until some plan can be made for them. He feels that the southern climate will improve his health.

He stated that his father has no home for him and he expects to live with his sister, Maggie Jones, with whom he has not yet corresponded. He stated that an investigator from the Health Department has visited and told him that as soon as he was able to get out of the hospital he might return to Alabama.[1]

Mr. Johnson said there was a small balance due the South Side Furniture Company on the beds, ice box, and chairs, which are all practically worn out. Mr. Johnson is willing that some of these things go back to this company. Talked with Mrs. Johnson and with Mr. Jefferson Johnson regarding the furniture. All were of the opinion that the furniture was so terribly worn it was not worth the balance due on it, and Mr. Jefferson Johnson and the other brothers would not assume the responsibility of paying the balance.

Mrs. Johnson admitted that she had made a serious mistake in not informing us of this debt before furniture was stored, but she lost her account book and all receipts when Mr. Johnson was first sent to County Infirmary and she did not know how the account stood.

*March 17, 1920.*—Visited Jefferson Johnson, brother of Mr. Johnson. He has a very unkempt-looking, foul-smelling, small grocery store. He stated that he took the store last fall to work it out of debt. He has paid off debts on the instalment plan to different wholesale firms amounting to about $200. He has debts now which amount to about $250. He clears enough money to pay his rent on the store, $22.50 per month, and his house rent of $12 per month, besides paying his other household expenses. He has only one leg; the other was removed near the hip when he was quite a young man. He and his brother "Wash" were in the grocery business in Alabama, and he stated that Mr. Johnson and family arrived in Chicago with nearly $400 in cash.

He considers Mr. and Mrs. Johnson both very poor managers and they spent the $400 and all the money that Mr. Johnson made at his work.

[1] [See below, p. 869, for provisions regulating interstate travel of persons ill with contagious diseases.]

Mr. Jefferson Johnson formerly lived in the home of his brother. He said that his family came to Chicago last summer. He said that he had helped the family all that he could. He had supplied them with about $50 worth of groceries during the four or five months prior to Mr. Johnson's entering the hospital. He supplies Mrs. Johnson with $2.00 or $3.00 worth of groceries every time she makes a visit to Mr. Johnson at the hospital. He is the one who gave Dr. Stoll the $3.00 per month which Dr. Stoll sent Agency on the family's rent.

He would not state what amount he could give toward the re-establishment of the family. He said that he could not give them a place in his home. He would not be able to give $10 a month. He might possibly give $5.00.

He would not advise that the family be returned South because he says there is nothing there for them. Mr. Johnson's relatives there have large families, and he feels that Mrs. Johnson and the children would fare very badly.

He is willing and anxious to have a family conference on the case.

*April 7, 1920.*—Mrs. Johnson telephoned that I.V. died of diphtheria at the Home for the Friendless today.

*April 10, 1920.*—Visited Mrs. Johnson at the home of Mr. Jefferson Johnson. I.V. was buried by Thomas Charles, undertaker. The burial expenses were $66, $40 of which were paid by Mr. Jefferson Johnson.

Mrs. Johnson looks very thin and tired out. She visited the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary today for examination.

*May 1, 1920.*—Visited Mr. Johnson at the County Hospital. He is now constantly confined to his bed and is hopeless about recovering. He does not wish to return South now and is anxious to have the family reunited. He asked visitor to use the money sent for his transportation for relief of Mrs. Johnson and the children. He does not wish anyone to assume the responsibility of the balance due the South Side Furniture Company; he prefers that the furniture be returned to the company.

*May 26, 1920.*—Talked with Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium doctor. He would not advise that Mrs. Johnson be given the responsibilities of a home because it is the washing, ironing, and scrubbing and other heavy duties which may possibly aggravate her condition. He thinks, however, that she certainly would be more contented with her family together and, if Family Welfare Agency wishes to try it as an experiment, we have his permission.

*May 29, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson is very thin. She says she feels well and is anxious to have her family re-established. She feels that she can direct the children and manage her household so that the heavy work will not fall upon her. She attempted to work a few days at the Wright Hand Laundry but the work was too heavy. She then worked two days washing dishes at a North Side restaurant. She gave this up because of the long hours. She will begin looking for suitable quarters at once.

*June 23, 1920.*—Mrs. Johnson came to the office to report that she had been unable to find suitable rooms. She looked very thin and said that she had not felt well recently. She attends the Dispensary.

*July 24, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson has been working at a laundry on the North Side, earning $12 per week. She works irregularly and stated she will have to give the work up because the distance is so great. She leaves the baby at the St. James Day Nursery. Mrs. Johnson has been unable to find suitable quarters. She is still in search of rooms and is very anxious to be re-established. Mr. Johnson is constantly confined to his bed, and Mrs. Johnson feels that he cannot last very much longer.

Mr. Graham of the South Side Furniture Company produced contract showing that Mr. Johnson purchased furniture June 11, 1918, on the instalment plan, total $82.35. Payments were irregular, and no payment was made after July, 1919. Balance due $32.35. Articles were as follows: three blue iron beds, springs and mattresses, six kitchen chairs, one table, one refrigerator.

*July 28, 1920.*—Card from Home for the Friendless that Committee must have report on the members of the Johnson family who are still here. They have been in the Home since last December and ought to be placed elsewhere.

*July 31, 1920.*—Telephoned Home for the Friendless in response to card. Explained that we are in search of rooms and expect to re-establish the family as soon as possible.

*August 18, 1920.*—Visitor went with Mrs. Johnson to South Side Furniture Company, and gave orders for them to call at Talbot Brothers Storage Company for the furniture in question.

*August 19, 1920.*—On August 18, the County Hospital telephoned that Mr. Johnson died on that date. Mrs. Johnson and Mr. Jefferson Johnson came to the office for advice in making funeral arrangements. They visited Mount Horeb Undertaking Company, who will have charge of the funeral, expense $100. There is no insurance. The

brothers of Mr. Johnson will pay funeral expenses. The furniture was removed by South Side Furniture Company from Talbot Brothers.

*August 27, 1920.*—Death of baby. On August 26, Mrs. Johnson telephoned that the baby became ill, Sunday, August 22. She called Dr. Stoll, who made arrangements for the baby to have a charity bed at the Provident Hospital. The baby died there August 26 of something resembling summer complaint.

*September 1, 1920.*—On August 27, Superintendent of the Home for the Friendless telephoned that the children could not remain longer at the Home.

Telephoned visitor of the Children's Friend Society regarding a boarding-home for the children. On August 31 visitor telephoned that Jennie, J.C., and S.T.L. may be boarded at the home of Mrs. Smith, Jameson Avenue. The other children would have to be placed in other homes if they cannot remain longer at the Home for the Friendless.

Took Jennie, J.C., and S.T.L. to the home of Mrs. Smith. The younger children may remain in the Home a few weeks longer until definite plans can be made for the family.

*September 4, 1920.*—Telephoned doctor at Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium who reported that Mrs. Johnson is "holding her own" and is in a fair condition of health. Sputum is negative, and she is not a sanitarium case. Doctor stated that it would undoubtedly be better for her to have no responsibility whatever, but he sees no objection to re-establishing her with the children.

Telephoned Mount Horeb Undertaking Company. Jefferson, James, and Kenneth Johnson, brothers of Mr. Johnson, paid $100 funeral expenses of Mr. Johnson and $25 expense of the baby, Charlotte Marie.

*September 10, 1920.*—Mrs. Johnson came to office asking clothing for the three older children now at the home of Mrs. Smith. Telephoned Talbot Brothers who allowed Mrs. Johnson to visit their warehouse and take clothing from her trunks.

*September 22, 1920.*—Mrs. Johnson came to the office after having spent three days in a vain search for rooms. She looked thin but stated that she feels very well. She tried to work two days last week, but felt too weak. She was given two addresses of houses for rent. She visited and telephoned later that she found nothing for rent.

*October 15, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Jefferson Johnson stated that Mrs. Johnson was at work at a laundry, leaving home about 6:30 A.M.

and returning about 6:00 P.M. Mrs. Johnson sleeps in the room with Mr. and Mrs. Jefferson Johnson and their two children.

Visited Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Mrs. Johnson's last visits were September 1 and 2. At that time she was losing weight but "holding her own." Has pyorrhoea, needs immediate treatment, and nurse advised that she consult their dentist.

*November 8, 1920.*—The following story appeared in several Chicago papers:

ONE OF CHICAGO'S NEEDY FAMILIES

The "K." family came to Chicago from Mississippi in the spring of 1918. They came in search of better employment for Mr. K., and larger educational advantages and opportunities for their children. Mr. K. worked at the steel mills, the children attended school regularly, and the family managed very nicely until December, 1919, when Mr. and Mrs. K. became ill.

The five children, oldest fourteen years, were sent temporarily to a Home. Mrs. K. was sent to a sanitarium, where another baby was born. The baby was ill from birth and died a few months later. Mr. K. was sent to the hospital, where he died of tuberculosis in July, 1920.

Mrs. K. is now living with relatives in very congested quarters. The doctor tells us that her health is somewhat improved and she may be established again with her children. The family has furniture.

They must have at least four bright rooms at a moderate rent, because they are totally dependent. Mrs. K. and the Family Welfare Agency visitor have searched diligently for rooms for the family since June 1 and have been unable to find any.

Will you come to the rescue of this widow and five children? Have you suitable rooms for this promising and very deserving family? Will you assist us in our search for a desirable place in order that this little family may again function in the community as a family unit?

Telephone Welfare Agency.

*November 11, 1920.*—Visited on October 23. Mrs. Johnson worked temporarily at the laundry to get clothing for herself and children. She stopped and gave all of her time to searching for rooms. On October 23 and 28 she came to the office saying she was unable to secure rooms.

Telephoned social workers white and colored, familiar with all sections of the city. No one knew of available quarters. Telephoned ten real estate offices—they had nothing to offer.

*November 16, 1920.*—Social worker in southwestern quarter of city telephoned that they visited and talked with Mrs. Allen who had

a vacant apartment. Landlord, Mr. Allen, is a bricklayer. The four rooms are on second floor, toilet and bath are in basement, one nice light room (other rooms light but small). Rent $15, stove or gas heat. Rooms are near public school.

*November 22, 1920–November 29, 1920.*—Arranged with Wolfe Brothers to move furniture November 23. Explained to Mrs. Johnson that she should clean the rooms and then call for children at the Home for the Friendless. The stove pipes need adjusting.

*December 1, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson and Jennie had started to rearrange the furniture. The cook stove was broken and some of the pipes were smashed. Jennie had a severe cold, and has been out of school for several days.

*December 7, 1920.*—Visited. The house was in fairly good order. The three oldest children were at home because, as Mrs. Johnson said, they did not have coal to heat the rooms until yesterday. Washington and Ernest are still at the Home for the Friendless. Mrs. Johnson complained of not having a sink or some means of lighting besides kerosene. Mrs. Johnson stated she was feeling better than she was last week.

*December 13, 1920.*—Letter written to Tom Johnson, Woody Pines, Alabama:

> We are interested in the family of your son, Washington, this city. Since the death of your son, Mrs. Johnson has been very anxious to reunite the family. For several weeks the Welfare Agency sought rooms for Mrs. Johnson and it was not until the twenty-third of November that they finally secured a flat where the family now lives.
>
> You will be glad to know that Mrs. Johnson's health has improved so that she is able to care for her house, although of course unable to do any outside work that might bring an income. Jennie must complete the fifth grade before she can secure her working certificate. The teachers at the school where the children attend were much pleased with their deportment and progress in their work.
>
> Will it be possible for you to contribute to the support of your grandchildren? We know that Mrs. Johnson will greatly appreciate any help that you can give.

*December 15, 1920.*—Visited Jefferson Johnson, who stated that Mrs. Johnson was well during the six months that she stayed at his house. He has not paid the $36 for the funeral expenses of I. V. Since so many people are unemployed and the prices of food are coming down, Mr. Johnson does not have so large an income in the grocery. He has two little children to support and rent for both the grocery

and his home, so that he feels he can only give $2.00 a month toward the support of Mrs. Johnson and family. James Johnson, younger brother, is out of work. His wife is ill, so that he cannot give anything toward helping his brother's case.

*Later.*—Visited Kenneth Johnson. He is working at the Indiana Steel Company as a laborer. He has three children. The flat consists of six rooms, all comfortably furnished, but Mrs. Johnson said that as soon as her baby was old enough she would have to go out and work. Mrs. Washington Johnson was always lazy. She telephoned to Mrs. Kenneth Johnson that the Welfare Agency was going to take care of her now and they did not want her to work any more. Although Mrs. Johnson said she thought a great deal of the children and would like to help, she cannot.

*December 16, 1920.*—Advisory Committee decision: If Mrs. Johnson is able to keep up her home, to apply for Mothers' Pension in April. If oldest girl can be spared, possibly she could work on Saturdays.

*December 17, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Allen, landlady, was quite indignant about the way Mrs. Johnson and the children had been acting. She objected to the cutting of kindling or breaking of coal in the house and to the running up and down stairs of the Johnson children in heavy shoes. She had asked Mrs. Johnson to keep the children from making such a noise but she claimed that Mrs. Johnson had not complied with her request and that the children were racing up and down the stairs, thus interfering with Mr. Allen's sleep. Mr. Allen works every other week at night. Mrs. Allen stated that if the Johnsons continued to act the way they had been acting, when the next pay day came she would ask them to move.

Mrs. Johnson denied that she had permitted her children to race up and down stairs and promised she would not allow anyone to chop wood in the house.

While visitor was talking to Mrs. Johnson alone, she said that what Mrs. Allen asked the Johnson children not to do, George Allen, her own child, did, and that he stole anything he got his hands on, that she had missed $12 when she first moved there but had not reported it. He curses and takes the kindling that the Johnson children put in the coal shed down stairs. Visitor suggested that they prepare enough kindling for several days and put it up in a box by the stove in their own flat and that they be very careful not to arouse the indignation of the Allens, especially until spring, as there are no empty flats into which they could move.

Jennie is still looking for work, but has found nothing.

*January 3, 1921.*—Mrs. Johnson received $5.00 from the Women's Missionary Club and also a basket at the Community Gathering at the church.

Visiting housekeeper visited. Mrs. Johnson was friendly and interested. Visitor discussed value of green vegetables and milk in the diet and urged Mrs. Johnson to use more vegetables. Promised to see that Mrs. Johnson gets three quarts of milk per day; gave her recipes for rice pudding.

[The following entries record the visiting housekeeper's visits during a period of several weeks.]

*March 31, 1921.*—Visited. At Mrs. Johnson's request, visitor showed her how to cook oatmeal in double boiler made from two of her pans. Mrs. Johnson was very pleased as she likes oatmeal, but did not like it the way she cooked it. Jennie has made rice pudding from the recipe left by visitor and they all liked it. Mrs. Johnson is happy to have the extra quart of milk and finds it easy to use it all.

*April 6, 1921.*—Telephoned Mrs. Johnson to put split peas to soak in preparation for the cooking the following day.

Visited. Mrs. Johnson made puree of split peas under supervision of visiting housekeeper and repeated cooking of oatmeal in improvised double boiler to be used for breakfast the following morning. Visitor demonstrated preparation of croutons to use instead of crackers with soup. Mrs. Johnson's kitchen is small and dark and her utensils scanty in number. The water supply comes from a faucet by the door, and there is no sink. All the waste water must be carried downstairs in the pail that stands under the faucet. In spite of these handicaps, the room was fairly clean. Mrs. Johnson seems tired all the time and without much backbone, but she is grateful, appreciative, and anxious to do and say what is expected of her.

*April 14, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson made split pea loaf and tomato sauce to serve with it, under supervision of visiting housekeeper. On Saturday, Mrs. Johnson had taught Jennie to make the puree and croutons. Jennie likes to cook and has had cooking lessons at school, but does not have any at the school she is now attending, so she enjoys repeating her mother's lessons. They were very glad to learn of these ways to use the County Agent's supplies.

*April 28, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson made cornmeal mush under supervision of visitor. The kitchen floor was covered with grease spots and she apologized for it, saying she intended to scrub as soon as she finished the washing which she was doing that day.

*May 19, 1921.*—Visited. The kitchen was dirty and disordered and Mrs. Johnson was not feeling well. Talked to her about the necessity for

cleanliness and ways of securing it. Left her washing the dishes and cleaning the kitchen.

*May 20, 1921.*—Visited. Kitchen was clean and orderly. Mrs. Johnson made oatmeal cookies under supervision of visitor.

*May 26, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson made three loaves of yeast bread under direction of visitor and scrubbed her kitchen and bedroom floors.

*June 2, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Johnson made sour-milk gingerbread under direction of visitor. She had cleaned out her stove the day before and the oven baked very well.

*January 16, 1921.*—Gave two sacks of flour from Board of Trade donation.

*January 28, 1921.*—Visited weekly during the month.

*February 4, 1921.*—Mrs. Allen, landlady, at office regarding moving the family. She stated that Mrs. Johnson was impossible and that she could not put up with her and the children any longer. The children make so much noise while Mr. Allen is asleep and they haul coal up the steps in the little wagon and when the wagon is emptied they let it bump down the steps. They do not take baths, and they are generally dirty in their habits. The Allens and the Johnsons use the same bathroom. Mrs. Allen has asked Mrs. Johnson repeatedly to have the children take off their heavy shoes when they return from school and are going to be in the house, so as not to make too much noise, but Mrs. Johnson does not pay any attention to her. She has also suggested to Mrs. Johnson that there is a room in the basement which could be used by the children as a playroom when the weather is not nice, but Mrs. Johnson will not have them play there. The Allens are going to build a new house as soon as they can and Mrs. Allen would be willing that the Johnsons stay in the house in either the lower or upper flat if they would not disturb the other tenant, but she does not feel anyone else will want to rent the house or stay there if they are disturbed as she is. It was finally decided that Mrs. Allen would allow the family to remain in the house if Mrs. Johnson followed Mrs. Allen's suggestions. When visitor told Mrs. Johnson these suggestions, she did not like it very much, but said she would like to live up to the expectations of Mrs. Allen rather than move. She objected when her regular allowance was reduced, as she said she had always pinched on her former one and she tries to have enough to cover her insurance which amounts to 95 cents a week for the children and 30 cents a week for herself. The children who were at home promised to help their mother in carrying out Mrs. Allen's

expectations. Jennie has not found work. She was transferred to the Girls' Technical High School, but was not able to enter. Mrs. Johnson went to the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary February 14, 1921, but the doctor told her he could find no reason for her not feeling well. Ernest is rickety; his wrists are badly misshapen.

*March 21, 1921.*—Visited each week during the month. Mrs. Johnson was worried about Ernest, who often cries during the night and says that his legs hurt. Mrs. Johnson took him, as advised, to the Dispensary March 9, 1921. Dr. Jameson asked her to take him to Latimer Hospital for a tonsillectomy. On March 15, 1921, she took him, and there was no room for him and she was told to bring him back on March 22, 1921, when she was again sent away because the hospital was crowded. All the other children went to the Dispensary March 12, 1921, and tonsillectomy was advised for S.T.L. and Washington. The nurse took the boys to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium March 16, 1921, where their tonsils were removed. They came home March 21, 1921. The permit for Jennie's transfer to Girls' Technical High School came on January 31, 1921, and Jennie went to the school February 1, 1921, but was told that the school was already overcrowded. She has since been in the same grade taking the same work over again.

Principal of the Girls' Technical High School reported she had turned away a number of girls after the term had opened.

Reported the affair to the district superintendent of education, Mr. Short, who promised to see that things were adjusted so that Jennie could go into the sixth grade at the Technical School.

*March 23, 1921.*—Mr. Short reported that he visited the school and found that Jennie had not passed and therefore was kept in the same grade.

*April 30, 1921.*—County doctor visited, as requested. J.C. was suffering from acute bronchitis which may trouble him for some time. J.C. was in bed for about a week. The Visiting Nurse called every day. She advised keeping him home from school for some time, but he was so much better that he went back to school April 11, and has been unusually well ever since.

County Agent sent one-half ton coal, as requested. Jennie has been sewing, making over old clothes for herself. She is very anxious to have hats which she likes to make.

Mrs. Allen has sold her home to Joseph Brown. Mrs. Brown's daughter is living with her and is in Jennie's room at school. The

two girls have become very good friends. Mrs. Johnson is very glad because Jennie has had no friends to go with. Jennie is very fond of flowers and has every glass and cup in the house full of violets and dandelions.

*May 17, 1922.*—Letter written to Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Chicago [giving a history of Mr. Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, the family and containing information with reference to the marriage, Mrs. Johnson's ability as a housekeeper, latest doctors' reports on individual members of the family, names of relatives known to County Agent, etc.]

*May 31, 1922.*—Visited during the month. Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Allen had trouble over the storeroom the Johnsons are using. Mrs. Allen objected to mattresses which Mrs. Johnson had there and the old boxes and wheels the boys had collected. Mrs. Johnson washed the mattresses and the boys cleaned the storeroom and Mrs. Allen was satisfied. Mrs. Johnson would like to move if she could find a place to move to.

Ernest looks much stronger and he walks much more steadily. He is beginning to talk quite distinctly. Latimer Clinic will not be able to operate until September, as the clinic is to be closed during July and August. The children all went to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary May 14, 1921. Mrs. Johnson decided it would be a very good thing for all of them to be at summer camp during the summer.

*June 6, 1922.*—Visited principal of school. He is perfectly willing that the Johnson children leave school early and it will not affect their promotion. He thinks Jennie is so far behind her grade that it is not the wisest thing to keep her in school much longer.

*June 11, 1922.*—Mrs. Johnson and children were examined at Dispensary.

*June 15, 1922.*—Visited and took clothing from donation.

*June 16, 1922.*—Mrs. Johnson and the children went to summer camp for all summer. Doctor's certificates were signed by Dr. Thomas French, 429 Bellevue Avenue. The Johnsons have a tent in a shady, quiet part of the camp. Jennie will wait on the table. The boys will help police the camp, and Mrs. Johnson will help with the kitchen work if she feels able. They all said they liked the place and were glad they were going to stay so long.

### 16. The Family of Peter Ganos

*(A Greek Cook and Anna, His German-American Wife)*

*July 14, 1919 (Monday).*—Mr. Ganos, a Greek of clean, neat appearance, and frank, open manner, was referred by the general office to the district for aid. Mr. Ganos came to the United States from Sparta twenty years before, as a boy of thirteen years of age, and lived in Buffalo. He is a cook and has worked for restaurants and hotels. Mrs. Ganos is American-born of German descent. They were married when she was only fifteen years of age, and lived with her parents until after the birth of the second child. Since then they have always, until they came to Chicago, lived near her parents where her mother could help her.

There are now five children, Louisa (born July 30, 1909), John (born May 12, 1911), Nick (born December 31, 1913), Mary (born January 4, 1916), and Carrie (born March 23, 1918). Her baby, Gus (born January 9, 1919), died in March in the County Hospital.

A year and seven months ago, his brother Andrew persuaded him to come to Chicago, but he has never been able to support his family here. He worked as cook in his brother's restaurant, but his brother would not take him into partnership; and he feels very bitterly to the brother. He has two other brothers in Chicago but would not give their names, saying he would accept nothing from them. Mrs. Ganos' parents live in Buffalo, and she has a sister in Pittsburgh and a brother who lives in New York. Mr. Ganos worked for Michigan Central and earned first $75 and then $90, but left when they refused transportation to Buffalo. Then he was employed in a restaurant (address given), but left when the proprietor accused him of taking some cheese.

He has been out of work a week. He has $3.50 cash. He owes money on furniture purchased on instalment plan (payments not immediately due), $12 for coal, and three months' rent at $15. He has opened an account at the Southern Trust and Savings Bank. He is worried about his wife who cries all the time and wants to go back to Buffalo to be near her mother, who wants her to come back. Mrs. Ganos is not strong. That was the trouble with the baby. Both he and she suffer from rheumatism and take patent remedies for it. He belongs to the Greek Orthodox church, she to the Roman Catholic.

Referred Mr. Ganos to U.S. Free Employment Service.

*July 17, 1919* (*Thursday*).—Visited Andrew Ganos (located through directory). He said he had paid the transportation for his brother's family and their first month's rent. His brother worked for him at $25 and took home food for the family. It was not so much money matters as his brother's assumption of authority that caused the difficulty between them. He, Andrew, supports the parents in Greece, so he can do nothing more for his brother's family. He has never married because he has such heavy responsibilities. The other brother Charles is also out of work. Another brother, Augustus, has a restaurant. He thinks Augustus and Peter are on good terms. He thinks his brother's wife is a good mother, but he thinks she has some sort of fits sometimes.

*Later.*—Visited. The family live in a four-room house, for which they pay $15, moderately well furnished, one bedroom and the pantry damp. The other rooms are light, airy, and dry. The children were well mannered but very thin. They were very ragged and dirty. Mrs Ganos is four months pregnant, is very nervous, and cries easily. The family owe a former landlord three months' rent and also owe $12 for coal bought the winter before [the name of the dealer obtained, as well as the names of neighbors who were especially kind]. She loves gardening and has a little garden, but she wants to go back to her people in Buffalo. She has had a midwife at the birth of each child, but the last baby was prematurely born. She says nervous and dizzy spells attack her and rheumatism, from which both she and her husband suffer. He has secured a position at an automat restaurant and borrowed a little from the proprietor. He will be paid every two weeks.

*July 21, 1919.*—Mrs. Ganos telephoned that Mr. Ganos was again out of work, being no longer needed at the restaurant.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. Ganos has a job on the Western Railroad at $80 a month. Gets paid every two weeks. Gave cash grant, $6.

*July 22, 1919.*—Letter written the superintendent, Buffalo Family Welfare Agency.

I am writing to ask you to visit the relatives of Mrs. Ganos and the former employers of Mr. Ganos who have recently moved from Buffalo to Chicago.

Will you visit Mr. and Mrs. John Schmidt, Mrs. Ganos' parents at 70 Ernestine Street, Buffalo, New York? Mrs. Ganos has two brothers and a sister working to support the family. We wish to learn the occupations and earnings of the members of this family. Also of what grade of

intelligence they are. Has it been necessary for them to assist the Ganos family in the past, and to what extent were they able to do so? Do they think it advisable for the family to move back to Buffalo? We should like to have the opinions of the brothers and sister as well as those of the parents. Would it be possible for them to assist the family to return? What is their opinion of Mr. Ganos and do they think he will be able to do better financially in Buffalo than in Chicago? What is Mrs. Ganos' medical history? She was in a hospital in Buffalo at one time. If possible will you determine what hospital and send us a report of their record?

Will you also visit the former employers of Mr. Ganos, Mr. W. A. Brown, Stoney Point Hotel, by whom Mr. Ganos was employed for four years and from whom he has a letter of recommendation? He was also employed at the Greek Parthenon, 500 Broadway and Third Avenue, Buffalo. Perhaps you can learn from the family of other places where he has worked. We should like to know the quality of Mr. Ganos' work. There seems to be no doubt that Mr. Ganos is a good worker but he has had some difficulty with employers in Chicago who say he is disagreeable and authoritative. Recently he has been unable to hold a position.

Mr. Ganos was born in Sparta, Greece, where his parents still reside. He has three brothers living in Chicago, two of whom are in the restaurant and confectionery business and the other is unemployed. Mr. Ganos is a cook and came to Chicago with the help of his brother, for whom he worked for about two months. He and his brother disagreed over the business. At present they are not on speaking terms. Mr. Ganos has not been able to earn sufficient money to provide for his increasing family since arriving in Chicago. He wishes to return to Buffalo, where he says he was able to earn more money and where Mrs. Ganos can be near her parents, who always helped her in caring for the children.

Mrs. Ganos is an American girl. She married Mr. Ganos at the age of fifteen, and they lived with her parents until the first two children were born. After that time they lived near her parents until they moved to Chicago. Mrs. Ganos is now four months pregnant. She is very nervous and cries a great deal over their difficulties. She also has peculiar attacks of dizziness. She said she had St. Vitus' Dance when she was a child and has never entirely recovered. Her last baby died in March at the County Hospital. It was an eight months' child and never developed. Mrs. Ganos never had sufficient nourishment for the baby. She has never had a doctor at the birth of her children but has always been under the care of a midwife. Mrs. Ganos also wishes to return to Buffalo and says that her mother writes to her frequently urging them to come.

*July 26, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Ganos said she must use her husband's pay for furniture. Mary appeared to have measles. Gave $5.00 cash grant.

*Later.*—Called county doctor.

*August 2, 1919.*—Telephoned county doctor; had the house quarantined for measles.

*August 4, 1919.*—Visited. The children were very naked and dirty. Mr. Ganos had received $24 wages, paid $15 rent and bought coal, wood, and food, so that they had 56 cents to carry them until next payday. Gave $3.00 cash grant. Mrs. Ganos says it takes five loaves of bread a day to feed the family.

*August 11, 1919.*—Visited. Gave $9.15. Letter received from Buffalo Family Welfare Agency, dated August 8, 1919:

We regret to tell you that as yet we have been unable to see Mrs. Ganos' brothers, but we will send you the report we have, and next week will send a supplementary one.

We found Mrs. Schmidt living at 500 Niagara Street, in Buffalo. They had been living there about four months, having moved from 70 Ernestine Street. The family consist of Mr. and Mrs. Schmidt, a single son, a married son and his wife, and a daughter fourteen years old. The house was comfortably furnished, and the family seem to be rather intelligent. Mrs. Schmidt is greatly interested in her daughter and in her daughter's welfare. She tells the following story of her life.

She was never a healthy child and from the time when she was a little child she had St. Vitus' Dance continually. Before she was fourteen years old she had an illegitimate child, of whom Mr. Ganos was the father. The matter was taken to court, and Mr. Ganos served a year and a half in the State Penitentiary. As soon as he was released he wanted to marry Anna, but the family objected very strongly principally because of the condition of her health. They preferred to bring the child up as their own. However, less than a year later, just before the birth of John, they were married. Mr. Ganos has always been very devoted to his wife and has been a good husband, trying to rectify the mistake they made. While he lived in Buffalo he was able to command a fairly good salary, earning $25 to $30 a week. They did, however, spend a great deal of their time at Mrs. Schmidt's home and she helped them at different times. Anna always came home when the children were born, and when Mr. Ganos was out of work Mrs. Schmidt assisted the family.

Mrs. Schmidt is most anxious to have her daughter return to Buffalo. She feels that her family is superior to Mr. Ganos' family and does not like to think of her daughter associating with the Greek people. She told me that it was her custom to save all her dimes and when she has saved a dollar she sends them to Mrs. Ganos, hoping that in time she will have money enough to go back to Buffalo. She does not feel that it is possible for her to assist her daughter any more financially. When I reached the house

she was doing up a bundle of clothes to send to the family, saying that it would be Louisa's birthday within a few days. I told them that I would call some evening when the brother was at home because she assured me that both he and her husband would know more about Mr. Ganos than she did.

We communicated with Lying-In Hospital where Mrs. Schmidt told us her daughter was confined when Louisa was born but they had no record of her ever being there. We were unable to locate the Greek Parthenon Restaurant at 500 Broadway.

We visited both hotels in Stoney Point, which is a suburb of Buffalo, but they were not able to give us any information about Mr. Ganos. One of them has changed management recently. We found that Mr. Ganos had worked in an oyster and chop house which we visited. Although the restaurant is not being run by the same man who employed Mr. Ganos, he knew something of your client. He tells us that he knew him in Greece and that Mr. Ganos came from a fine family; that his father was a school teacher. He knew nothing about his ability as a workman. We found also that Mr. Ganos had worked at the Alexandrian Restaurant on Stone Street, this city. He worked at this place for about a year and left over a year ago. He was a very satisfactory workman and left of his own accord to accept a better position. He earned $25 a week while he was employed here.

As soon as I am able to talk with Mrs. Ganos' brothers, I will send you a supplementary report.

[During the rest of August and September, the record is rather incomplete. The children have an outing, Mr. Ganos gets and loses several jobs, Mrs. Ganos is examined at a dispensary and is diagnosed as showing symptoms of hysteria, needing dental care, etc. Her home is growing less decent, and the children are poorly cared for. They have difficulty in obtaining credit. It proves necessary for the family to move, the instalment house threatens to take the furniture, etc.

Mr. Augustus Ganos is visited but not really consulted; but finally after much persuasion he gives $20 toward the expenses of the return journey; Andrew gives $5.00; the Buffalo relatives send $11; the Welfare Agency asks of the railroad half-fares for Mrs. Ganos and the children, and they are sent back to their relatives. The record closes after the Buffalo Society at the request of the Chicago Agency has visited Mrs. Ganos, who was expecting Mr. Ganos the following Sunday, with the entry that he had left for Buffalo on Wednesday, December 3.]

### 17. Julia Waldron

(*An Insane Woman Tramping with Three Small Children*)

*January 14, 1914.*—Mrs. Waldron and three children in office with the following letter from a resident of the House-by-the-Side-of-the-Road,[1] Chicago.

The bearer of this letter, Mrs. Andrew C. Waldron (née Julia Berger) came with her three boys, Ralph, aged ten, Thomas, aged four, and Carl, aged eighteen months, to the House-by-the-Side-of-the-Road this evening. She says that she is on her way to her sister, Mary Kemp, Amherst, Nebraska. I am sending a night letter to her sister, and if you will telephone in the morning, and ask for me or the secretary, we will let you know if we have had a reply. The woman says that she came from Two Lakes, Wisconsin, and that she lost her money for her ticket to Nebraska. She says that her sister is well fixed.

Mrs. Waldron wished ticket to Nebraska and refused to answer questions definitely. Said she had been brought up in the town with her sister in Nebraska. Her husband deserted her three years ago at the time of a big strike. Her uncle, whose name she refused to give, gave her transportation to Wisconsin, several months ago. She differed as to the length of time she had been away from Nebraska, sometimes claiming it was only two months and later saying she had been gone eight months. Insisted that she did not know the name of the town outside of which she had been living. Said her errand to Wisconsin had been to care for her husband's brother until he died of consumption a week or so ago. Would not give his name and refused to tell how far she had come to Chicago. The children appeared exhausted, fell asleep every time they sat still. Mrs. Waldron gave their ages as ten, six, and four. The two younger children are not so old as this. Mrs. Waldron said she left Wisconsin three days ago, on the St. Paul Railroad, her transportation having been paid by a stranger, a traveling man, whom she appealed to at the station. She acknowledged that she had no money and saw no reason why an organization would hesitate to pass her on to her people.[2]

[1] [The letter did not state that arrangements were made for a night's lodging for the group at a neighboring Parish House.]

[2] [The impression made on the interviewer was of such instability that the interviewer took immediate action and telephoned the Mental Hygiene Society, and one of the nurses from their office came at once. There are two interviews with Mrs. Waldron, one immediately in the office, and one by another nurse two days later at the Home for the Friendless (see entry January 15, 1914). Neither

*January 14, 1914 (Wednesday).*—Telephoned Mental Hygiene, asked that one of their nurses come at once to the office to examine Mrs. Waldron.

Miss Roberts came immediately, but was unable to have a satisfactory interview with Mrs. Waldron because of the disturbance caused by the children. Ralph refused to give any information; said he had never been to school and replied "don't know" to every question. Arranged with Home for the Friendless to take Mrs. Waldron temporarily. She was very loath to go.

Visitor of Welfare Agency took Mrs. Waldron and children to Home for the Friendless. When Mrs. Waldron found she could not be in the same department with the children, she ran away. She was persuaded by an officer on the street that this Agency was not taking her children away from her and that the Home of Friendless was a safe place. During the scene which Mrs. Waldron made on the street, a man passing insisted upon giving her $1.00.

*January 15, 1914.*—Home for the Friendless telephoned that it was impossible to keep Mrs. Waldron as she demands her children and insists that she is not dependent since she has $1.00. She says that the children's grandfather lives in Meadville, Illinois. Will not tell his name and eludes direct questioning. Promised to keep her, if Mental Hygiene nurse would call during the morning.

Telephoned Mental Hygiene. Mental Hygiene nurse will go at once to examine Mrs. Waldron again.

*Later.*—Telephoned J. R. Thompson, village marshal at Meadville (telephone Meadville 300), and obtained the information that there is an old man by the name of Andrew Waldron living at the edge of the village. Mr. Thompson will send someone to bring him into town to let the Welfare Agency talk with him by telephone.

*Later.*—Mr. Thompson telephoned for Mr. Waldron, who said that his son married Julia Berger, who deserted him. Mr. Waldron does not know where his son is. Ralph is a child by another father. The children are younger than Mrs. Waldron says. Mr. Waldron says that George H. Berger, her father, lives in Wisconsin, and can take care of her. Mr. Waldron said he would be willing to testify in court that she is mentally unbalanced. He himself is an old man,

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nurse is willing to diagnose her positively as insane. She might have been arrested under the Vagrancy Ordinance as one who is "Idle, or dissolute, or goes about begging." See the *Chicago Municipal Code* (Ettelson, 1922), sec. 2655, or *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 38, sec. 578, "Vagabonds."]

a day laborer, unable to care for her, and not desirous of having her come to Meadville.

Telephoned Mental Hygiene. Nurse could find no reason during her talk with Mrs. Waldron for considering her insane. However, that society will telephone the police and have an officer stay with Mrs. Waldron until the ambulance from the Detention Hospital calls for her.

*Later.*—Home for the Friendless telephoned that they could not keep Mrs. Waldron, although the latter had promised Mental Hygiene nurse to stay another day, presumably to wait for an answer to telegram sent by the House-by-the-Side-of-the-Road. Told them to keep her there until an officer came, which they promised to do.

*Later.*—Mental Hygiene nurse telephoned that she had talked with superintendent of the Detention Hospital, who will take Mrs. Waldron and hear the case, providing they can get more evidence. Gave her all the information about relatives. She is going to communicate with Mr. Waldron, the father-in-law, and persuade him, if possible, to come to Chicago and testify.

*January 16, 1914.*—Letter written to Mr. J. R. Thompson, village marshal of Meadville, Illinois, as follows:

> We want to thank you for the trouble which you took to let us telephone to Mr. Andrew Waldron. As Miss Ball promised over the telephone, we are sending you a check for $1.00 to cover the expense you have gone to to help us prove the identity of Mr. Andrew Waldron's daughter-in-law.

*January 17, 1914* (*Saturday*).—Letter received by House-by-the-Side-of-the-Road from Mrs. Mary Kemp, Amherst, Nebraska:

> Dear Madam:
>
> I just received your telegram in regards to Mrs. Waldron's children. Mrs. Waldron belongs in Wisconsin and not in Nebraska. She came out here two years ago and if she had stayed one day longer we would have had her sent to Lincoln and had her children put in a home. She has a well and healthy husband to take care of her. She stayed with her sister Etta and almost ruined her household goods and she never can go back there again and she can't come here and she knows that Mr. Kemp would show her the road so quick it would make her head swim. Let Wisconsin take care of her or hunt Mr. Waldron up and make him take care of her. Her father came out West and is here. He made a good home for her several years ago and now he has forsaken her. Why he did that was she got mad at him and set his bed afire when he was asleep. He got up and left at midnight. It won't do her any good to come to Nebraska. If she does she will lose her children at once. There is a place for her in Lincoln. Don't send her here, send her to Wisconsin. Please read this to Julia Waldron. From Mrs. Mary Kemp.

*Later.*—Letter written Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene, inclosing letter from Mrs. Kemp:

I am inclosing the letter received by the House-by-the-Side-of-the-Road in response to her telegram to Mrs. Mary Kemp, sister of Mrs. Julia Waldron. Someone from this office will be in Detention Court on Thursday morning when Mrs. Waldron's case comes up if you wish us to be. Please let me know if there is anything more we can do.

*January 19, 1914 (Monday).*—Mental Hygiene nurse telephoned asking that visitor confer with her and superintendent of Detention Hospital this afternoon.

*Later.*—Visited Detention Hospital. Superintendent was out. Assistant superintendent wrote out paper stating that Mrs. Waldron was insane and in need of institutional care.

Talked with Mrs. Waldron together with Mental Hygiene nurse. She still eludes questions, but said that she had come from a little farm near Two Rivers,[1] insisted that she did not know her brother-in-law's name, that it was not Waldron. Had a trunk check with her marked "Racine." Also stated that at one of the towns in Wisconsin in which she had stayed before coming to Chicago, the "Charities" had given her a ticket on to the next place.

*January 20, 1914.*—Took out papers at the City Hall and returned them to the Detention Hospital.

*January 22, 1914.*—Case of Mrs. Waldron's sanity up in Detention Hospital. Mrs. Waldron committed to Hospital for the Insane, children to be disposed of later.

*January 23, 1914.*—Letter written to Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court, Chicago, as follows:

May we refer to your charge, the three children of Mrs. Julia Waldron who was committed to the State Hospital for the Insane, January 22? These three children, Ralph, Thomas, and Carl, are at present in the Home for the Friendless. Mrs. Waldron has been known to this office only since January 14, when she came in referred by the House-by-the-Side-of-the-Road, where she had asked transportation to Nebraska. She gave a very vague story of where she had lived, could not give the ages of the children, and was temporarily held at the Home for the Friendless, while communication with her sister was being made. This sister, Mrs. Mary E. Kemp of Amherst, Nebraska, wrote saying that Mrs. Waldron was insane. The father-in-law of Mrs. Waldron, Andrew Waldron, a laborer, living on the outskirts of Meadville, Illinois, talked with us through the village marshal,

[1] [She had at the House-by-the-Side-of-the Road said "Two Lakes."]

corroborating Mrs. Kemp's opinion. The Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene is familiar with this family and the nurse who talked with Ralph says that he is subnormal. We have no other relatives' addresses, except Mr. George Berger, Mrs. Waldron's father, who makes his home with Mrs. Kemp. We cannot locate Mr. Waldron who is supposed to have deserted his family several years ago. Will you kindly take up the matter of placing the children?

*January 24, 1914.*—Letter received from Juvenile Court, Complaint Department:

We are in receipt of your letter regarding the Waldron family and have assigned the case to one of our officers. He will report action taken.[1]

### 18. Frank Mason

(*A Tramp with a Two-Year-Old Son*)

*August 16, 1919.*—Letter, dated August 15, 1919, from the Family Welfare Association of Centreville, Illinois, received at the general office [of the Family Welfare Agency of Chicago]:

Today, Friday, Frank Mason, with a child, Charles, aged two and a half years, came to the office, stating that they were stranded and wished to go to Omaha and then to Colorado Springs, where his sister, Etta Mason, is living. He claims to have but 85 cents and could give no special reason for having come to Centreville from Chicago this morning. He said he had lived in Chicago about two months at 325 Baughn Street. His wife, Lola F. Mason, died five weeks ago and was under the care of Dr. Winning. The man worked for the Healey Packing Company in the Stockyards and while there was in the box department; his foreman was Mr. Benedict. He stated that his own parents were both dead, his sister being his only living relative. He said he was married at St. Louis, April 29, 1915, and the child was born there two and a half years ago.[2] He claims to be sick. We, of course,[3] refused transportation to either Omaha or Colorado Springs, but

[1] [It was the duty of the Wisconsin authorities to locate Mr. Waldron and to enforce his parental obligations. It was for the Juvenile Court to return the children to the persons in Wisconsin responsible for this task.]

[2] [Notice the discrepancy between this statement as to the place of the wife's death and of the child's birth and the statement made the following Monday at the Chicago interview, August 18.]

[3] [Reference is made here to the fact that both agencies were signers of the Transportation Agreement. See below, p. 922.]

offered to give him and the child temporary care and medical attention. He refused to accept anything we could offer and left. I believe, however, he will probably return and I wish to ask a special favor, and that is, that you make an investigation for us regarding this case. If you are able to take care of this Saturday morning, we would appreciate a telephone call at our expense, before 12 o'clock, otherwise a letter which would reach us Monday morning will do.

We are inclosing a transcript of our record.

Transcript of Centreville record:

Mason (Frank)—Address given as 325 Baughn Street, Chicago, Illinois
Frank, age 27, March 3
Born Beebe, Arkansas
Occupation—Healey Packing Company
Mental Condition—"unbalanced"
Nationality—American
Religion—Methodist
Wife, Lola (deceased)
Children
Charles, 1-14-17. Bad eyes
Relatives, Mrs. Etta Mason (sister), Colorado Springs
References, Brother Brown, M.E., South
Employer, Healey and Company, Fort Worth, Texas; East St. Louis; Chicago

Mr. Mason came to the office with the boy, apparently from train. Said he had $1.16 and asked for transportation to Colorado Springs. Claims to have been living in Chicago, at 325 Baughn Street, where he had worked for Healey and Company until his wife's death a month ago. He has lived in rooming-houses with child since then. Had "flu" in winter—unable to do heavy work—showed sign of overwrought mind. Child very thin, has sore eyes and ear.

Recommended to Mr. Mason that he take child to hotel for night till we could make inquiries. Also urged that he put child in Orphanage and work here long enough to get ticket. Unwilling. He appeared very restless and did not want to wait past the eleven o'clock train. Said he meant to bum his way on with the child. Offered to take care of them until we could hear but he did not return. Telephoned the hotel and found that he had checked out at 10:30. Police have not seen him.

Telephoned Chicago asking report. Could find no trace of man. There is no such street.

Telegraphed Colorado Springs, asking report on sister.

Received telegram from Colorado Springs. Telegram: "Cannot locate Etta Mason here. Can you give address?—PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION."

*August 16, 1919.*—Letter written to secretary, Public Welfare Association, Centreville, Illinois:

*Re* Frank Mason.

We are sorry to report there is no street in Chicago known as Baughn and the nearest approach to it is Bauwans but the numbers commence on this street at 1300 and run but one short block so that number given in your letter is impossible on this street.

There is no Dr. Winning listed in the telephone directory but we have telephoned a Dr. Charles W. Winne, who does not know the family. Because of lack of time we have not been able to secure his Stockyards work record if he should really have one there. We will do this Monday morning and telephone you at once should we learn anything of interest. We will also try to verify the death of the woman through the Department of Vital Statistics, Monday.

There is no record of this family in our Confidential Exchange and the city directory does not assist us.

*August 18, 1919* (*Monday*).—Mr. Mason in the [district] office sent from the general office. He asked transportation to Colorado. He claims he is tubercular and climate there will benefit him. The diagnosis was made three weeks ago by Dr. Estill, of Arkansas City, Arkansas. Mr. Mason, who was born in 1892, is a tall, slender man with brown eyes and dark wavy hair, neat in appearance. He seemed depressed and not very communicative. He was accompanied by his little son, Charles, who was born January 14, 1917, an attractive child with dark eyes and light hair.

Mr. Mason was unable to make any definite statements concerning his previous residence. He went from one town to another, never staying more than six months at any one place. Before he came to Chicago, August 16, 1919, he lived three months in St. Louis, Missouri. His wife (Lola Fleming, born in 1895) died there December 19, 1918, of influenza after an illness of seven days. Prior to this he was four months in Galveston, Texas, and a few months in Arkansas City, Arkansas, a short time in Shreveport, Louisiana, and twenty-six months in Texas City, Texas. He was born and reared in Texas. Mr. Mason is a shoemaker by trade, and as a rule has followed this line of work. Said his parents died when he was ten years of age and he was thrown upon his own resources. He began his wandering career from thereon. He gives this as the reason for not having any friends.

Mr. Mason wished to know by tomorrow if we can send him to Colorado. He first said he had 16 cents on hand and later 27 cents.

Telephoned Y.M.C.A., Mr. Woodford, who agreed to take both Mr. Mason and his son and furnish food, for which we will reimburse him.

*August 19, 1919.*—Telephoned West Side Dispensary.[1] Made appointment for a mental and physical examination of Mr. Mason.

Met Mr. Mason at the Y.M.C.A. and accompanied him to the West Side Dispensary.

*August 20, 1919.*—The following diagnosis was received from West Side Dispensary:

The findings on the case of Frank Mason, Y.M.C.A., are as follows:
Mental examination

Chronological age.....Twenty-seven years
Mental age.....Nine years, five months
Mental status.....Medium moron
Intelligence quotient.....59

Medical examination

Wassermann, negative
Sputum examined, negative
Urine: albumin o, sugar o

Recommendations.

X-ray of chest for tuberculosis. Examination for insanity.

Mr. Mason's memory is very poor. His judgment is fair for a twelve-year-old. He felt insulted because he was being tested and doubtless failed in many tests for that reason. In the vocabulary test when asked to define "ramble," he said "Going from place to place—that's me." He could not define the words "dungeon" and "skill." Perhaps this was due to his lack of schooling. He had only reached third grade. However, he read fluently and understood what he read. And he seemed to be much more generally intelligent than the grade of medium or low moron would indicate. He did all the Healy form boards well and in the Knox cube test reacted as if he were thirteen years old mentally. He was emotionally depressed and antagonistic.

He had a medical examination here. No indication of tuberculosis was found except that he had lost twenty pounds since he had influenza last December. There were no tubercule bacilli in the sputum, no trouble with the urine, but he had an exostosis of one of the left ribs.

[1] [The impression of instability made on the interviewer was such that a mental examination suggested itself as well as an examination to learn whether or not the patient was suffering from tuberculosis.]

We recommend that he be sent to a hospital for further mental examination with the possibility of a psychosis, and that we have an X-Ray for his lungs, with further sputum tests. Also an examination of the blood for malaria and of the stools for hook worm.

Mr. Mason came to the office for our decision regarding transportation to Colorado. He appeared somewhat brighter, was displeased with the examination (mental) of yesterday, also with Y.M.C.A. Explained to him physician's advice, and urged that he accept our plan. Tried to make him see that it was wrong to take Charles about in the manner he does.

Appealed to him in every way possible, but without results. He would not consider hospital, and was determined to leave Chicago at once. He said it made him nervous to stay here. Had a card from the United Shoe Company, West Street. He was offered work for today, but preferred to get away from the city. Wished interviewer to understand that he has always been independent.

Telegraphed St. Louis County Welfare Association:[1] "Frank Mason and son two and a half years stranded. Worked Healey and Company Box Shop Check number 8220 lived 325 Baughn Street. Verify. Mentality questioned."

Telegraphed United Charities, Galveston, Texas: "Frank Mason and son Charles stranded, employed Atlas Shoe Repair Company also employed Texas City Shoe Repair Company. Lived 476 Ringo Street. Verify. Mentality questioned."

*August 22, 1919 (Friday).*—Mr. Mason and Charles were brought to the office by a nurse from Public Welfare Nursing Association of Joliet. He applied to them for transportation to Colorado. A slight examination was given him, and he was thought tubercular. They felt since we had dealt with the case that we would wish to continue.

The general superintendent has taken out a warrant[2] for the detention of Charles. Juvenile Court officer called at office and took Charles to the Detention Home. Mr. Mason finally agreed to go to Knox Hospital, August 23.

[1] [The investigation required information not only from distant points but in great haste. Telegrams are difficult forms of composition at best. Lucidity, comprehensive statement, and brevity seem difficult to acquire in combination.]

[2] [The practice of the court is to use the warrant and to place the child in the Detention Home when there is reason to doubt the parent's willingness to appear at the time fixed. The Agency now knew of Mr. Mason's trip to Centreville and back and to Joliet and back and of his begging in Chicago.]

Arranged for Mr. Mason to stay at the Y.M.C.A.

*August 23, 1919 (Saturday).*—Letter received from the St. Louis County Welfare Association:

*Re* Frank Mason

We have referred your wire of the 21st regarding the above case to the Humane Society of East St. Louis. Our jurisdiction extends only over St. Louis County and we are therefore unable to handle it for you. We have asked the East St. Louis Organization to do all that is possible to expedite matters and regret that we cannot be of more assistance to you. We also got in touch over the telephone with the foreman at Healey & Co. (Box Factory), and he said that he had no record of such a name. About six months ago a man named Fisher Allen was in their employ and had the check number quoted by you, 8220.

Mr. Mason came to the office.

Telephoned social worker, Knox Hospital. Explained physician's advice. Worker was doubtful about being able to get a bed for Mr. Mason. Said if hospital physician finds that hospital care is absolutely necessary, some arrangement will have to be made. Telephoned West Side Dispensary. Worker went over to hospital to give history of Mr. Mason.

Sent Mr. Mason to Knox Hospital in a Yellow Taxi—paid $2.00.

Social worker, Knox Hospital, telephoned. Mr. Mason was not admitted. She was unable to give the physician the report from the Dispensary but the physician's assistant who had been present when Mr. Mason was being examined reported on the case. The doctor said the man was feeble-minded and advised treatment at the Dispensary. He thought man could go to work.

Mr. Mason in office. Stated he had changed his mind and was not going to Colorado but wished to go to Tennessee. Was impatient and wanted to get Charles and start at once for Tennessee. Finally thought it was best for him to wait until Monday.

Telephoned Mr. Woodford of Y.M.C.A. to give Mr. Mason care until Monday.

Mr. Mason would not take carfare. Said he would rather walk.

*August 25, 1919 (Monday).*—Letter dated August 22, 1919, received from the United Charities of Galveston, Texas:

Under date of August 20, we received the following message, signed from your Association: "Frank Mason and son Charles stranded, employed Atlas Shoe Repair Co. employed Texas City Shoe Repair Co., lived 476 Ringo Street. Verify. Mentality questioned." It was not altogether intelli-

gible, but we took it to mean that these parties were stranded in Chicago and that they were believed to belong in Texas City and were unbalanced mentally. We took the case up long distance with Texas City and have not been able to identify them as belonging there. Their names do not appear in the Texas City Directory, they are not known at the bank, neither are they known to the people who operate the shoe-repairing shop there. We regret our inability to secure any information for you that will aid you to solve the problem. If you have further details and care to communicate with us again, we will gladly give all the assistance possible.

Letter, dated August 23, 1919, received from St. Clair County Humane Society, East St. Louis, Illinois, as follows:

The communication was received today from the St. Louis County Welfare Association asking us to locate a record of Frank Mason and son two and a half years old, who are stranded. Mason claims that he worked for Healey and Company in the box factory and that his number was 8220; he also claimed that he lived at 3250 Baughn Avenue. We have taken the matter up with Healey and Company and find no trace of Frank Mason or any check number of 8220. There is no such number as 3250 Baughn Avenue, and inquiry there in the neighborhood reveals nothing.

*Later.*—Assistant general superintendent[1] telephoned that Knox Hospital physician had issued a statement that Mr. Mason should go to the Psychopathic Hospital for observation.

Secured physician's statement, also commitment papers, and, when Mr. Mason came to the office, took him to the Psychopathic. Paid for his lunch (50 cents) and 7 cents carfare.

Case will be heard Thursday A.M., August 28.

*Later.*—Letters written as follows:

1. Letter to the secretary, Provident Association, St. Louis, Missouri:

A telegram was sent from this office by mistake August 20, 1919 to the St. Louis County Welfare Association rather than to the Provident Association. They have referred our letter to East St. Louis, but we have discovered some other addresses which we should like you to look into.

Frank Mason and his son, Charles, two and a half years of age, came to this office August 18, 1919, asking transportation to Colorado. He said that he had been told that he has tuberculosis, and he thought that he might be able to recover there. He states that his wife died in St. Louis, 325

[1] [The assistant general superintendent was fully convinced that the client was mentally irresponsible and was unwilling to omit any effort looking toward permanent and proper care for the two-year-old boy.]

Baughn Street, of influenza December 19, 1918, and that Dr. C. C. Loos was the physician in attendance. He was married in St. Louis, April 29, 1915, to Lola Fleming. It seems since the death of his wife, Mr. Mason has been wandering from city to city, dragging his small son with him.

We are today sending the man to the Psychopathic Hospital for observation, and the boy is at present in the Juvenile Detention Home. The doctor feels that the man's depression is due to the attack of influenza which he had last fall at the time of the death of his wife.

We shall appreciate your seeing the doctor and verifying the marriage and the death of Mrs. Mason.

2. Letter to the secretary, Provident Association, Shreveport, Louisiana:

We are today sending Frank Mason to the Psychopathic Hospital for observation and his son, Charles, two and a half years of age, to the Juvenile Detention Home. Mr. Mason came to Chicago August 18, 1919, and asked for transportation to Colorado. The doctor here thinks that the man has not recovered from his attack of influenza last fall. He has been wandering around from city to city with his little boy, doing a little work in shoe repairing now and then in order to meet the expenses.

He tells us that since December, 1918, he has traveled from St. Louis to Galveston, then to Arkansas, and then to Chicago. He tells us that he worked three weeks, in June of this year for Tony Modelli, 125 Marsh Avenue in Shreveport. Will you kindly visit this address and learn what Mr. Modelli can tell you of Mr. Mason?

3. Letter to the secretary, Welfare Agency of Pulaski County, Little Rock, Arkansas:

Frank Mason came to this office August 18 and asked transportation to Colorado. He is with his son, Charles, two and a half years of age. He has not been well since December, when he had the influenza, his wife having died at that time.

It seems from his accounts that his wanderings began immediately after the death of his wife. He tells us that he went from St. Louis to Arkansas, to Shreveport, to Galveston, back to St. Louis, to Galveston, to Arkansas, and then to Chicago.

We have had both mental and physical examination made of Mr. Mason and are today sending him to the Psychopathic Hospital for observation. The doctor says that his mental depression is due to the influenza.

He states that in May, 1919, he worked in a shoe-repairing shop managed by Leonard Nelson, Arkansas City, Arkansas. Will you please visit this address and learn if Mr. Nelson knows anything about Mr. Mason? He seems to be familiar with Arkansas, but could not give us any other definite address.

*August 26, 1919.*—Letter received from the Board of Children's Guardians of Lake County, Indiana, LaPorte, Indiana, as follows:

One of our workers called by telephone this morning asking information concerning Frank Mason, formerly of Texas.

Last Thursday, August 21, Mr. Mason came to our office saying that he had developed tuberculosis after having influenza last winter and was told by his friends that if he could reach Colorado the climate there would help him. He had started to Colorado without sufficient funds and came here asking for money to help him on his way. After some inquiry I found that he had already been in Chicago in the hospital for a short time but had refused to stay there.

The secretary of the Associated Charities being away I took him to the Township Trustee who offered to send him as far as Joliet, Illinois. I could not convince Mr. Mason that he should leave the child here so he decided to accept the offer of the Township Trustee and left for Joliet the same day. Why he did not go direct to Joliet I do not know.

*Later.*—Letter written to the secretary of the Provident Association, St. Louis, Missouri:

A letter was received from St. Clair County Humane Society this morning, which stated that there is no such number as 3250 Baughn Street. The Western Union must have made a mistake in the number, as we had asked that 325 Baughn Street be visited. Mr. Mason told us that he and his wife lived at this address which is above a bakery shop and across the street from a corner drugstore. He at another time gave the number as 3250, but we feel that the former is more likely to be correct.

*August 27, 1919.*—Letter written to the Secretary of the United Charities of Galveston, Texas, as follows:

We are sorry that you had difficulty in interpreting our telegram of August 20. The Western Union did play us a trick or two. However, you seemed to have covered everything but the address in Galveston at which Mr. Mason said he had lived. This address is 476 Ringo Street.

Mr. Mason tells us that he has been wandering through the South since the death of his wife in St. Louis, December, 1918. He went to St. Louis, to Arkansas, to Shreveport, to Galveston, back to St. Louis, to Galveston, to Arkansas, and then to Chicago.

We have had both a mental and physical examination of Mr. Mason, and he is now under observation at the Psychopathic Hospital. His mental depression seems to be due to an attack of influenza which he had last December. If there is any such address as the one given in your city, will you kindly visit and report to us any information which you may secure.

*August 28, 1919.*—Assistant general superintendent telephoned. The County Court has decided that Mr. Mason is not committable. The Psychopathic Hospital will hold him until Monday, September 1, to await the result of our telegrams.

*Later.*—Letters received as follows:

1. Letter from St. Louis Provident Association, St. Louis, Missouri:

*In re* Mason, Frank, Lola, Charles 2½

We regret not to be able to give you any information with regard to this family. There is no street in St. Louis whose name resembles Baughn Street, and neither the city nor telephone directory contains the name of Dr. C. C. Loos. He is unknown to the Missouri Medical Association.

There is no record of Mr. and Mrs. Mason's marriage in 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, and there is no record of Mrs. Mason's death in 1918.

2. Letter from Welfare Agency of Pulaski County, Arkansas, City Hall, Little Rock, Arkansas:

We have referred your letter of the twenty-fifth with regard to Frank Mason to our correspondent in Arkansas City. As soon as we hear from her we will let you know.

3. Letter from Shreveport Provident Association, City Hall, Shreveport, Louisiana:

Tony Modelli left here at the same time Frank Mason did. They said they were going to New York. Frank Mason was not a resident, and no one here knows anything at all about him.

*August 29, 1919.*—The Social Service of Psychopathic have been unable to get any information from Mr. Mason. At first it was thought that he and his father owned a farm, but on further inquiry it was stated that the father owned a farm when Mr. Mason was just a young boy but he had sold it. Mr. Mason's desire is to go South with his boy and work on a farm.

Telegram sent as follows: "*Provident Association, St. Louis, Missouri.* Refer our letter concerning Frank Mason to East St. Louis. Must have reply before Wednesday.—FAMILY WELFARE AGENCY OF CHICAGO."

*August 30, 1919.*—Physician of Psychopathic Hospital received a promise from Mr. Mason that if he could see his boy for a few minutes today he would give information desired by the Agency.

Telephoned probation officer about the above. She will call with Charles at the Psychopathic Hospital, September 1, 1919.

*September 1, 1919* (*Monday*).—Telegram received as follows: "Frank Mason, single, age thirty, born Wabash, Indiana. Father John, admitted asylum here December, 1913. Escaped February, 1914. Returned and discharged August, 1914. Record states Mason had smallpox. No other description given.—UNITED CHARITIES, GALVESTON, TEXAS."

*September 2, 1919* (*Tuesday*).—Assistant general superintendent telephoned. Psychopathic agreed to hold Mr. Mason until noon today. She asked that we try to see social worker and if possible have Mr. Mason detained there a few days more.

Probation officer telephoned. She visited Mr. Mason on the thirtieth of August but he would not give her any information. She did, however, learn from the physician with whom he talked some addresses of places where he had lived and worked. He gave the name of Great Western Shoe Makers' Supply Company, Dallas, Texas, as a previous employer where he worked in the spring of this year; Page Brothers, Shoe Makers' Supplies, Dallas, Texas, and Mr. and Mrs. Payne, Texas City, who took care of Charles. Juvenile Court has written to these people.

*Later.*—Visited Psychopathic. Physician would not consider detaining Mr. Mason any longer. Advised that child be held for a week or two so as to give Mr. Mason a chance to go to work and earn his way. He said he was depressed and melancholy, but under no circumstances could he be committed.

*Later.*—Mr. Mason released. At first he did not wish to talk to visitor but later came with her to the office and agreed to stay at the Y.M.C.A. to await decision of Juvenile Court regarding Charles. He feels terribly about his having been in the Psychopathic and feels he was unjustly dealt with. He did not wish to give the birthplace of Charles. Finally said it was in Desert City, Texas. He also gave the name of J. M. Baker, undertaker, East St. Louis, who buried Mrs. Mason. He told visitor confidentially that he had a mother and brother but was not on friendly terms with them and under no circumstances would he disclose information concerning their whereabouts.

*Later.*—Night letters sent as follows:

*Superintendent Humane Society, City Hall Building, St. Clair County, East St. Louis, Illinois.* Frank Mason released from Psychopathic Hospital. Child is held at Juvenile Detention Home. Visit undertaker J. M. Baker who buried Mrs. Mason December 19, 1918. Can he give names and

addresses of relatives, or any information concerning Mr. Mason and son Charles? Important. Wire answer at once.—SUPERINTENDENT, FAMILY WELFARE AGENCY.

*Secretary, Relief Association, Medical College Building, Fort Worth, Texas.* Frank Mason and son Charles aged two and a half stranded. Child held at Juvenile Detention Home. Verify birth of Charles, born in Desert City, Texas, January 14, 1917. Has Frank Mason ever been brought to your attention before or to any other organization in your city. Important. Wire answer at once.—SUPERINTENDENT, FAMILY WELFARE AGENCY, CHICAGO.

*September 3, 1919.*—Letter, dated September 2, 1919, received from St. Clair County Humane Society, East St. Louis, Illinois:

Replying to your request of August 26, 1919, addressed to the St. Louis Provident Association, referring to verifying the marriage and death of Mrs. Mason, beg to advise you that this matter was taken up promptly and we can find no trace of record of the death of Mrs. Mason. In a conversation with Dr. Loos, who is the physician for Healey and Company, I find he is unable to verify a statement that he ever treated Mrs. Mason. Inquiry at 325 Baughn Avenue develops nothing. It seems to be a peculiar case as Healey and Company has no record of this man or any check number of 8220. I find no one in the city who seems to know them.

*Later.*—Assistant general superintendent presented case at Juvenile Court. Case was continued to September 10, pending further investigation.

Told Mr. Mason that he can go to the Y.M.C.A. Charges at Y.M.C.A. are 35 cents per meal and 40 cents per night for lodging.

*Later.*—Telegram received from St. Clair County Humane Society, East St. Louis, Illinois, as follows:

Undertaker prepared body of Lola F. Parker, age twenty-six, died December 19 at 325 Brook Street. Shipped to Brookville, Brown County, Arkansas. Parker paid him fifty dollars. Investigation at the above number reveals nothing. Undertaker Baker says there is no record of Mason.

On receipt of telegram from East St. Louis, Mr. Mason acknowledged that Mason is an alias and his real name is Parker.

*Later.*—Copy of letter received, written by Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court of Cook County, Chicago, as follows:

*To Chief Probation Officer*
*Juvenile Court, Little Rock, Arkansas*

My dear Madam: About the middle of August, Frank Parker, twenty-seven years old, applied to Central Office of the Chicago Welfare Agency for transportation to Colorado for himself and his two-and-a-half-year-old baby, Charles. Mr. Parker stated that he had no permanent residence but had been traveling about from town to town, having come to Chicago from St. Louis, Missouri. His wife died there December 19, 1918, of influenza. Prior to this he had spent some time in Galveston, Texas; Arkansas City, Arkansas; and Shreveport, Louisiana. It was extremely difficult to obtain any definite information from him; and, fearing that he was mentally unbalanced, the Welfare Agency placed him in the Psychopathic Hospital for observation and asked the Juvenile Court to file a petition for Charles.

Petition was filed, the child being cared for in the Juvenile Dentention Home pending hearing. Mr. Parker was discharged from the Psychopathic Hospital, the doctors there finding nothing mentally wrong with him.

At the Juvenile Court hearing this morning Mr. Parker told us that he has a friend, Mrs. Robert Isham, who lives somewhere on North Street in Little Rock. Her husband is a wagon man employed by the Dixie Express Company. He owns a farm at Mayfield, Arkansas, fifteen miles from Little Rock.

Mr. Parker now asks that he and Charles be sent to Little Rock. It is his plan to go to the County Hospital there and to place Charles with Mrs. Isham, who he is sure would be willing to take him.

Will you kindly have a visit made at the home of Mrs. Isham, if you can locate her? Is she willing to take Charles Parker? Do you recommend our sending Mr. Parker and Charles to Arkansas? Can Mrs. Isham give any information concerning Mr. Parker's life previous to his coming to Chicago?

During interviews Mr. Parker declared he had not a living relative. Today he tells us he has a mother, Mrs. Martha Parker, and a brother, Clifton Parker, who live on a farm near Brookville. Would it be possible for you to have your correspondent in this town call upon these people and obtain from them what information she can concerning Mr. Parker?

According to his story there is a very unfriendly feeling between him and his relatives and he is extremely reluctant to appeal to them for assistance, and he did not wish to communicate with them at all.

The judge continued the hearing in the case of Charles until Wednesday, September 10. We would appreciate hearing from you before that time.

Thanking you for your kind co-operation, I am,

Very truly yours,

Chief Probation Officer

*September 4, 1919.*—Telegram received as follows from Fort Worth, Texas: "Desert City has no birth record Charles Mason. We have never handled case.—FORT WORTH RELIEF ASSOCIATION."

*September 5, 1919.*—Mr. Parker came to the office stating that he was feeling miserably, rheumatic pains in his limbs. He went to physician at Psychopathic, and he prescribed for him—sent him to the County Hospital for medicine. Showed bottle. He is willing to go anywhere to be quiet.

Telephoned physician at Psychopathic but could not talk to him as he was making calls. Social worker reported that he advises that Mr. Parker be allowed to get his child and go South. Explained situation to them.

Telephoned Rest Cottage.[1] They will accept Mr. Parker this afternoon. Gave him 10 cents carfare.

The following letter, dated September 2, 1919, received from Welfare Agency of Pulaski County, Arkansas, City Hall, Little Rock, Arkansas:

We are in receipt of a letter from our correspondent in Arkansas City in regard to Frank Mason. She states that Mr. Nelson says Frank Mason worked for one month in the spring of 1919. Left Arkansas City and returned working for him for one week. He considers him a worthy fellow—deserving help if he is ill. He had with him his small son, aged two years. Left here for Texas Oil Fields. Mr. Nelson says Mr. Mason told him his wife died last winter of influenza. He (Mr. Nelson) knows nothing of the man's past, previous to his working for him.

*September 6, 1919.*—Letter, dated September 2, received from United Charities of Galveston, County Court House, Galveston, Texas.

Replying to your favor of August 27 in reference to Frank Mason and son: There is no such street as "Ringo," either in this city or Texas City, across the Bay from here. I do not yet understand either from your letter or your telegram whether this man was supposed to have lived in Galveston or Texas City, but as we have thoroughly looked into the matter at both places, it will not be necessary for you to give further data. Evidently he is misleading in giving the address he has given, because it is unknown at both places.

*September 8, 1919.*—Mr. Parker came to office stating he did not wish to remain at the Rest Cottage any longer. He complained about the care Charles is receiving at the Detention Home.

[1] [A special hospital for cardiac cases and for convalescent care.]

*Later.*—Mr. Parker in office stating he will not remain at Rest Cottage. Made arrangements for him to return to Y.M.C.A.

*Later.*—General superintendent talked with Mr. Parker. He gave address of a brother, Sam Parker, on promise that telegram be sent to him regarding care for Ivan in his name asking that reply be addressed to Family Welfare Agency. Charles is not right name of child, correct name is Ivan. Mr. Parker wishes to enter a free hospital in Little Rock, Arkansas. Mr. Parker will go to West Side Dispensary September 9.

*Later.*—Telegram was sent as follows: "*Mr. Sam Parker, Jackson, Arkansas.* I am ill and want to enter a hospital in Little Rock. Will you care for Ivan? Wire immediately.—FRANK PARKER, Care of Family Welfare Agency, Chicago, Ill."

*Later.*—Letter sent to social worker, West Side Dispensary, Chicago:

> We are referring to you Mr. Frank Parker, Y.M.C.A. Hotel, who is complaining of severe pains in his limbs. Mr. Parker was examined on August 19 under the name of Mason. The examining physician referred him to Knox Hospital. The physician there sent him to the Psychopathic Hospital for observation. He was released September 2 as non-committable. We tried to have Mr. Parker returned to the same department, but he did not wish to do that, yet he seems to be in need of medical care. We shall appreciate any attention you can give him.

*September 9, 1919.*—Telegram from Sam Parker, Jackson, Arkansas, to Frank Parker, care of Family Welfare Agency, Chicago, received: "Will care for Ivan."

*September 10, 1919.*—Copy of the following letter from Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, to the County Agent (attention Deportation Agent) received by Welfare Agency:

> We wish to call to your attention Frank Parker, twenty-seven years old, who is at present staying at the Y.M.C.A. Hotel in this city. About the middle of August Mr. Parker applied at the general office of the Family Welfare Agency for transportation to Colorado for himself and his two-and-one-half-year-old baby, Charles Ivan. He stated he had no permanent residence, but had been traveling about from town to town, having come to Chicago from St. Louis. His wife died in East St. Louis, December 19, 1918, of influenza. Prior to this, Mr. Parker has spent some time in Galveston, Texas; Arkansas City, Arkansas; and Shreveport, Louisana. While the Welfare Agency was making an investigation, Mr. Parker disappeared, going to LaPorte, Indiana. The authorities there sent him to Joliet, from which place he was returned to Chicago. Fearing he was mentally un-

balanced, the Welfare Agency placed Mr. Parker in the Psychopathic Hospital for observation and asked the Juvenile Court to file a petition for Charles.

Petition was filed, the child being cared for in the Juvenile Detention Home. Mr. Parker was discharged from the Psychopathic Hospital, and has been staying at the Y.M.C.A. Hotel for the past ten days, his expenses there being paid by the Welfare Agency.

At the time of the court hearing, September 3, Mr. Parker stated that he had a friend, Mrs. Robert Isham, who lived on North Street in Little Rock, Arkansas, who he felt would take the baby. His plan was to return to Little Rock, which he stated had been his residence some two or three years ago, and enter the County Hospital there. He gave us the names of his mother, Martha Parker, and a brother, Clifton Parker, who live on a farm near Brookville, a town near Little Rock.

We communicated with the Chief Probation Officer, at Little Rock, asking her to locate Mrs. Isham and to obtain some information for us concerning the relatives in Brookville. A letter from her this morning gives little information. I am inclosing a copy of it.

The Welfare Agency wired a brother of Mr. Parker, Sam Parker, at Jackson, Arkansas, asking him if he would take the child. They received a wire from there this morning stating he is willing to take Charles.

Mr. Parker has been examined at the West Side Dispensary here. The examination has not been completed but he has been advised to return for an X-ray examination of his chest.

We are asking to have the case of Charles Ivan continued another week. Will you kindly get in touch with the Arkansas authorities and inform us whether or not it will be possible for you to return Mr. Parker and child to Little Rock.

*September 11, 1919.*—Salvation Army Relief Department, Mr. Merritt, telephoned saying that Mr. Parker applied to them for transportation to Arkansas. Mr. Parker stated that we refused to show him telegram from his brother Sam and also that Juvenile Court would release Ivan if he could get transportation. Gave Mr. Merritt report on case.

*Later.*—Telephoned Juvenile Court the above.

*September 16, 1919.*—Letter received from the West Side Dispensary of Chicago as follows:

*In re* Parker, Frank

Mr. Parker was examined in our General Medicine Clinic on September 9. An X-ray was advised, and patient was told to return on September 10. Examination has not as yet been completed.

*Later.*—General superintendent telephoned district office that the Salvation Army have given Mr. Parker transportation to Arkansas and that child has been released by Juvenile Court.

*January 21, 1920.*—Letter written to acting general secretary, Welfare Agency of Pulaski County, Arkansas, Little Rock, Arkansas:

*Re* Frank Parker (alias Mason)

Last September you were kind enough to have a visit made for us at Arkansas City in regard to the above-named man. The information you gave to us was extremely useful. We have since learned that Mr. Parker has returned to Arkansas City with his little boy, Charles Ivan.

Would it be possible for you to have your correspondent call on Mr. Nelson and find out if he knows anything about Mr. Parker at present. Naturally we are very much interested to know what care the child is receiving.

*January 30, 1920.*—Letter, dated January 28, 1920, received from Welfare Agency of Pulaski County, Arkansas, Little Rock, Arkansas.

*Re* Frank Parker (alias Mason)

We have had a reply from our correspondent in Arkansas City regarding Frank Parker. She states that he is again employed by Mr. Nelson at fairly good wages. He has the child with him and they are boarding with a family by the name of Taylor. Mr. Nelson says he is very much pleased to have the man back again as he is a very good workman.

If there is any further information we can secure for you, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

[The following entries in the record of the Juvenile Court are of interest here.]

*September 16, 1919.*—Letter written to Relief Department, Salvation Army, Chicago, by Chief Probation Officer, as follows:

I tried to reach you by telephone this morning to talk over with you the matter of getting Mr. Frank Parker and his child back to his people at Little Rock, Arkansas. I am anxious to get Mr. Parker back to his people as soon as possible. It may be that the expense of this will be borne by Cook County, but whether it will or not, I feel that Mr. Parker ought to go back as soon as possible. I should be glad if you would telephone me or call in and see me in this matter.

*September 17, 1919.*—Colonel E. Stephensen, Salvation Army, telephoned that he was not in the city yesterday, but that his office has supplied Mr. Parker with a ticket at a half-rate (cost about $11).

Parker brought this ticket here yesterday afternoon and I released child.

*September 27, 1919.*—Letter written to Mr. Frank Parker, care of Samuel E. Parker, Jackson, Arkansas, by Chief Probation Officer as follows: "I have been disappointed in not having heard from you as to your arrival at Little Rock and also as to how things are going with you. You will remember that you promised to let me hear from you."

*January 26, 1919.*—Letter written to Mr. Samuel Parker, Jackson, Arkansas, by Chief Probation Officer as follows:

I have addressed several letters to Mr. Frank Parker in your care, asking him to advise me as to how things were going with him and his child, Charles Ivan Parker. I have had no acknowledgment to any of the letters, although a registered letter sent on December 15, 1919, was receipted for by you. I have no desire to intrude on your brother's privacy, but for reasons which I suggested to him in my letters, I am anxious to hear from him in order to justify my own action in this matter.

I sincerely hope that he and the boy are well and that things are going well with him. The matter is no longer pending in the court and the information I ask is purely for my own satisfaction. I would appreciate it if you would write me just a line stating just what developments there have been since he went to you in September, 1919.

*February 1, 1920.*—The following reply, dated January 29, 1920, received from Samuel Parker:

Your letter of the 26th inst. to hand. Beg to advise that I have no knowledge of my brother's whereabouts at present. Neither have I heard anything from him since he was in Chicago. At that time he telegraphed me if I would care for Ivan and I telegraphed him that I would, and I have never heard anything more from him. I would thank you to write me a full explanation of the matter as I am very anxious to help him if I can and can find him.

*February 2, 1920.*—The following letter written to Mr. Samuel Parker, Jackson, Arkansas, by Chief Probation Officer:

I beg to thank you for your letter of January 29, 1920. Your statement that Mr. Frank Parker and his child never arrived at Jackson comes as a surprise and disappointment to me. Briefly, the facts in the matter as known to us are as follows:

About August 20, 1919, Frank Parker, twenty-seven years of age, giving his name as Frank Mason, went to the office of the Welfare Agency of Chicago, with his child, whose name he gave as Charles Mason (he later gave the name Charles Ivan Mason), two and a half years of age. Mr. Mason asked transportation to Colorado Springs. He had no definite

plan and either would not or could not tell a consistent story. Stated that his wife had died from influenza at East St. Louis, Illinois, December 19, 1918; that prior to that time he had lived in Galveston, Texas; Arkansas City, Arkansas; and Shreveport, Louisiana. Stated that he had no permanent residence; that his illness had completely unnerved him. The Agency told him they would have to verify his statement before furnishing transportation. They arranged for the care of Mr. Mason and the child pending this. The following day Mr. Mason disappeared, going to LaPorte, Indiana, where transportation was furnished him to Joliet, Illinois, as per his request. The Joliet authorities sent him back to Chicago. Fearing that he was mentally unbalanced, he was placed in the Psychopathic Hospital, Chicago, for observation. The child was taken care of in the Juvenile Detention Home. He was discharged from the Psychopathic Hospital as sane.

Mr. Mason was extremely unwilling to give definite information about himself, and it was only after considerable delay and when he was convinced that we would not release the child to him to wander aimlessly that he told us of you, insisting prior to that time that he had no relatives anywhere. The telegram was sent you by him with our knowledge. He was not well. He had what appeared to be a form of rheumatism; had severe pains in his leg and also some difficulty in his chest. After we had gotten your message, the matter was taken up with the County Agent of this county to get transportation. Mr. Mason was very restless and anxious to get back to Arkansas. It was his plan to leave the child with you and to go into some hospital at Little Rock. He insisted that he would be able to take care of himself after he got to Little Rock as he had relatives and friends there.

On September 16, he got the Salvation Army, acting independent of the county authorities, to furnish him with transportation to Little Rock. The child was released from the Detention Home to his father to start for Little Rock on that day. I personally gave him several dollars for food and incidental expenses enroute. He agreed to write me as soon as he got home, but I have heard nothing from him.

I am inclined to the view that he was mentally distressed. I am sorry that we were not able to do something for him. As it was, I feel that our action in Chicago was absolutely negligible. From a professional standpoint, I am interested to know the final outcome of this case, and in the interest of social work, I should appreciate it greatly if you would let me know what you next hear from your brother. Should any information come to me, I shall immediately communicate with you.

The Court Orders entered in this case were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Sept. 3, 1919 | Continued, 10th Sept. |
| Sept. 10, 1919 | Continued, 22nd Sept. |
| Sept. 22, 1919 | Continued, 21st Oct. |
| Oct. 21, 1919 | Continued, generally |

## SECTION IV

## THE WIDOW WITH SMALL CHILDREN

### 19. The Family of Marya Kruszka

*(The Widow of Joseph Kruszka, Who Had Been Killed by His Brother, Leaving a Small Property)*

[The Kruszkas lived just inside the northern boundary line of the district called the "bush," on the west side of a street running north and south. Their apartment is on the first floor rear of a three-story frame house, which appears rather run down. The building is painted a dull gray color. The rear part of the building and the plain gravel back yard give one an impression of neglect. A wooden walk leads back from the street. On the north, a cement sidewalk separates the house from a clean and newly painted, two-story frame house. A public playground is directly opposite. The north end of the block is rather disfigured by a vacant lot which is strewn with old tin cans and rubbish. Just south, two "dry bars" occupy opposite corners. Barber Street, the east and west thoroughfare to the south, is quite attractive with neat cottages, small gardens, and shade trees. Although the houses in the neighborhood are, as a rule, close together, the congestion does not appear great, but the railroad tracks are not far to the west and south. A public school, the Reilly, is a block or so to the north and east, while St. Gabriel's Church is a little to the west of the school. There are a good many rear houses in the neighborhood. The people in the neighborhood are largely Polish with a sprinkling of Hungarian, Irish, and Slovaks. To the south, Mexicans and negroes are coming in.]

*November 8, 1919 (Saturday).*—Mrs. Malachowski, 4944 Burlington Avenue, and Mrs. Stanley Kruszka, 5112 Burlington Avenue, in office asking aid for Mrs. Marya Kruszka, who is Mrs. Malachowski's sister and the widow of Mrs. Kruszka's nephew-in-law. Promised call in afternoon.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Kruszka, a tall, bright-faced woman with dark hair and eyes, was sitting in a clean warm kitchen, rocking her eighteen-months old baby, Edna (born April 29, 1918), and talking to her three handsome boys, John (born February 4, 1908), Charles

(born February 24, 1910), and Edward (born March 5, 1912). The dwelling is a four-room rear apartment on the first floor of a three-story building owned by Mr. Kruszka's parents and now in the hands of the administrator, to whom Mrs. Kruszka pays $8.00 rent. On June 1, 1919, her husband, Joseph, was shot and killed by his brother Thomas in a quarrel. As Thomas ran from the house, a policeman shot and killed him. Mr. Kruszka's father and mother had died within eight days of each other, February 12 and 20, 1919.

Mrs. Wilt, Mr. Kruszka's sister, has recently bought the boys winter underwear, and Mrs. Malachowski has been helping a great deal. She has three children and a husband on strike and does not see how she can help much longer. On her husband's death, Mrs. Kruszka received $450 insurance from the St. Boniface Union of St. Gabriel's Church. Of this she had to pay $263 for funeral expenses, and the rest went for living expenses. The three boys originally went to the Reilly School, then changed to St. Gabriel's against their will, and next week Mrs. Kruszka is going to send them back to the Reilly School, where they get their lunches.

Mr. and Mrs. Kruszka were both immigrants from Russian Poland but had lived in this country most of their lives. Mr. Kruszka's father had been naturalized when the son was a little boy, and he was therefore a citizen.

Mr. and Mrs. Kruszka were married at the Roman Catholic church in Glenwood, Ohio, as there was no church in Jamestown, Ohio, where they were living at that time. Mr. Kruszka's mother and father owned the apartment house in which Mrs. Kruszka is living; but the will is still in the Probate Court, so until it is settled, she has to pay $8.00 rent. She will get one-seventh of the value of the house, which is $3,000, when the will is settled. Until then she must find some means of support. Mr. Kruszka was survived by a brother Stephen in Kenwood, Indiana, by three married sisters, Mrs. Wilt, Mrs. Barat, and Mrs. Zobek, and a fourteen-year-old sister, who lives with Mrs. Wilt. There is also his aunt-in-law, Mrs. Stanley Kruszka. Mrs. Kruszka has two married sisters, Mrs. Malachowski and Mrs. Safanski, and an unmarried sister living with Mrs. Safanski. [One previous address in a distant neighborhood was obtained, as well as the name of Mr. Kruszka's employers.]

Mrs. Kruszka cried and said she did not want to accept charity. She wanted some way of supporting herself; that while she had gone through only grammar school, she had learned 'something just by

living. She is nervous and not feeling well, chiefly because she has been worried. Visitor suggested that she leave the baby with a sister or sister-in-law and do half-day work.[1] Until then, she can get help from her relatives.

*November 12, 1919.*—Called. Mrs. Malachowski in home taking care of Mrs. Kruszka's baby and of her own baby. Mrs. Kruszka has been working at the box factory for the past three days from 7:30 A.M. until 5:30 P.M., doing her cleaning, mending, and cooking at night. She does not like the work, as she has to speed up to earn her $14. Explained to Mrs. Malachowski that if each of the relatives would pay a few dollars each month toward Mrs. Kruszka's support, she would have to work only half-time and could get along very nicely until her father-in-law's will is settled. Left address of Winsch's restaurant, 927 East Street, and told Mrs. Malachowski to have Mrs. Kruszka apply there for half-day work as soon as a place was vacant.

*Later.*—Got itemized bill from undertaker:

| | |
|---|---|
| Casket | $110.00 |
| Grave and box | 28.10 |
| Slippers | 1.95 |
| Embalming | 15.00 |
| Crepe | 2.50 |
| Hearse | 17.00 |
| Door spray | 14.00 |
| Total | $188.55 |

*November 13, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Kruszka had been unable to find the restaurant but anyway is not enthusiastic about a job as dish-washer. Urged her to let visitor see her husband's relatives who are well-to-do. This she refused to do, saying she preferred to

[1] [The problem appears at once as a problem in mother's work. The following statement concerning the attitude of social workers toward the gainful employment of mothers with young children is interesting at this point.

"Allowing always for personal factors that may modify the decision, the agencies in Chicago were fairly well agreed upon the following points:

"1. Whether or not relief shall be given so that the mother can stay in her home depends in part upon the physical condition of the mother, which should be determined by a medical examination. The question of whether she should do part-time work and have her earnings supplemented is to be determined in part by the doctor's report. This report should also be used to decide the kind of work the woman should do, but in practice doctors' reports are little used as a basis for

starve rather than accept charity from them.[1] Ever since her marriage they have shown her in many little ways that they do not care for her, and have made themselves generally unpleasant. Her own relatives are not able to help much, but from them she receives all that she gets. She agrees that she ought not to keep up the work at the box factory indefinitely, but will do so for another week during which visitor will try to secure more appropriate half-time work.

*November 19, 1919.*—Called on Mrs. Malachowski. Told her we had two suggestions for Mrs. Kruszka; one for her to do home work for the New Health Brush Company, who pay $1.50 a dozen for hair brushes. Many women in their employ are making as many

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fitting women into suitable positions, owing to the lack of employment departments or visitors with time for this work.

"2. Whether or not relief shall be given depends also upon the number of children. The mother of one child over 2 years of age is not given relief unless she is physically unfit for work, but she is left with full responsibility for the support of herself and the child. The mother of two or three children, if in normal health, is expected to help with the support of the family. It is agreed, however, that the mother of four children should be given relief sufficient in amount to enable her to stay home with the children. Whether relief should be given and whether the mother should work full time or part time depends upon the earnings and the competence of the individual woman as well as upon the domestic arrangements that can be worked out.

"3. The question of giving relief depends in part at least upon the character of the mother, upon her ability to maintain a good home, and upon her willingness to co-operate in plans that mean proper care for the family."—Helen R. Wright, *Children of Wage-Earning Mothers* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 102), pp. 80–81.

Mrs. Kruszka has four children, the youngest beyond the nursing age, the three older all in school. The plan of part-time work immediately suggests itself. Although she has an interest in the house, there is no income coming in. Eventually there may be a mother's pension but not until the estate is settled and the share coming to Mrs. Kruszka used up. These possibilities suggest themselves for her in connection with wage-earning: (1) day work or some form of domestic service, e g., dish-washing in a restaurant, or day work in a home; (2) home work for a factory that employs "out workers"; (3) factory work. The experience of Mrs. Kruszka in attempting these various forms of earning illustrates the disadvantage of each. See entries of November 13, 1919, dishwashing in restaurant; November 19, 1919, out work for industrial company, also November 28, 1919, and December 4, 1919, also March 8, 1920, and March 31, 1920, June 10, 1920, and February 27, 1921.

[1] [It might be noted that it was Mr. Kruszka's aunt-in-law who came with Mrs. Kruszka's sister to the office on the eighth. This may have offended Mrs. Kruszka as showing that her husband's family wanted to get rid of any responsibility for her care.]

as ten dozen a week; the other for her to get a position as waitress at the South West Inn. Either of these places will be glad to have her. Mrs. Malachowski said she thought that she and her two sisters could contribute $10 a month to Mrs. Kruszka's income. Mr. Kruszka's relatives could easily equal this, but Mrs. Kruszka refuses to accept a cent from them. Mrs. Malachowski will talk with Mrs. Kruszka tonight and telephone visitor sometime November 20 to tell her which Mrs. Kruszka prefers to do. As soon as the property is settled, Mrs. Kruszka agrees that she ought to move away from the present neighborhood in which she is living. She is only staying there now because she wants nothing to happen to the few hundred dollars which are coming to her.

*November 21, 1919.*—Mrs. Kruszka telephoned saying that she will be glad to go down to the New Health Brush Company to see about home work any time that visitor will make appointment.

*Later.*—Letter of inquiry written to James Lester and Company, Mr. Kruszka's employers.

*November 22, 1919.*—Telephoned New Health Brush Company and made appointment for Mrs. Kruszka on November 24, 1919.

*November 24, 1919.*—Took Mrs. Kruszka down to New Health Brush Company and went through the factory with a view to getting home work for her. She made arrangements to start to work November 25.

*November 26, 1919.*—St. Ignacz's Mission sent Thanksgiving basket.

*November 28, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Kruszka had just come home from New Health Brush Company with materials for six brushes. She spent two half-days learning how to make the brushes and now will begin home work. She doubts whether she can make enough money at this, but feels it is worth while trying. She received the Thanksgiving basket and was very grateful. Her sister-in-law, Mrs. Wilt, also sent part of a turkey up so that they had a very pleasant Thanksgiving Day. Told her visitor would drop in during week to see how she was getting along. She has spent about all her money and feels it is going to be very difficult to live for the next week or two. Promised to visit her sisters and urge them to help.

*Later.*—Thomas Lester of James Lester and Company, Boiler Makers, telephoned office to say that Mr. Kruszka had been a splendid workman and had given no trouble whatsoever—that he had received splendid wages. Mr. Lester promised to send letter to this effect.

*November 29, 1919.*—The following letter received from Mr. Thomas Lester, vice-president of James Lester and Company:

In reply to your letter of the 21st inst., in reference to Joseph Kruszka, who was in our employ up to the time of his death. He worked for us in the capacity of "rigger," and he was very capable in his line. Our superintendent reports that he was a hard worker, and a good man in all respects. His minimum wage per week amounted to $50. We hope this will give you the desired information. If not, let us hear from you further.

*December 1, 1919.*—Called on Mrs. Safanski. She said that she had been helping her sister from time to time and would continue to do so when her sister asked for aid. Explained that Mrs. Kruszka is learning to make the brushes at home—would not make much money for the first two or three weeks and that during this period anything her three sisters might give her would be much appreciated. Asked her if she would not speak to her unmarried sister, Eleanor, who works at the box factory making $12 to $14 a week, and see whether each of them could not give at least a dollar a week and do it without Mrs. Kruszka's asking. Mrs. Safanski thought they would do this.

*December 4, 1919.*—Mrs. Kruszka at home alone. She was very much discouraged. It had taken her three days to make the six brushes which she had brought home from the New Health Brush Company. This would pay her only 75 cents. Therefore she feels the work is not worth while. She has given it a fair trial, as she has spent six days in all making brushes and her speed at the end of the time was not noticeably greater than at the beginning. She hates the thought of going back to the box factory and begging a new person each day to keep her baby. Told her that visitor would make a new plan for her and that things would soon be better. Visitor gained her consent to see the husband's relatives, but was warned that they would not help. The only rich relative is Mrs. Stephen Kruszka, Mr. Kruszka's aunt-by-marriage, sister of Mrs. Pytrycek (who is one of the Welfare Agency's clients), and Mrs. Kruszka said that if she would not help her own sister, she is sure she will not help a niece by marriage. That even if she will help, she is the one relative from whom Mrs. Kruszka will never accept money. She prefers to starve first. Told her about Juvenile Court "Aid to Mothers" Pension and promised visit before December 8.

*December 5, 1919.*—Visited. Left card to County Agent and told Mrs. Kruszka that we were applying for a Juvenile Court "Aid to Mothers" Pension for her. She was quite upset over the fact that

at last she was going to accept public aid. Left grocery order on Blake's instead of Novak's as Novak had known her in her better days and it would be less humiliating to go to Blake's.

*December 12, 1919.*—Mrs. Kruszka called to visitor as she was getting off car on Commonwealth Avenue. She asked visitor to come back home with her. She had just been to the County Agent's and he had promised to call December 13. She needs coal. Told her to speak about this to the County Agent when he called. She has recently been down to see her brother-in-law, Mr. Wilt. He thinks there is some possibility of her collecting a thousand-dollar life insurance which her brother-in-law Thomas carried. Her husband was Thomas' beneficiary. If the lawyer, Mr. Everett, in the Wentworth Building, can prove through Michael McGuire, the police officer who shot Thomas, that Joseph outlived Thomas, Mrs. Kruszka will get the money. If not, the money will go to the estate to be divided among the seven heirs. The insurance company is the New York Life, and Mrs. Kruszka will know within two or three weeks how the money is to be disposed of. She had received her marriage certificate from Holy Cross Church, Glenwood, Ohio. She will get a statement from the Union of St. Gabriel of the insurance already paid to her and also the baptismal certificates for her four children. Explained to her that if she gets the thousand-dollar life insurance, she will not be eligible for a pension until this and the money from her estate is used up.[1] She must keep receipted bills to prove that she was not extravagant in the expenditure of this money so that when it is all gone, she can apply for her pension.

*December 13, 1919.*—Invited boys to a Christmas party. Mrs. Kruszka got them washed and dressed in no time.

*December 15, 1919.*—Took the following clothes for Edna: coat, two sets of underwear, two underslips, one hood, sweater, nightgown. Mrs. Kruszka will receive county supplies during the afternoon. The County Agent promised her coal, but it has not come yet. As visitor was on her way to the County Agent's said she would let John come with her and would see that he got supplies and coal. Mrs. Kruszka has heard nothing more about the insurance from her husband's brother-in-law. Visitor will take this up with Mr. Everett, the lawyer.

[1] [Mrs. Kruszka's intelligence and her understanding of English made this explanation simple. See below, p. 478, for the way in which a similar explanation was understood by a woman whose English was less sufficient.]

*Later.*—Called at County Agent's, who said coal would be sent in sometime during the afternoon. John given supplies.

*December 18, 1919.*—Telephoned Mr. Everett and secured the following information. He is the lawyer for the Kruszka estate, which was filed in the Probate Court March 10, 1919. The estate consists of $1,500 in the bank and the house in which Mrs. Kruszka lives. The estate will be settled very soon after March 10, 1920. Mr. Joseph Kruszka was insured in the St. Boniface Union for $900—only $450 of which he thinks has been paid to Mrs. Kruszka so far. Thomas was insured in the New York Life Insurance Company for $1,000 with Joseph his beneficiary. If Mr. Everett can prove through Mrs. Kruszka and Officer McGuire that Joseph outlived Thomas, Mrs. Kruszka will receive the $1,000. Mrs. Kruszka says that her husband died only five minutes before the ambulance returned with Thomas' body. Thomas had died before he got to the hospital, twelve blocks away. Mr. Everett says that he is trying his best to have the insurance company decide in favor of Mrs. Kruszka, of whom he spoke very highly. Mr. Everett will be glad to talk the case over with visitor at any time.

*December 19, 1919.*—Gave name of family to Gertrude Club for Christmas and asked them to send milk for a month.

*December 22, 1919.*—Called. The three boys said their mother was washing over at Mrs. Malachowski's.

*Later.*—Called at Mrs. Malachowski's. Mrs. Kruszka said the two young women from the Gertrude Club had called the previous night and said they would bring her Christmas basket December 24. They invited her to come down to the Club Christmas afternoon for their Christmas tree celebration, but she will be unable to accept this as the boys have no heavy overcoats. She has received county supplies. She has seen Michael McGuire, the police officer, and he says that he will swear that Mrs. Kruszka's story is correct. He can be reached at the Tenth Precinct police station. It is true that Mr. Kruszka was insured for $900 in St. Boniface Union. Only $450 of this has been paid to Mrs. Kruszka. The other $450, Mrs. Kruszka says, is being held for the children. Mr. Koskowski of the Northern Bank at 95 East Street, who paid her the $450, will know about this.

*December 24, 1919.*—Gertrude Club sent check for $4.55 for milk for one month for this family.

*Later.*—Mr. Everett telephoned, asking visitor to get Mrs. Kruszka's story and witnesses if she could.

*December 29, 1919.*—Called at Mrs. Malachowski's, where Mrs. Kruszka was washing. Mrs. Kruszka received the $450 life insurance which remained to be paid from St. Boniface Union, December 26. She went down and made out papers which she gave to Mr. Everett December 27. This money is now in the Western Trust Company of Illinois and she will know some time this week in what amounts it is to be paid her.

*Later.*—Called to see Mrs. Ella Barat and Mrs. Anna Zobek, Mr. Kruszka's sisters. Stephen Kruszka from Kenwood, Indiana, a young fellow of about twenty, was also in the house. All three agree with Mrs. Kruszka's story but say that Thomas undoubtedly outlived Joseph.

*Later.*—Saw Father Lewandowski. He says the family do not belong to St. Gabriel's Church, but that he did go there the night of June 1, 1919. He says that Thomas was a cripple.

*Later.*—Obtained transcript of Coroner's verdict[1] in the cases of Joseph and Thomas Kruszka, as follows:

*State of Illinois, County of Cook,*

An Inquisition was taken for the people of the State of Illinois at 10th Precinct Police Station in the City of Chicago in said County of Cook on the 2nd and 10th day of June and July 16th A.D., 1919, before me, James M. Hultmann, Coroner in aforesaid County, upon view of the body of Thomas Kruszka, then and there lying dead, upon the oaths of six good and lawful men of the said County who being duly sworn, to inquire on the part of the people of the State of Illinois into all circumstances attending the death of said Thomas Kruszka and by whom the same was produced, and in what manner and when and where the said Thomas Kruszka came to his death, do say, upon their oaths as aforesaid, that the said Thomas Kruszka, then lying dead at 4832 Harvard Avenue in said City of Chicago, County of Cook, State of Illinois, came to his death on the 1st day of June, A.D. 1919, at the South Side Hospital from shock and internal hemorrhages due to bullet wounds in abdomen inflicted from a revolver held in hands of one Michael McGuire, a Police Officer of the City of Chicago, on the rear steps of deceased's home, number known as 4832 Harvard Avenue, as the deceased

[1] [This record has several interesting features. Perhaps the most interesting is the item with reference to the exoneration of the police officer and his recommendation to his superiors for efficiency in killing an escaping cripple. See on this subject, Edith Abbott, "Recent Statistics Relating to Crime in Chicago," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XIII (November, 1922), 329 ff., at p. 356, "Homicides Committed by the Police."]

was in the act of descending the said stairway after he had shot his brother, Joseph Kruszka, now deceased, in the above mentioned home June 1st, A.D. 1919 about 11:05 P.M. From the evidence presented to the jury, we believe the said Michael McGuire, as Police Officer of the City of Chicago, was in the performance of his duty and justifiable in his act, and we exonerate him from all blame, we further recommend the said Michael McGuire, a Police Officer of the City of Chicago, to the commendation of his superiors for his efficiency.

In Testimony whereof the said Coroner and the Jury of this inquest hereunto set their hands the day and year aforesaid.

Copy of Findings of Coroner:

*State of Illinois,*
*County of Cook.*

An Inquisition was taken for the people of the State of Illinois at 10th Precinct Police Station in the City of Chicago in the said County of Cook on the 2nd and 10th day of June and July 16th A.D. 1919 before me, James M. Hultmann, coroner in aforesaid County, upon view of the body of Joseph Kruszka, then and there lying dead, upon the oaths of six good and lawful men of the said County, who being duly sworn, to inquire on the part of the people of the State of Illinois into all circumstances attending the death of said Joseph Kruszka and by whom the same was produced, and in what manner and when and where the said Joseph Kruszka came to his death, do say, upon their oaths as aforesaid, that the said Joseph Kruszka then lying dead at 4832 Harvard Avenue, in said City of Chicago, County of Cook, State of Illinois came to his death on the 1st day of June A.D. 1919 at the home of a sister, number known as 4832 Harvard Avenue, from shock and hemorrhage due to bullet wounds of breast and abdomen, said wounds inflicted from a revolver held in the hands of one Thomas Kruszka, brother of the defendent, now deceased, in the rear kitchen of the above mentioned home following a quarrel on June 1st A.D. 1919 about 11 P.M.

In Testimony whereof the said Coroner and the Jury of this inquest have here unto set their hands the day and year aforesaid.

*January 11, 1920.*—Mrs. Kruszka received letter from Juvenile Court Pension Department, asking her to make application for a pension last week. She wanted to find out from visitor when to go down. She will apply for her pension January 13. Miss Woodward, Gertrude Club, called when she was out and left clothing for the boys. None of it fitted any of the boys, so Mrs. Kruszka asked that visitor telephone Miss Woodward and ask her if visitor could not give it out to other needy families. Promised to do this.

*January 20, 1920.*—Letter written Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court:

We have known Mrs. Kruszka since November 8, 1919. On June 1, 1919, her husband, Joseph, was shot by his brother, Thomas, after a quarrel. As Thomas was running from the house, Officer McGuire, 10th Precinct Police Station, fatally shot Thomas. Four months previous to this, February 8 and 20, 1919, the father and mother of these young men had died of influenza. They left an estate consisting of $1,500 in cash and the house in which the Kruszkas live, which is valued at approximately $3,000.

This estate was filed in the Probate Court March 10, 1919, and cannot be settled until after March 10, 1920. It is to be divided among Mrs. Kruszka and the five other heirs.

Joseph Kruszka was insured for $900 in the St. Boniface Union (verified). Shortly after his death Mrs. Kruszka received $450 of this, out of which she paid the undertaker, Fifty-third and Barkey, $256, which covered her husband's entire bill of $188 (verified) and $68 in part payment of Thomas' bill. The rest went for household expenses. The other $450 was put in the Western Trust Company of Illinois in the trust fund for the children (verified). Mr. Everett in the Wentworth Building, lawyer for the Kruszka estate, recently secured a court order whereby Mrs. Kruszka has received $5.00 a week from this fund for each of the four children since about January 1 (verified). Thomas Kruszka was insured for $1,000 in the New York Life Insurance Company. This has not been settled because it has not yet been proved which of the brothers died first. The insurance policy was made out to Joseph. If it can be proved that he outlived Thomas, Mrs. Kruszka will get this insurance. Otherwise, it will be turned over to the estate to be divided among all the brothers and sisters.

Mr. Joseph Kruszka was employed as a rigger by James Leslie and Company, boiler makers, who speak very highly of him, saying "he was a hard worker, very capable in his line, and a good man in all respects."

Mr. and Mrs. Kruszka were married June 12, 1907, in Holy Cross Catholic Church, Glenwood, Ohio (verified). Although both Mr. and Mrs. Kruszka were born in Russian Poland, they are citizens by reason of their fathers' naturalization.

We have the following relatives, of whom only Mrs. Wilt, a sister-in-law, is in a position to give much assistance:

Stephen Kruszka, Kenwood, Indiana, brother to Mr. Kruszka
Mrs. Josephine Wilt, 1442 Rose Street, sister to Mr. Kruszka
Mary Kruszka, 1442 Rose Street, sister to Mr. Kruszka
Mrs. Ella Barat, 4832 Harvard Avenue, sister to Mr. Kruszka
Mrs. Anna Zobek, 4832 Harvard Avenue, sister to Mr. Kruszka
Mrs. Malachowski, 4944 Burlington Avenue, sister to Mrs. Kruszka

Mrs. Safanski, 5324 Esmeralda Street, sister to Mrs. Kruszka
Eleanor Sabodka, 5324 Esmeralda Street, sister to Mrs. Kruszka
Mrs. Stanley Kruszka, 5112 Burlington Avenue, aunt to Mr. Kruszka

*January 21, 1920.*—Telephoned Mr. Everett to ask what had been decided about Thomas' insurance. He stated that as he had never received visitor's letter on the subject, nothing had been done. Sent another copy of the testimony, asking him to telephone if this was not received. Mrs. Kruszka has received her $80 from the Western Trust Company of Illinois for January.

*January 27, 1920.*—Saw Mr. Everett. He is working on insurance case. Reports that testimony sent was very satisfactory.

*February 2, 1920.*—Saw Edward's birth certificate, bearing date as follows: March 5, 1912.

*February 3, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Kruszka is going to move to 4956 Essex Street, second floor, where she lived before she lived at present address. The rooms are much lighter and dryer and the rent is only $9.00 a month. The only objectionable feature is that rooms are over a saloon. Mrs. Kruszka will live there only until she can get some better place. She has been doing her sister's washing each week, making $3.00 extra in this way. She has heard nothing from Juvenile Court nor from Mr. Everett. She very much needs a new suit and hat and a chiffonier. Told her visitor would try to think of some way to get those for her.

*February 5, 1920.*—Got school reports for the three boys. They are very good in all respects.

*February 14, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Kruszka's new rooms[1] are bright and sunny and thoroughly desirable.

*February 25, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Kruszka is getting along very nicely, doing Mrs. Malachowski's washing each week, for which she is paid $3.00 and occasionally helping out her sister-in-law. Took her some waists for the boys.

*February 27, 1920.*—Notification received, Juvenile Court Aid to Mothers—"Dismissed—Has money."

*March 2, 1920.*—Saw baptismal certificates for all four children. John, Charles, and Edward were baptized in St. Gabriel's Church. Edna was baptized in St. Cecilia's.

*March 8, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Kruszka was stitching garters. She gets $1.85 for 144 pairs. It takes her a day and an evening to do

[1] [The new dwelling was a block west and a block south of her previous dwelling. It was just under the tracks of the railroad.]

this. Suggested that it would pay her better to do fancy work for the Woman's Exchange than unskilled work like garters. She will copy a luncheon set of visitor's and take it to the Woman's Exchange.

*March 30, 1920.*—Telephoned Mr. Everett, lawyer. As he has been too busy to work on the case, he has turned it over to one of his assistants. He will be willing to have us take the matter up with Legal Aid Bureau. He apologized for having done nothing on the case so far.

*March 31, 1920.*—Took Mrs. Kruszka down to Legal Aid Bureau. Members of the staff conferred on case and decided that it was too complicated for Legal Aid. At visitor's suggestion, attorney made out legal form which visitor is to try to persuade all the heirs to sign. If they refuse, visitor is to refer Mrs. Kruszka to Mr. McDowell, an insurance lawyer who will take the case probably on a 25 per cent contingent basis. Attorney thinks that while Mr. Everett is undoubtedly a fine type of man, it would be unethical for him to represent Mrs. Kruszka, as he is the lawyer for the estate.

*Later.*—Case presented at Advisory Committee. Decision: Endeavor to persuade the relatives to sign the following statement releasing their interest in Thomas' insurance policy to Mrs. Kruszka and make an effort to secure half-time work for her at the Acme Department Store, using Mrs. White's recommendation.

Copy of paper to be signed by relatives, prepared by attorney of Legal Aid Bureau:

We, the undersigned, being all the heirs of Thomas Kruszka, deceased, for and in consideration of Mrs. Joseph Kruszka's having assumed the funeral expenses arising out of the death of Thomas and for other valuable considerations in hand paid, do each of us individually and jointly, hereby release, relinquish, and assign to the said Mrs. Joseph Kruszka for the use of herself and her children all rights, interest and title to a certain claim against the New York Life Insurance Company arising out of insurance policy No. 43271 issued by the Insurance Company aforesaid on life of Thomas Kruszka and payable to Joseph Kruszka as beneficiary. And we do further authorize Augustus Wilt as administrator of the estate of Thomas Kruszka aforesaid, to pay the sum or sums recovered by virtue of the aforesaid insurance policy over to Mrs. Joseph Kruszka for use of her children and herself, if the Insurance Company pays the sum called for by the policy over to him as administrator.

*April 6, 1920.*—John, Charles, and Edward sent to circus on pass given by *Chicago Daily Republican*. Transportation furnished by Great Lakes Steel Company.

*April 7, 1920.*—Took clothing for boys.

*April 9, 1920.*—Visited Mr. Everett. Mrs. Kruszka was in to see him April 8 and asked that he proceed with her affairs as he had originally intended. He will make her a very nominal charge if visitor will take the matter up with the insurance company when the case has been worked out. He made no charge for securing the money from the St. Boniface Union for the children.

*April 10, 1920.*—Visited. Talked with Mrs. Kruszka in regard to position at Acme Store. She will think this over while she is finishing the luncheon set.

*May 3, 1920.*—Mr. Vale, in Mr. Everett's office, telephoned to say that he had letters of administration and certified copies of findings of coroner's inquest. He would like visitor to have conference with Mr. G. E. Woodman, 835 Belmont Avenue, who represents the claim division of the New York Life Insurance Company.

*May 10, 1920.*—At visitor's request, Mr. Woodman, New York Life Insurance Company, dictated in visitor's presence a very clear and urgent letter to the main office of the New York Life Insurance Company, inclosing all of our evidence and asking that the matter be settled as soon as possible. Mr. Woodman reports that there are two points to be considered in the award. First, to determine whether Thomas' death at the hands of the policeman could be construed as "death by his own hand or act" and second, to determine which of the brothers died first. He will notify visitor as soon as he hears from the claim department.

*June 1, 1920.*—Luncheon set finished; sold for $15.

*June 10, 1920.*—Mrs. Kruszka has at last found a satisfactory position as pantry woman in the Tremont House, working from 9:00 to 5:00 and making $75 a month.

*June 18, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Kruszka has at last been awarded Thomas Kruszka's insurance by the New York Life Insurance Company.

*June 21, 1920.*—Visited. Insurance has been received ($977). This Mrs. Kruszka has banked; but before she uses any of it, it must go through the Probate Court. Then she will follow visitor's advice and invest at least half of this money in Liberty Bonds.

*June 30, 1920.*—Edward, John, and Charles sent on country outing for two weeks. Medical blanks signed by Dr. James B. Lane, 5320 Essex Avenue.

*November 9, 1920.*—Mrs. Kruszka in office. She is getting along well and continues to work at the Tremont Hotel. She asks aid in

regard to her boys' health. John has been ruptured since birth and Eddie needs glasses. Mr. Everett charged her $100 for his services, but Mrs. Kruszka does not want office to take the matter up with him until after her father-in-law's estate is settled.

*November 18, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Kruszka was at home. She gets one day off every other week and spends her day cleaning house. She said they would go to the dispensary for examinations if we make the appointment. Eddie has glasses which he got through school. Mrs. Kruszka said we could leave a message for her any time at her sister's, Mrs. Malachowski's. Mrs. Malachowski takes care of her baby for her. The boys have lunch at school so ordinarily there is no one at home during the day.

*December 4, 1920.*—John was examined at West Side Dispensary by Dr. Berry. He was diagnosed as having a hernia and in need of an operation.

*December 18, 1920.*—John will let visitor know a few days before he wishes his operation so that arrangements for a bed at the hospital can be made.

*December 21, 1920.*—Sharpe and Company took Eddie's facial measurements and prescription for glasses.

*December 29, 1920.*—Mrs. Kruszka, by telephone, asked what hospital John was to go to for his operation. As Mrs. Kruszka is not working this week, she would like to have John operated on while she is home. She requested a visit to talk the matter over.

*December 30, 1920.*—Visited. Eddie's glasses have been delivered. Mrs. Kruszka would like to have Charles's eyes examined. His glasses have been broken and he has gone without them for some months. Mrs. Kruszka thinks that the boys will do much better in their school work if their eyes are fitted with proper glasses. Eddie's teacher told her that his eyes were very poor and that as a consequence he was behind in his work. Mrs. Kruszka would like to have John operated on at a hospital on the South Side where she can more easily visit him than at the County Hospital.

*January 3, 1921.*—Visiting Nurse will visit with the intention of having John re-examined at a hospital on the South Side preliminary to an operation.

*January 18, 1921.*—Visiting Nurse reports that John was operated on at Sinai Hospital (a South Side Hospital).

*February 11, 1921.*—Charles was referred to Visiting Nurse, who will see to it that his eyes are examined and properly fitted.

*February 23, 1921.*—Mrs. Kruszka telephoned to report that, due to the falling off in restaurant patronage, she was laid off. In addition John is just back from Sinai Hospital, where he has been for six weeks paying $10.50 a week. Charles needs a change of glasses probably as he complains a great deal about his eyes.

*February 27, 1921.*—Mrs. Kruszka spent a very pleasant day with visitor, at whose home she came to dinner. She has improved greatly in every way during the past year and is extremely ambitious for her boys. The reason John did not receive free care at the hospital was not because of the negligence of the Visiting Nurse, but because John felt so strongly about the matter and because Mrs. Kruszka was eager to have John in a hospital where she could get to see him while she was working. Mrs. Kruszka feels very badly about leaving her children all day long. John is a remarkably responsible boy and takes almost entire charge of Edna after school hours. However, she deplores the fact that during the next five or six years when supervision will mean so much to the children, she will be unable to oversee them.

*April 4, 1921.*—Mrs. Kruszka telephoned that in spite of every effort she has been unable to find work. Asked visit and suggestions.

*April 6, 1921.*—Charles was taken to St. Bride's Hospital where he had his eyes examined. He was given a prescription and told to return. The prescription was filled by Welfare Agency.

*April 8, 1921.*—At Mr. Everett's request, took him evidence submitted to insurance company establishing kinship. This will be needed in Probate Court.

*April 12, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Kruszka is still looking for a job. She will call at the office and let the visitor get in touch with various hotels to see whether anyone of them will take her on their force. Mrs. Kruszka needs clothing for the boys.

*April 20, 1921.*—Visited. Charles is still having to go to the St. Bride's Hospital in regard to his eyes. Mrs. Kruszka appreciates the effort Welfare Agency is making in Charles' behalf, getting him to the clinics, etc.

*April 29, 1921.*—Mrs. Kruszka has gone back to her old position at the Tremont House. She has worked already three days.

*June 15, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Kruszka is very anxious to have John, Edward, and Charles go for summer outing where they were last summer. As Mrs. Kruszka is working, she cannot accompany the children on a summer outing.

### 20. The Family of Mary Legaikas

*(A Lithuanian Widow with Five Children under Ten)*

[The house was on a quiet and attractive street running north and south. The street was narrow and ungraded; but it was overgrown with clover, and there were houses on only one side, so that it seemed rather like a country road. The family lived in the rear of an old frame house with a high brick basement, one story, and an attic. From the outside it looked very decent. The windows of the basement were of fairly good size. A well-kept lawn surrounded the house on three sides. Along the road on the same side of the street there were nice grass plots and quite tall oak and other shade trees. The frame houses at the south end of the block are older than the more attractive cottages to the north. However, almost all the houses had nice flower and vegetable gardens, as well as front lawns, and the houses were built a considerable distance from the sidewalk.

The people living in this neighborhood are mostly Americans and Germans, but toward the east they are mixed and toward the south there are a good many Hollanders.]

*July 3, 1918 (Wednesday).*—Miss Ellis, Visiting Nurse, telephoned asking immediate investigation. The family is without food. Miss Ellis can be reached by telephone next week at South Side 209 during the noon hour. [No agency was registered on the case.]

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas is a widow with five children: Nicholas (born March 24, 1909), Martin (born January 3, 1911), Elizabeth (born November 13, 1912), Victoria (born May 13, 1915), and Gladys (born August 22, 1916). Mr. Legaikas was taken ill with pneumonia. When he recovered from this, doctor diagnosed his case as gallstones. Took him to St. Augustine's Hospital. He lived two weeks after the operation. Physician, Dr. Burley, 5685 Green Street. Mrs. Legaikas feels very bitter toward Dr. Burley, as no gallstones were found after the operation was made and Mr. Legaikas was too weak to recover. He died June 22.

She had just received a bill from the doctor for $250, also one from the hospital for $75. Showed bills to visitor.

Mr. Legaikas was employed at the Car Repair Shops. He worked by the piece, earning from $75 to $100 a month. Carried no insurance. Took out naturalization papers two years ago, but these Mrs. Legaikas cannot find. He belonged to the St. Gabriel's Benevolent Society, Spauda M. G. Balutis, 438 Kenton Avenue,

secretary. Received $5.00 a week sick benefit during Mr. Legaikas' illness. They also looked after the funeral expenses and have in addition given Mrs. Legaikas $25, of which she still has $10.

Mr. Legaikas bought a Liberty Bond at the Car Repair Shop and paid $6.50 on it. Mrs. Legaikas worried about further payment. Promised to investigate same and see if a refund could not be secured. She had only her window card to show that this purchase had been made. She owns property—in the hands of a Lithuanian Building and Loan Company, 848 Marshfield Avenue, Spauda J. A. Zelius and Sons. There is still $800 mortgage on property, value of which Mrs. Legaikas does not know. She is moving into basement rooms. Plans to rent first floor. Five rooms in good condition. Inspected same. Plans to rent these for $12 a month.

She has but one relative, a brother, John Vasiliankas. He works in the Car Repair Shops and lives, she thinks, at State and Iowa. Mr. Legaikas has a brother somewhere in the United States, but he has not heard from him in years. Mrs. Legaikas does not look at all strong. Very depressed and worried over her responsibilities. Has a very good garden and eight chickens. The only debts she has aside from the doctor and hospital bills are $54 to Calumet Butcher and Grocery Store and $30 to her brother. Promised later visit.[1]

*July 9, 1918.*—Telephoned Miss Ellis, Visiting Nurse. Gave report. She is very anxious to co-operate if medical attention is needed. Will visit Mrs. Legaikas and arrange for her to have an examination at North Side Dispensary. She visited, following one call which was made by the county doctor. Mrs. Legaikas then did

[1] [This first interview sets out vividly the distressed and confused state of mind of this non-English speaking immigrant mother of five children, the oldest of whom is nine, bereft a fortnight before by the sudden illness and death of her husband. The visitor learns from her the facts relating to (1) Mr. Legaikas' illness and death, (2) Mr. Legaikas' employment and earnings, (3) insurance and funeral costs, (4) the ownership of the house including the relations with the Lithuanian Building and Loan, (5) the name and address of her brother, (6) citizenship, (7) indebtedness, (8) the attempted purchase of the Liberty Bond. There are three men to whom the visitor can turn for advice and council, the brother and the secretary of each of the two societies, the St. Gabriel's Benevolent and the Lithuanian Building and Loan. It will be a long time before the nine-year-old boy can go to work, and the problem is one of a mother's allowance, probably under the Mothers' Aid Law. This possibility throws out the two questions: (1) Is Mrs. Legaikas a fit mother? (2) Is she sufficiently necessitous? The second of these questions is attacked first by the visitor, and she hunts down the two secretaries before seeking the brother.]

not seem strong but seemed more worried over situation in family than to be suffering from any organic trouble.

*July 10, 1918.*—Endeavored to locate Spauda M. G. Balutis and Spauda J. A. Zelius. Learned from Mr. Balutis, who has a printing establishment at 438 Kenton Avenue, that "spauda" is a Lithuanian word for "printed by" (since all the other matter printed on the card was in Lithuanian, his name was mistaken for that of secretary). Referred visitor to Charles Smolczynski, 124 Colorado Street, for Lithuanian Building and Loan and to Mr. Ezerkis, 12180 Myrtle Avenue, regarding the Benevolent Society.

*July 12, 1918 (Friday).*—Visited Mr. Ezerkis.[1] He is not a member of St. Gabriel's Society. Referred visitor to Mr. Thomas Lepelis, 55 Pennsylvania Street, who is president of the society. Mr. Ezerkis is a member of the Holy Name, of which Mr. Legaikas was also a member. At his death, society gave Mrs. Legaikas $75. Have $80 more to pay her. Benefits are collected by each member paying into the society $1.00 for each member in behalf of the family of the deceased member. It usually takes three months before the money is all paid into the society. He will take up with the society at its next meeting, which will be Sunday, July 21, the matter of paying this amount to Mrs. Legaikas in instalments before the whole amount is paid. Any plan of co-operative paying that the Welfare Agency can work out with St. Gabriel's, for the benefit of Mrs. Legaikas, Mr. Ezerkis will be glad to take up with Holy Name Society.

*July 15, 1918.*—Visited Mr. Smolczynski. After third visit, found him in office. He is a member of the board of the Lithuanian Building and Loan Company.[2] They have a meeting tonight. He

[1] [The methods of the foreign benefit society are illustrated well by this as by the Chiesa case, p. 27, and the Juraitis case, p. 36. See regarding these cases, etc., Breckinridge, *New Homes for Old*, pp. 187–218; John Daniels, *America via the Neighborhood*, pp. 96–107. These entries also show the good will and intelligence that might be made use of by the General Family Agency, at least to make known the purpose and aims of the organization.]

[2] [The following description of the methods followed by the building and loan societies is taken from the *Ninth Annual Report of United States Commissioner of Labor*, "Building and Loan Associations," pp. 12, 13.

"The stockholder or member pays a stipulated minimum sum, say one dollar, when he takes his membership and buys a share of stock. He then continues to pay a like sum each month until the aggregate of sums paid, augmented by the profits, amounts to the maturing value of the stock, usually $200, and at this time

has none of the books at his real estate office. Will get description, etc., of property for visitor. Arranged to call on following day. Thinks Mrs. Legaikas should sell her property as soon as matter can be arranged, as the Loan Association would be obliged to foreclose if regular payments were not made.

*July 16, 1918.*—Visited Mr. Smolczynski. Building and Loan Company has loan of $1,100 on Mrs. Legaikas' house and two lots. Mr. Legaikas had paid $286 on this mortgage, balance of $814 due. Valuation, $2,000. Frank Nauseidus of the Nauseidus Real Estate, 121 Myrtle Avenue, also a board member, has a buyer for the property. Will sell the property for $2,000. This, Mr. Smolczynski thinks, is a good bargain, providing the real estate company does not demand a high commission for sale.

*Later.*—Visited Nauseidus Real Estate Company. Mr. Nauseidus has made all the arrangements for sale at $2,000. Mrs. Legaikas is very fortunate to have a buyer at this time. Mr. Nauseidus will charge only for cost of abstract. Property will have to go through the Probate Court, probable cost, $200. Transaction will take at least three months. After mortgage is settled with the Building and Loan Company, and the debts incident to sale, Mrs. Legaikas will realize about $900. Since the property constitutes Mr. Legaikas'

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the stockholder is entitled to the full maturing value of the share and surrenders the same. . . . .

"A shareholder who desires to build a house and has secured a lot for that purpose may borrow money from the association of which he is a member. Suppose a man who has secured his lot wishes to borrow $1,000, for the erection of a house. He must be the holder of five shares in his association, each share having as its maturing value $200. His five shares, therefore, when matured, would be worth $1,000, the amount of money which he desires to borrow. . . . . In a building and loan association the money is put up at auction usually in open meeting on the night or at the time of the payment of dues. Those who wish to borrow bid a premium above the regular rate of interest charged, and the one who bids the highest premium is awarded the loan. The man who wishes to build his house, therefore, and desires to borrow $1,000, must have five shares of stock in the associaton, must bid the highest premium, and then the $1,000 will be loaned him. To secure this $1,000, he gives the association a mortgage on his property and pledges his five shares of stock. To cancel this debt he is constantly paying his monthly or semi-monthly dues, until such time as the constant payment of dues, plus the accumulation of profits through compounded interest, matures the shares at $200 each. At this time, then, he surrenders his shares and the debt upon his property is cancelled."

See also United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin, No. 55; also, *Proceedings at First International Congress of Building Societies*, 1914, pp. 40 f.]

whole estate, Mrs. Legaikas will be given the entire amount rather than a widow's third.[1]

*Later.*—Visited Thomas Lepelis, president St. Gabriel's Benevolent Society, who, not being a member of the committee in charge of the financial arrangements for Mrs. Legaikas, knew nothing about the amount paid. However, it is customary for the society to allow $50 on the funeral expenses and also for each member to contribute $1.00 each in behalf of the widow. Funeral expenses, he understands, were taken care of jointly by the Holy Name Society and St. Gabriel's. Referred visitor to Mr. Smolczynski, who is treasurer of the society.

*July 17, 1918.*—Visited Car Repair Company. Time keeper or superintendent of employment not in. Learned that all payments on Liberty Bonds secured by employees were paid at the Security State Bank.

*July 20, 1918.*—Visited Mr. Smolczynski in regard to Mrs. Legaikas' benefit from St. Gabriel's. Mr. Smolczynski showed receipts for $17.30 paid in her behalf to the undertaker, Mr. Norris, West Street and Ontario Avenue; priest $10; grave $15—total $42.30 for funeral expenses. Balance of undertaker's bill was paid by the Holy Name Society. Following Mr. Legaikas' death, $37.70 was paid to Mrs. Legaikas in addition to the $35 sick benefit during Mr. Legaikas' illness. There is a balance of about $70 which the society will have to give to Mrs. Legaikas. It is not customary to pay this until the whole amount has been collected. However, Mr. Smolcyznski will make arrangements with the society whereby all the money which is received following the meeting July 21 will be paid to Mrs. Legaikas soon after; likewise, the money collected at their next meeting which will be the first Sunday after the fifteenth, will be paid to her. It will be impossible for the society to hold this amount and to give a certain amount each week.[2]

*Later.*—Visited Mr. Ezerkis. He had talked over the matter with a number of the members of the Holy Name Society, and they have decided that they too would pay to Mrs. Legaikas the money which they collected at each monthly meeting. Gave visitor her brother's address. This brother had seen Mr. Ezerkis about the benefit. He had heard about the arrangement for the sale of the pro-

[1] [*Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 3, sec. 75; chap. 39, sec. 1, par. 4; chap. 41, sec. 1.]

[2] [The idea of trusteeing these moneys was in the visitor's mind, but the society does not undertake that responsibility.]

perty and is very anxious to see Mrs. Legaikas move where she will be nearer a Lithuanian school.[1]

*July 24, 1918.*—Telephoned Legal Aid. According to the new state law, property held jointly must be probated. This is a necessary expense and cannot be avoided.

*Later.*—Visited Security State Bank. Showed the Liberty Bond window card of Mr. Legaikas. Mr. Whitney looked up his record, found he was employed in the steel department, his number being 92578, that he had bought a Liberty Bond upon which he had paid $6.50. Gave this to visitor to give to Mrs. Legaikas. Gave receipt for this.

*July 26, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas had left to purchase shoes for herself. Waited until her return. She still complained about "much troubles." Had purchased shoes which from the appearance of those she wore, she needed very badly. Paid $2.00 for these. Received $17 from St. Gabriel's this week but nothing from the Holy Name. Did not appear to know about her property transaction but seemed rather pleased to learn of the purchase of the new property. Had looked in vain for a place in Pineland which she could rent. Had decided that it would be better to purchase property. Mr. Nauseidus, real estate agent, had property which answered her purpose very nicely for $1,100. Mrs. Legaikas had heard of the Mothers' Pension but was very uncertain as to just what she could expect from this and how she would go about securing the same. Told her it would be better if she rented the property but that visitor would talk over matter with Mr. Nauseidus, see what arrangements could be made, and report to her later. Gave her the $6.50 refund received from the Security State Bank on Liberty Bond.

*July 27, 1918.*—Visited Mr. Ezerkis. Feels certain that it will be impossible for Mrs. Legaikas to rent property in that neighborhood. Tried himself to locate family, and the only way he could do was to rent the property himself and sublet to the family he was interested in. Feels that Mrs. Legaikas is very much worried over her situation because she does not understand and does not know that she can trust the Welfare Agency. Advised that we make such property arrangements with Mr. Nauseidus as would make it satisfactory with the Pension Department. Advised that her brother could understand English better and that he would be able to assist in giving the instructions to Mrs. Legaikas about spending her money, keeping receipts, etc.

[1] [Nicholas was attending a Polish Catholic school.]

*Later.*—Visited Mr. Nauseidus. Has sold property to Mrs. Legaikas for $1,125. This cottage, although small, is in good repair, and the street assessment for the present year is paid. There is a $500 mortgage on the property which is not due until 1920. Had advised Mrs. Legaikas to pay for property up to this mortgage. Mr. Nauseidus has found that he can secure abstracts and deeds for property she wishes to sell without taking the matter through Probate Court. The burial certificate from undertaker will be sufficient to show Mrs. Legaikas' sole ownership. The property that has been bought more recently has not yet been recorded, and it will be a small matter to record this in her name. When the transaction is all made, she will have from four to five hundred dollars, which will last her until pension is granted. If the Welfare Agency advises, he can put the purchase on a contract plan; but unless this is necessary the original plan would be advisable, as it would be a source of annoyance to Mrs. Legaikas to have to pay off the contract by monthly payments plus interest. Asked that visitor report later whether or not this plan would affect her getting the pension.[1]

*July 29, 1918.*—Telephoned Mr. Nauseidus. Reported that it would be satisfactory, owing to the valuation of the property, for Mrs. Legaikas to pay for property up to the mortgage of $500.

*Later.*—Telephoned County Agent. Mrs. Legaikas receives her supplies [$3.00].

*July 31, 1918.*—Visited. Reported that it would be a satisfactory arrangement so far as Mothers' Pension was concerned and for her

[1] [This planning with reference to eligibility for Mothers' Pension illustrates the effect of legal definiteness. The plan is carefully worked out so that as large a share of her little property as can be managed is put into the home with the reasonable assurance of an allowance when the surplus is exhausted. The earlier pension law rendered ineligible any woman owning property. The amendment allowed an amount equal to that exempted from claims of creditors under the homestead exemption law. *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 52, secs. 1–12. The point is that the visitor thought that the value of her interest must be kept below $1,000. The phrasing of the Mothers' Aid Law is "A mother shall not receive such relief who is the owner of real property or of personal property other than household goods, but no mother who shall be the owner of personal property, or the holder of, or entitled to a homestead under the exemption laws of this State, or who is the holder of, or is entitled to a dower right in real estate, provided the fair cash market value of . . . . said real estate . . . . is not more than $1,000, shall be denied relief under this act" (sec. 11 [6]). See also *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 120, sec. 297. Under the revenue law, real property is valued at fair cash value and assessed at one-half that value.]

own welfare to buy the cottage, paying for the property up to the mortgage of $500. The balance that she receives she will deposit in the bank and check out as needed for current expenses. Gave her a book, with instructions to keep very carefully all her receipts. Told her Welfare Agency would visit her occasionally to see how she was getting along and would file application for her for the pension when her money had all been spent up to about $200. Mrs. Legaikas has not been able as yet to find Mr. Legaikas' first papers. Told her if she did not find these when she moved, visitor would accompany her to the County Building, where she would take out her first papers. She plans to move the middle of August. Is feeling much better. She is looking much better than on first visit. Visiting Nurse had suggested that she go down town to the Dispensary. She feels, however, that this is too far and that she would be worse for the trip. Will be very glad if arrangements could be made to have an examination nearer home.

*August 9, 1918.*—Met Mrs. Legaikas on the street. She moved this week. Very anxious for visitor to come and see her in her new home. Promised visit next week. She did not find her husband's naturalization papers.[1] Asked her brother about them, and he did did not even know from what court Mr. Legaikas had taken them out.

*Later.*—Telephoned Miss Ellis, Visiting Nurse. She was unable to persuade Mrs. Legaikas to go to Dispensary, as it was a very long trip. Visiting Nurse telephoned Dr. Estill, county doctor, who had been called to see Mr. Legaikas before his death. Reported her in a run-down condition due to worry, but he did not think she had any chronic trouble. Would be very glad for Welfare Agency to arrange examination in the neighborhood. Felt Welfare Agency could persuade her to have this done, as Mrs. Legaikas has expressed to the Visiting Nurse her confidence in the Welfare Agency.

*August 12, 1918.*—Telephoned Dr. Anderson [whose office was in the loop]. She is out of town on business. Will return on the afternoon of August 14.

*August 15, 1918.*—Telephoned Dr. Anderson. She will be very glad to examine Mrs. Legaikas any Friday afternoon that is convenient to her.

[1] [The requirement of the Mothers' Aid Law concerning citizenship and the practice of the Agency in the matter of the widow taking out first papers has been discussed above, see p. 91. See *United States Annotated Statutes*, Second Edition, VI, 938.]

*August 22, 1918.*—Telephoned Juvenile Court, Pension Department. Mrs. Legaikas, though Lithuanian, may go to either the Circuit or Superior Court, fourth floor, County Building to take out her first papers, preparatory to getting Mothers' Pension. This would be better than searching for Mr. Legaikas' papers.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas is very well located in her new home. The four rooms are unusually clean, and the cottage is well decorated. She discovered after moving in that the sills and joist on the northeast corner are badly rotted. These will have to be repaired at once, as this corner is beginning to sag. She has spoken to the real estate agent, Mr. Nauseidus, about this and tried to change the sale, but it was too late. He has promised to arrange for repairs although it will have to come of her receipts. Property otherwise is in very good condition. Cement sidewalks in front and leading to both front and back doors.

She tried to keep most of her receipts but finds it impossible to get all the receipts of butcher and grocer.[1] Showed visitor receipts which totaled $124.97; these visitor listed in book which she had given Mrs. Legaikas for that purpose. Eighty dollars of this amount had been paid to her brother. Said she feared his anger and displeasure if same were not paid. She is very indefinite about amount she received from benefit societies and real estate agents. Seemed rather unreliable in regard to this information. Martin's and Victoria's faces were badly broken out. Gave her letter of introduction to Dr. Anderson for examination Friday, August 23. Advised that she take the children with her and have their faces examined.

She is very anxious to take out her citizen papers. Advised that she be ready to go with visitor to Superior Court, Monday, August 26, at 9:00 A.M.

*August 26, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas was ready to go with visitor. She was dressed very nicely in a black serge skirt, black silk waist, and a hat with large widow's veil. Went as directed to Dr. Anderson's office last week. Dr. Anderson had given her three prescriptions, filled, two for herself and one a salve preparation to apply on the children's faces. Advised that her trouble would improve and that an operation was unnecessary; also that the salve would be sufficient for the children's trouble. She requested Mrs. Legaikas

[1] [The careful habits looking toward the Mothers' Pension again indicate the effect of definite requirements. Mrs. Legaikas is to give the court positive evidence that she is a "fit" mother.]

to return to her office in two weeks; this she will be glad to do. Appreciated examination by Dr. Anderson and appears to have great confidence in her.

Mrs. Legaikas told visitor a little of the early history of her life. She lived in a little village in Lithuania, Russia. The family was poor, and she never attended school; she had to work on the farm daily. Her brother came to this country about thirteen years ago. In this country he met Mr. Legaikas, arranged for the marriage, and sent for her. She was forced to come, although she did not want to marry and, in particular, she did not want to marry Mr. Legaikas. He had sent his picture, and she had disliked it from the beginning. When she arrived in this country, she refused to marry him; but her brother threatened to hang himself if she did not. She arrived in June and married the same month here in the city. Said after she had been married for a time she learned to like Mr. Legaikas better. Said she missed him very much now that he was gone but more because she had the responsibility of the children. Has always been very fond of children and at one time was anxious to have a large family. Now feels the responsibility of her children very greatly and says many times she does not like her children at all. Says that children in this country are too "fresh"; they are unwilling to work as they do in the Old Country. Mrs. Legaikas never regrets coming to this country, would not think of returning to the old home and customs.

At the Superior Court, the clerk made out papers giving the facts of intention for Mrs. Legaikas. Paid $1.00 for them.

Mrs. Legaikas claimed money that she had so far received from benefit societies and the first $100 received from real estate agent at the time she moved has all been spent, and she had to borrow $10 from her brother. She was very nervous about being in the city, very much frightened at riding on elevators, and felt certain she would get lost. Put her on car which would take her directly home.

*September 20, 1918.*—Following letter written to Mr. H. H. Ezerkis, Holy Name Society, and a similar one to Thomas Lepelis of St. Gabriel's Society, by district superintendent:

> We are very much interested in Mrs. Mary Legaikas and family, living at 205 West Montenegro Street. This family, we understand, you have been interested in during Mr. Legaikas' illness and later in the general welfare of the family following his death.
>
> We are particularly anxious to have Mrs. Legaikas keep a careful account of all money she has had and expended since her husband's death,

as this will count very much in her favor when the Juvenile Court makes their investigation for the Mothers' Pension.

Mrs. Legaikas cannot state definitely how much she has received from the Holy Name Society. Will you kindly inform us as to the amount she has received and whether or not you plan to assist in the future? It will probably be many months before she will receive the Mothers' Pension, although she has her citizen papers and her application has been filed. The delayed investigation is due to lack of funds and the large number of applicants ahead of Mrs. Legaikas. In view of the fact, will it be possible for you to give any assistance in addition to your regular amount in behalf of this family? We shall greatly appreciate a reply.

*September 23, 1918.*—The following letter received from secretary of St. Gabriel's Society:

In reply to your letter of the 20th addressed to Mr. Thomas Lepelis, Chairman, St. Gabriel's Society, of which I am secretary, in regard to Mrs. Mary Legaikas.

Beg to advise that up to this time Mrs. Legaikas has received from the Society the sum of $104, which is the total amount due her. In the future she will receive no help from this Society.

I trust that this is the information desired and that you will be able to do something for Mrs. Legaikas in the near future.

*September 24, 1918.*—Visited Nauseidus Real Estate office. Mrs. Legaikas has a balance of $236.25, which she has not as yet drawn. Showed visitor account up to date of which the following is a copy:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash on property sold | $2,000.00 |
| July 17, commission on deal and clearing of title | 100.00 |
| Death certificate | .50 |
| August 8 to Mrs. Legaikas—cash | 100.00 |
| To former landlord | 562.50 |
| August 26, cash to Mrs. Legaikas | 100.00 |
| August 26, to Building and Loan Company balance on loan on property | 835.50 |
| Recording of warranty deed | .75 |
| Title and Trust Company | 13.50 |
| Revenue stamps | 1.00 |
| September 17, cash to Mrs. Legaikas | 50.00 |
| Balance due Mrs. Legaikas | 236.25 |
| | $2,000.00 |

Mrs. Legaikas originally agreed to pay $1,125.50 for property. After having moved, she tried to back out because she found property needed new sills on one side. The former owner came down $50,

the amount needed to cover the necessary improvements. Mr. Simkus, secretary of St. Gabriel's Society, was the agent in Mr. Nauseidus' office who made the sale for Mrs. Legaikas.

*October 30, 1918.*—Telephoned Mr. Nauseidus. Mrs. Legaikas drew $50 on October 7, which left a balance of $186. Arrangements have all been made to have house raised and to have new posts put in; probable cost $150. Improvements will be completed probably in a week or ten days.

*November 6, 1918.*—Visited Mr. Ezerkis on another case. He reported that Mrs. Legaikas had called to see him, asking if Welfare Agency has secured information regarding her affairs from him. Also requested that he give a false report as to the amount of money which the society had given.[1] He attributes this to ignorance on her part, and the desire to get from all sources all that was possible. He advised her that she must be truthful to the Agency or she would get no assistance whatever.

*December 4, 1918.*—Young girl in neighboring store telephoned for Mrs. Legaikas. Said she had no money, no food, and the children need shoes. Asked visit.

*December 5, 1918.*—Visited Nauseidus Real Estate Company. Improvements on house will cost $300. Mortgage has been raised $100. Mrs. Legaikas drew out $50 November 13. Has $136.25 left. This will go to pay for the improvements on the house, and she will have no living expenses. Mr. Nauseidus is worried about Mrs. Legaikas. Willing to aid in any possible way. Is not charging for his services and will have to put in some of the money for the house. He may be able to sell it.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas claims she has not a cent left. Showed receipts of expenditures made, except groceries. Grocery receipts she could not get. Visitor went into pantry and inspected food. She had a large sack of potatoes, which she purchased from a vegetable peddler, and enough staple groceries to last until county supplies are delivered the tenth. Has no lard, butterine, or meat. The milkman is still delivering milk, but she will have no money with which to pay him this month. Said she owed Mrs. Papkas, a neigh-

[1] [Note Mrs. Novotny above p. 175. This attempted dissimulation is not to be wondered at. The position of this visitor is so much more favorable than that of the visitor in the Novotny case because she knows the facts. Mrs. Legaikas soon learns that the visitor does know and that misrepresentation does not pay. The difficulty then is one of understanding. See entries January 27, 1919; January 30, 1919; February 13, 1919; February 20, 1919; February 21, 1919.]

bor, $5.00. She spent $2.75 of this for pants and $2.00 for shoes for one of her boys. Her gas bill amounts to about 75 cents a month. Uses one stove. Elizabeth and Nicholas need shoes. Visitor advised her to apply to County Agent for coal and shoes. Has received letter from Washington, stating that she should attend night school, preparatory to taking out second papers. Will be unable to do so, as there will be no one to take care of the children at night. She took Nicholas' shoes to the shoemaker to be fixed for $1.86. As he has new shoes he will not need these at present.

*December 7, 1918.*—Telephoned grocery store, and ordered one pound of lard, one pound of butterine, and two pounds of hamburger steak, in all amounting to $1.20.

*December 9, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas very much pleased with the county shoes she had received for the boys, and very grateful that visitor had told her about it. Has also received coal from the county. The neighbor she borrowed $5.00 from is a Mrs. Papkas. Visitor again looked over receipts. Mrs. Legaikas has receipts for water bill, $2.07; last gas bill, 96 cents; $5.00, $2.50, and $5.00 for clothing; $3.90 milk. Told visitor she had purchased china cups for $1.13; a wagon to haul groceries from County Agent's office for $7.00; potatoes for $3.75; coal for $6.50; wool with which to knit stockings, $3.00. In all, the above articles mentioned amount to $40.81. Elizabeth came home from school. Is a sweet-looking little girl, very neatly dressed, but her coat is too small. Left grocery order on Boorman for $5.00.

*December 11, 1918.*—Visited County Agent. Family are receiving rations.

*December 15, 1918.*—Visited John Vasiliankas, brother of Mrs. Legaikas. Lives in a very nice cottage, but there is a mortgage of $800 upon it. Makes about 55 cents an hour in the Car Repair Shops, but he has a large family to support. Does not think he is able to do anything financially for his sister but is very willing to help her in any other way possible. Very often works for her all day Sunday, chopping wood, etc. He intends to paint the new foundation for her house, and will furnish the paint himself. Is very sorry for his sister and is very sorry he cannot do more for her. Said it was the doctor's fault that Mr. Legaikas died. He was always a strong, healthy man. Mrs. Legaikas, however, is not strong.

*December 20, 1918.*—Mrs. Legaikas in office saying food all gone. Had 17 cents yesterday, which she used for the last food which she

has had. Showed grocer's check for same. She would like to change butchers because Mr. Boorman would not call up Welfare Agency office for her yesterday. Told her to talk it over with visitor. Gave grocery order of $3.00 on Boorman.

*December 30, 1918.*—Mrs. Legaikas very grateful indeed for lovely toys brought to children Christmas and for excellent dinner received. Children have never had such a Christmas before in their lives, and she was very happy. Showed several doll beds, three or four dolls, books, and games. A large roast was sent in, nuts, apples, vegetables, can of corn, and several glasses of preserves and jam. Mrs. Legaikas complained about treatment received from grocer. Promised to write down articles bought from grocer. Nicholas would do it. Seems very anxious to co-operate. Left cash grant of $5.00.

*Later.*—Visited St. Vincent's Church. Father Norus is well acquainted with Mrs. Legaikas. Spoke highly of her. Promised to take up matter of securing aid, and visitor to call again for report.

*Later.*—Visited school. Children well cared for and in regular attendance.

*December 31, 1918.*—Ordered one quart of milk daily for one month.

*January 2, 1919.*—Visited to make budget. Mrs. Legaikas cannot bake any more and does not like to build hot fire in the stove, as the lining is burned out. Seems to be very economical about use of coal and light. Makes very good use of county supplies. Cooks oatmeal one hour. Does not care to give the children much meat. Thinks the cereals with milk are much better for them, and they like to eat them. She expressed appreciation of what the Agency had done for her.

*January 3, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas' brother was there fixing the stove, as it was burned out. Found stove too hot to fix then but would return January 5. She has $1,000 fire insurance, costing $6.00 per year. Took out policy through Nauseidus. Ordered one quart milk daily for the month of January.

*Later.*—While visiting Mrs. Pesek (case), learned that she owes Mrs. Legaikas $5.00. Mrs. Pesek is quite well acquainted with Mrs. Legaikas. Formerly loaned her $50, which has been paid. Knows Mrs. Legaikas to be destitute at present.

*January 7, 1919.*—Visited. House looked very nice and clean. The floor is all covered with a new piece of linoleum, which was purchased with the house. The improvements on the house look very well done, and Mrs. Legaikas' brother promised to paint the whole

house for her in the spring. Has been very much kinder and more interested in her welfare since visitor called on him. He fixed the stove inside and yesterday gave her $1.00 for food. Paid the gas bill of 59 cents up to December 27. Is by nature inclined to be close with his money.

The children are all well except Victoria, who has been having trouble with her ear. Mrs. Legaikas showed visitor receipts for groceries. Gave further instructions on approved and disapproved foods. She got along nicely on $5.00 until January 4. Gave cash grant of $5.00. She will keep receipts.

*January 14, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas having difficulty in getting along on $5.00 allowance. Showed visitor receipts. Purchased eggs twice. Promised to bring menus and receipts for cheaper foods on next visit. Gave cash grant for $5.00.

*January 16, 1919.*—Visited. Ordered an additional quart of milk daily, January 17 to 31, inclusive.

*January 21, 1919.*—Visited St. Vincent's School. Spoke to Sister Veronica, who complained that Martin and Nicholas were very mischievous, although Elizabeth was a well-behaved little girl. The boys do not do very well in school, and Sister Veronica would appreciate it greatly if visitor would speak to Mrs. Legaikas concerning their home work.

*Later.*—Visited Father Norus, who received visitor cordially. Is very grateful to Agency for caring for family. Has taken matter up with Parish Relief Society, although their funds are not ready for disbursement for a few more months.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas seems to be quite hopeless in her attitude. Does not know how to manage very well and is constantly worrying. Showed visitor receipts for money spent. Was grateful for additional quart of milk each day as they have always been used to drinking a great deal of milk. Her brother painted the foundation of the house very nicely. He also repaired the children's shoes from the county. Gave her a book in which to enter accounts. Left two nightgowns and two under-garments for Gladys, a coat for Elizabeth which Mrs. Legaikas will be able to shorten. Mrs. Legaikas needs shoes. Children are not insured. Left cash grant for $7.00.

*January 25, 1919.*—Visited Mr. Nauseidus. Improvements on property cost $176. Mrs. Legaikas has balance of $140. Interest on property is $18 every six months. Taxes amount to about $10. Mortgage is $600.

*January 27, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas claims she did not know she had any money left in the bank. Was unwilling to believe it was so. Seemed rather nervous about visitor knowing this. Visitor spoke to Nicholas and Martin about behavior at school. They promised to attend to lessons more faithfully. Gave Mrs. Legaikas recipes for cheaper foods. Explained to her she must be very careful to keep account of expenditures in the future.

*January 28, 1919.*—Committee decision: To put in regular allowance due according to budget.

*January 30, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas at first refused to admit that she had money in the bank. Asked visitor who told her, and visitor said she could figure up accounts without being told and did not admit that Mr. Nauseidus had given the information. She then said she did not think she had money in the bank and told visitor to see Mr. Nauseidus again. Said she had no groceries in the house and did not know what to do.

*Later.*—Telephoned Nauseidus' Bank. Mr. Nauseidus asked visitor if Mrs. Legaikas would not be allowed to retain some money in the bank in case of emergency, and visitor explained that money would have to be used before the Agency could give any aid. Mr. Nauseidus then said he had made some mistake in giving statement of money to visitor, as a $50 withdrawal of money by Mrs. Legaikas had not been entered by the stenographer, and refused to give account of this money, as he was busy.

*Later.*—Visited. Explained to Mrs. Legaikas that she would have to use her money, and she said that Mr. Nauseidus had told her she had a little money in the bank but that it did not amount to much—$50 or so. Explained very carefully to her that she would have to use it and that she should be very accurate in telling visitor how she used this. She promised to do so. She said she had not realized that she had money in the bank and that all transactions had been made through Mr. Nauseidus, so that she had not always been informed as to the exact amount. Mr. Nauseidus had refused to tell her how much money she had in the bank when she had been in, January 28, as he had been so busy. Advised her to go to Nauseidus' Bank at once and make withdrawal, and keep all receipts of the money. Will do so.

*February 1, 1919.*—Met Mrs. Legaikas on the street. She has made a withdrawal of $50 and will use money with care. Is very much pleased that she still has some money of her own.

*February 13, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas had wanted visitor to call. Had receipts of articles which had been purchased or showed visitor the articles with the price marks. Had purchased a bed, mattress, and spring for $25, comforter for $6.75, embroidery for a dress, and several articles which were quite unnecessary. She did not have money enough left to purchase food for the following day.

*February 17, 1919.*—Visited Nauseidus Real Estate office. Mr. Nauseidus not in.

*February 18, 1919 (Tuesday).*—Mrs. Legaikas telephoned asking visit some day this week. Promised visit the twenty-first.

*February 20, 1919.*—Mr. Ezerkis telephoned. Mrs. Legaikas had come to him asking help. Said Welfare Agency told her no help could be given until money was spent. Now money is spent and help is refused. Reported expenditure of money. Promised visitor would see him.

*February 21, 1919.*—Visited Mr. Ezerkis. Gave report of Mrs. Legaikas' expending money for bed and other articles. Mr. Ezerkis asked visitor to visit her and explain to her that she should not have spent money so rashly.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Legaikas. Said she had been without funds but had borrowed $5.00 from her brother. This morning her brother refused to give her another cent. Showed visitor a book in which the money spent had been entered.

Expenditures:

| | |
|---|---|
| Two pairs of shoes | $10.50 |
| One remnant, 52 cents, one 67 cents, one 36 cents | 1.55 |
| One dress | 1.29 |
| Three waists | 3.00 |
| One spread | 3.98 |
| One comforter | 6.98 |
| Shirt and pants | 7.00 |
| Bed | 25.00 |
| Gas | 1.55 |
| Newspaper for one year | 3.00 |
| Dishes | 1.30 |
| Milk | 5.83 |
| Sheets and pillow cases | 2.00 |
| Embroidery | .25 |
| Light | .55 |
| Thread | .10 |
| Food | 16.00 |
| | $89.88 |

She said she understood that if she spent the money she would again have help and said she had needed articles purchased. Visitor told her bed could have been procured free of charge, and she should try to return bed to dealer and visitor would procure another bed for her. She will make attempt to return bed. She asked visitor if she would speak to dealer, but visitor told her she must do this herself.

Told her visitor would credit her with $2.00 worth of groceries. She complained of grocer's treatment, and said she would never have anything to do with him again. Gave name of Thomas Kasko, grocer, who had been very obliging to her.

*Later.*—Visited Thomas Kasko. Told him to credit Mrs. Legaikas with $2.00 worth of groceries. Will do so.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Papkas, a neighbor.[1] Was busy preparing supper. Had little to say regarding Mrs. Legaikas but stated she was a very good mother, though not in a physical condition to care for her children. Feels very sorry for her and wishes she could help in some way, but Mrs. Papkas has a family of her own to support.

*February 25, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas has not spoken to furniture dealer regarding bed but will do so. Promised visit in a few days. Left grocery order of $2.00 on Kasko.

*Later.*—Visited Nauseidus. Mrs. Legaikas drew out $20 on February 2. Has no more money left in bank. He stated he was too busy to give statement of her withdrawals.

*February 28, 1919.*—Telephoned Thomas Kasko to grant Mrs. Legaikas $3.00 worth of groceries.

*Later.*—Two quarts of milk reordered for month of March.

*March 3, 1919.*—Visited. House rather upset but clean. Mrs. Legaikas said she is getting along very nicely and needs nothing except food. St. Veronica's Society to which she belongs meets monthly. The main function is the insurance, but social functions are also connected with it. In May will have a large picnic. Children are all going to school regularly. Gave cash grant of $8.75 and advised her to keep careful account of expenditures. She is very grateful. Has been to dealer who sold the bed. He refused to take bed back. Family has sufficient bedding.

*March 10, 1919.*—Neighbor telephoned for Mrs. Legaikas saying the children were ill. Promised to send county doctor.

[1] [This is the first visit to a present neighbor. The visitor is evidently puzzled over the problem and wants help. It is a kind entry.]

[From this time until May 19, 1919, the care of the family proceeds without extraordinary incidents. The two little girls, Victoria and Gladys, get diphtheria and have to go to the hospital for contagious diseases. The visitor sees to it that Mrs. Legaikas is kept informed of their condition. She also on the advice of the Legal Aid Society undertakes to obtain an estimate of the value of her property made by an authoritative agency. On May 19, 1919, the following letter was written to the Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court:][1]

We are referring to you as an applicant for assistance under the "Aid to Mothers Act" Mrs. Mary Legaikas, 205 West Montenegro Street. Although Mrs. Legaikas' property has been valued by the party from whom she purchased it at $1,125, we believe the real value to be less than this amount. There is, moreover, a mortgage on the property of $600.

We are writing this note at the suggestion of the Head of the Aid to Mothers Division, with whom we have conferred in regard to Mrs. Legaikas' property.

*May 20, 1919.*—Visited John Vasiliankas, who is now in the grocery business. Talked over situation. He is very willing that his sister receive goods at a discount.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas showed visitor gas plate which she received from her brother. She had told him that the Agency had said he must purchase it for her. Cost was $10. Children all well. Mrs. Legaikas attended English class May 15. Gave cash grant of 85 cents and grocery order of $6.00.

*May 26, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas sound asleep. House in great disorder. Said she was very tired because she had gone to cemetery in the morning to visit her husband's grave. Gave grocery order of $6.00 and cash grant of $5.20 from which she will pay gas bill of 41 cents; carfare to English class, 20 cents; English primer, 28 cents; water bill, $3.57; and the remainder 74 cents for household incidentals.

*May 31, 1919.*—Ordered two quarts of milk daily for month of June.

*June 2, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas did not go to English class because she heard the teacher was ill. Had just bathed children, who are always very nicely kept. House was rather dirty and in

[1] [Conditions are such that eligibility may be claimed for a Mothers' Pension. The Welfare Agency has led her along ten months. But the way is not wholly smooth. See entries of June 23, 1919; July 15, 1919; July 18, 1919; July 24, 1919; July 30, 1919; August 7, 1919.]

great disorder, however. Left grocery order of $6.00 and cash grant of 65 cents.

*June 9, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas went to Juvenile Court to make application for Mothers' Pension but was refused because of owning property. Later received a letter telling her to come again which she did. Was unable to give any further information about it. Gave grocery order of $6.00 and cash grant of 65 cents. Mrs. Legaikas gave visitor bill for special assessments of $36.30.

*Later.*—Visited Nauseidus Real Estate office. Mr. Nauseidus not in. Clerk gave information. Mr. Nauseidus has abstract of title which will be kept until the mortgage is paid. Mortgage will be due in four years and two months.

[The Welfare Agency record may be interrupted here to make place for excerpts from the Juvenile Court record. Mrs. Legaikas had gone to the court on June 5. The following correspondence brings out the relations between and among certain agencies:]

*June 6, 1919.*—Letter written by Chief Probation Officer to executive officer of Charitable Corporation:

Mrs. Mary Legaikas, who is B–112 on our waiting list, was recently notified to come in and make application for a Mothers' Pension. When she called yesterday, we found, upon questioning her, that she owns property valued at $1,150; and we were, therefore, unable to take her application, and so informed her. She called again today, saying that she had been asked to do so by your office, and we are writing this letter to explain the matter to you. The law does not allow us to take the applications of women who own property worth more than $1,000.

*June 9, 1919.*—Letter received by the Chief Probation Officer from Charitable Corporation:

In reply to your letter of June 6, regarding Mrs. Mary Legaikas, we wish to state that in compliance with a letter received from the head of the Mothers' Aid Division several months ago, requesting us to notify all those whom we were assisting, that they must present themselves at the court when notified, otherwise their names would be dropped from the list, Mrs. Legaikas' name was on the list which we received June 4, and, accordingly, we notified her to appear in court, so that she would be entitled to a hearing when her turn came on the list.

In reference to the property, the information which we first received regarding this family from the Family Welfare Agency of Chicago, is as follows:

"Mr. Legaikas was a member of the Holy Name Society as well as St. Gabriel's Society, and $104 was received from the latter, but we have

been unable to obtain the exact amount given by the Holy Name Society, but understood it to be similar.

"He owned his home, valued at $2,000 but there was a mortgage upon this of $800. The house was sold, and after the mortagage was settled with the Building and Loan Company and after the debts incident to the sale were paid, Mrs. Legaikas realized about $900. Another house was purchased, valued at $1,125, upon which there was a mortgage of $500. It has been necessary to make improvements upon the property, and the cost of these was $300. The improvements on the house necessitated raising the mortgage $100.

"Mrs. Legaikas has used up the last of her resources on hand, making it necessary for her to obtain outside help until her Mothers' Pension is received.

"Her brother, Mr. John Vasiliankas, is unable to help her financially. She was even obliged to return the $80 she had borrowed from him.

"It will probably be many months before Mrs. Legaikas receives the Mothers' Pension, although she has her citizen papers, and her application has been filed. In view of this fact, would it be possible for you to give any assistance? There are five children between the ages of two and nine, and we provide $49.39 in addition to county supplies, which amount to $13.26 a month."

When our visitor called, the information received from Mrs. Legaikas was practically the same as that given us by the Welfare Agency. Hence, it would appear that the property to which she has a title, is valued at $1,150, whilst her equity in this property is not over $800. Consequently, if those statements are true, in asking for a pension, she is within the limits of the law, as set forth in your letter of June 6.

We would like to know whether you investigated and found out the equity that Mrs. Legaikas has in this property. A reply at your earliest convenience will be appreciated.

*June 11, 1919.*—Letter written by the Chief Probation Officer to the Charitable Corporation:

In reply to your letter of June 9, relative to property owned by Mrs. Mary Legaikas of 205 West Montenegro Street, am quoting paragraph six of the "Aid to Mothers Act" or the 1917 amendment thereto.

"A mother shall not receive such relief, who is the owner of real property or personal property other than the household goods, but no mother, who shall be the holder of, or entitled to, a homestead under the exemption laws of this state, or who is the holder of, or entitled to a dower right in real estate, provided the fair cash market value of said real estate is not more than One Thousand ($1,000) Dollars, shall be denied relief under the provisions of this Act."

As Legaikas' property is mortgaged for $800, and the market value of this property is $1,150, she is not eligible to a pension.

*June 16, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas had been canvassing for church. Made $1.60 commission. Spent $1.10 of this for having Elizabeth's shoes repaired. Left grocery order of $6.00 and cash grant of 65 cents.

*June 30, 1919.*—Ordered two quarts of milk daily for month of July.

*June 23, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas cannot get Mothers' Pension because of property and is now planning to sell house. House very dirty and upset. Mrs. Legaikas washing. Complained she was not getting as large an allowance as some of the other women in the English class. Visitor explained basis of budget. She requested stockings for the children. Showed visitor old stockings which she had patched and repatched. Promised same.

She gave visitor bill received from Mr. Nauseidus for interest on $600 loan on property which was $18. Gave grocery order of $6.00 and cash grant of 65 cents.

*June 26, 1919.*—Letter written Mr. Nauseidus, inclosing check for $35.46 in payment of special assessments.

*July 1, 1919.*—Visited. Invited Mrs. Legaikas to go on outing with children. Did not seem eager to go. She sold gas plate given her by her brother and received $10 for it. Bought several pairs of overalls for children and a dress for herself. Gave grocery order of $6.00 and cash grant of 65 cents.

*July 7, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas had just finished painting the bedroom a bright yellow. Had put one coat on the kitchen of light blue but did not like it and started to repaint it bright yellow also. Her brother is unable to favor her to a very great extent, as his partner is unfavorable. Gave grocery order for $7.00 and cash grant of 65 cents.

*July 15, 1919.*—Telephoned Aid to Mothers Department. The court will reply on the assessor's valuation. If that is less than $1,000, they will take Mrs. Legaikas' application, but otherwise can do nothing.

*July 18, 1919.*—Letter written Board of Assessors by district superintendent:

> May we please have a report from you as to the assessment of the property of Mrs. Mary Legaikas? The assessed value is the determining condition upon which she may or may not receive her Mothers' Pension.
>
> We shall appreciate the courtesy of an early reply.

*July 24, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas has finished painting all the rooms in her cottage. She is very much distressed that her best room must be so dirty. The paper is a very dark, dirty, and faded green; and the paper on the ceiling has fallen. She is confident that if she had the paper she would be able to put it on herself. She is very eager not to have to dispose of the property, but in the event that she will be unable to get the pension except by doing so, she will follow any plan suggested by the Welfare Agency. She, as well as all the children, look very well.

*July 29, 1919.*—Ordered two quarts of milk daily for the month of August.

*July 30, 1919.*—Following letter written by district superintendent to Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court:

Mrs. Mary Legaikas is coming to you to make her application for the pension. The Board of Assessors have valued her property: land, $160; building, $250; total, $410.

As you have suggested, Mrs. Legaikas would then be eligible for the assistance under the "Aid to Mothers Act."

*August 7, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas was very pleased that her application had been accepted at the Juvenile Court. She dislikes very much to take the children on the street car, and for this reason would not appreciate tickets for park trips. There are woods a short distance from her home. Frequently on Sundays she will take the entire family here for a picnic dinner. She tries to take them here at least once a week. The children are always happy over the trip.

*August 14, 1919.*—Visited. Investigator from Juvenile Court has visited the Legaikas' home.

*Later.*—Called upon her brother and advised that it would be necessary for him to contribute $3.00 a week to make up budget for Mrs. Legaikas.[1] Mrs. Legaikas tearfully explained that her brother would be unable to do this, and she feared that they would, therefore, not grant her the pension.

*August 15, 1919.*—The following letter written by district superintendent to Chief Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Chicago:

Mr. Legaikas, Lithuanian, died at St. Augustine's Hospital, June 22, 1918, following an operation for gallstones, performed by Dr. William J. Burley. Mr. W. W. Norris, 9824 Ontario Avenue, was the undertaker. His bill amounted to $92.30. Mr. Legaikas belonged to two fraternal societies,

[1] [The brother is liable under the Pauper Law. See entry of August 20, 1919 and also of August 28, 1919.]

Holy Name, Mr. Ezerkis, 12180 Myrtle Avenue, chairman; and St. Gabriel's, Mr. Charles Smolczynski, treasurer. Mr. Ezerkis reported to us that Holy Name paid $50 to Mr. Norris, undertaker, and in addition collected $1.00 from each of the eighty members. Mr. Smolczynski of St. Gabriel's showed us a receipt of $42.30 paid to the undertaker. In addition, they paid Mrs. Legaikas $104.

At the time of Mr. Legaikas' death the family lived in a cottage valued at $2,000, which they were buying through the Lithuanian Building and Loan Company.

Mr. Charles Smolczynski, who is also president of this company, advised that it would be necessary for the company to foreclose. Mr. Frank Simkus, a friend of Mrs. Legaikas', and employed at Nauseidus Real Estate Company, secured a buyer for the property. He also arranged for Mrs. Legaikas to purchase a smaller cottage, upon which Mrs. Legaikas paid $562 down and assumed a mortgage of $500.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cash on Property sold | | $2,000.00 |
| July 17–Commission on deal and clearing of title | $ 100.00 | |
| July 17–Death certificate | .50 | |
| August 8–To Mrs. Legaikas–cash | 100.00 | |
| August 8–To former landlord | 562.50 | |
| August 26–Cash to Mrs. Legaikas | 100.00 | |
| August 26–To Building and Loan Company balance due on property | 835.50 | |
| August 26–Recording of warranty deed | .75 | |
| August 26–Title and Trust Co. | 13.50 | |
| August 26–Revenue stamps | 1.00 | |
| September 17–Cash to Mrs. Legaikas | 50.00 | |
| | | $1,763.75 |
| Balance due Mrs. Legaikas | 236.25 | |
| | | $2,000.00 |

After the purchase it was found necessary to put sills underneath the new home. This was done at a cost of $176. To cover this in part, Mr. Nauseidus raised the mortgage to $600.

We kept in close touch with Mrs. Legaikas during this time and endeavored to keep informed of her expenditures. February 7, Mrs. Legaikas made her last withdrawal amounting to $20 from the balance due her on the property sale.

In March we made a plan for regular help to the family and since that time have spent a total of $251.92. Pending our budget plan we spent a total of $52.59. The taxes which we paid amounted to general $7.49 and special $35.46.

Mrs. Legaikas was very worried and run down physically following the death of her husband. Dr. Anderson made an examination for us at this time and prescribed a tonic, which Mrs. Legaikas took. Victoria and Gladys were ill with diphtheria this spring. In general the children are very robust. The standard of living is good. The only relative known to us is John Vasiliankas, brother of Mrs. Legaikas. He is now engaged in a grocery business.

*August 20, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas said the relations between her brother and herself were very strained because the brother is being forced by Welfare Agency and Juvenile Court to contribute toward her support.

*Later.*—While visiting Mr. Nauseidus, he told visitor that Mrs. Legaikas had come to him in tears yesterday telling him that she was afraid her brother would commit suicide. Mr. Nauseidus knows Mr. Vasiliankas personally, although he told Mrs. Legaikas that he could not in any way interfere with Welfare Agency plans. He told visitor that Mr. Vasiliankas is really a very poor man. He borrowed the money with which to set up his business, besides having four children to support, and must keep up his payments on this loan.

[The following letter, dated August 25, 1919, to the Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court, from the Public Bureau, which co-operates with the County Agent and the County Court in enforcing the Pauper Law, under which brothers and sisters are laid under a duty to support each other, illustrates the method by which the Juvenile Court informs itself in such cases:]

On June 6, 1919, Mrs. Mary Legaikas came to this Department regarding assistance from her brother, Mr. John Vasiliankas.

Investigation showed that the brother, who had a partnership in a small business, was helping her out by allowing supplies at wholesale prices, and stated that he was positively unable to do any more.

The Welfare Agency was at that time giving $6.00 a week.

The family of Mr. Vasiliankas, consisting of himself and wife and three dependent children, were living in the rear of the store. He owned a cottage valued at $2,000, mortgaged for $1,200, and renting for $22 a month. This brother's income did not warrant action by this Bureau, and as there were no other relatives to be considered, the matter was referred back to the Juvenile Court for assistance under the "Aid to Mothers Act."

*August 28, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas in a very happy frame of mind. Juvenile Court visitor had called and told her that the court would not withhold pension because her brother could not

help her. Mrs. Legaikas understands that this was the case. She is to go to the court September 2, and is very eager to do just what the court asks of her. She said this time that her brother's attitude toward her was friendly. He cannot come to see her because he is busy.

*September 4, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas went to the County Building September 2 to file her application. Court visitor will notify her when she has to go for the Dispensary examination.[1] She thinks she has kidney trouble.

She was making over clothing for the children. Martin's and Mrs. Legaikas' shoes needed mending. Visitor took same and also increased her allowance so that she could get a broom. She had to sweep her floor with a dry mop.

She asked whether the Agency would give her money to pay her dues of 25 cents a month for three months in arrears in her Benefit Society.

*September 5, 1919.*—Notification received from Juvenile Court that Mrs. Legaikas has been granted $55 pension.[2]

*Later.*—Telephoned the court. Mrs. Legaikas will be notified that she is to call for first half of the pension October 8.

*September 10, 1919.*—Visited. Left Mrs. Legaikas' and Martin's shoes, which were very nicely mended and looked as good as new. Mrs. Legaikas was very pleased with them. The family was having a noon lunch of bread, milk, crackers, and fried potatoes mixed with small cuts of pork. Probation officer has told Mrs. Legaikas to bring all her children to the court the nineteenth, so that the judge may see them. This is the only thing she will have to do further before she receives her pension.

*September 13, 1919.*—Charles Smith (case) delivered wall paper to Mrs. Legaikas.

*September 18, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas went to the country with all her children today. Everyone was very carsick. She has been given a card telling her to call at the County Agent's office October 8 for the first half of her pension, and thereafter the twenty-third and eighth of each month. Mrs. Legaikas was hoping that she

[1] [See *Administration of Aid-to-Mothers Law in Illinois* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 82), pp. 29, 30.]

[2] [This was evidently the action of the committee recommending the pension. The judge's "seeing the children" is the real award. The amount was the maximum then possible. The budget worked out by the court was $89.50, besides rent.]

would get at least $75. She afterward expressed the opinion that probably she was much better off now than she would be after awhile. She had received the wall paper, but had not yet put it on, as she thought there was only half the quantity that she needed. Explained that double rolls had been purchased instead of single rolls.

*September 25, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas in the midst of cleaning her front room preparatory to putting on the wall paper. She was very much distressed as she did not know how to make paste. She showed visitor a notice she had received for special assessments amounting to $34.89. She does not know how this will be paid. Asked for coal.

*October 2, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas has her card with instructions to call for her pension the eighth and twenty-third of each month, beginning October 8. She is very discouraged lest she be required to support her family on only $55 a month. She has not put on the wall paper as she feared to risk papering the ceiling herself, and a neighbor friend has offered to help her. The room is still torn up, as she must await his convenience. Her brother has purchased a small heater for her, so that she hopes to be very comfortable.

[The following letter, dated October 9, 1919, from the Chief Probation Officer to the executive of the Charitable Corporation has been taken from the Juvenile Court record:]

We should like to refer to you the case of Mrs. Mary Legaikas, widow of Nicholas Legaikas, 205 West Montenegro Street. Mrs. Legaikas has five children, all under ten years of age. We are inclosing an environment sheet.

Her pension was granted September 15, 1919 ($55). Mrs. Legaikas is living in a cottage on which she has made a payment of $500. It is mortgaged for $600. She pays $36 a year interest on this. Her budget is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Rent | Own home |
| Clothing | $23.00 |
| Fuel | 7.00 |
| Household supplies | 5.00 |
| Carfare | 1.00 |
| Education | 1.00 |
| Recreation | 1.50 |
| Care of health | 1.50 |
| Food | 49.50 |
| Total | $89.50 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Carried forward* | | $89.50 |
| She had additional expenses | | |
| Taxes | $10.00 | |
| Repairs | 3.00 | |
| Interest | 3.00 | |
| Total | | 16.00 |
| | | $105.50 |

There is no income. Mrs. Legaikas is a good mother, keeps her home and children very clean, and is at present greatly distressed because she cannot make the $55 granted by the court meet her needs. She has hitherto been cared for by the Family Welfare Agency.

[The record of the Family Welfare Agency may be supplemented by extracts from the record of the probation officer who took charge of the family after the allowance was granted. That record will not be given in full. The entries trace the weekly visits to the home, the school reports, the medical supervision, etc. A problem that presents itself at an early date is that arising from the difference between the budget requirements of the family and the court's allowance. A later problem arises from the difficulty with which Mrs. Legaikas is made to realize that she must qualify for her second papers. This obligation she takes rather lightly until on July 13, 1922, the pension is stayed "because her second papers are overdue." The probation officer's entries bringing out these aspects of her relationship with Mrs. Legaikas are quoted:]

*February 10, 1920.*—Met Mrs. Legaikas at County Agent's office. She said the doctor and nurse had come to take care of her children; all are well now. Send one quart milk daily.

*March 4, 1920.*—Own home—open neighborhood—good cottage. Whole family recovering from "flu." First papers August 26, 1918. Children at St. Vincent's School. Martin and Elizabeth in first grade.

See *September 3, 1919.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Need | $105.50 |
| Pension | 55.00 |
| Deficit | 50.50 |

Mrs. Legaikas is a good mother, goes out to work to supplement budget, has been ill, and finds it hard to get along. Children well kept. Charitable Corporation has given a little irregular help.

*March 17, 1920.*—St. Vincent's School reported that Martin, Nicholas, and Elizabeth are attending regularly. Saw them and found

them very neat and apparently in good health. Saw Victoria and Gladys at home. House very neat. Mrs. Legaikas reported that she has an opportunity to work at the Car Repair Shops at $4.00 per day, three days per week. That she can make arrangements for care of children with a neighbor, whose address she will furnish later. Said that taxes and debts worry her to such an extent that she wants work. Approved her plan on condition that older children are kept in school and younger ones receive good care. Buys one quart of milk daily in addition to that furnished by Charitable Corporation.

*March 24, 1920.*—Made appointment with Mrs. Legaikas for medical examination to determine amount of work she is able to do.

*March 29, 1920.*—Physician stated that Mrs. Legaikas is physically able to work as laborer at Car Repair Shops three days per week.

*April 30, 1920.*—Saw three children at St. Vincent's School. They were well dressed and in excellent physical condition. Did not find Mrs. Legaikas at home; the neighbors reported that she works three days per week and that her sister cares for the children.

*May 1, 1920.*—Report from St. Vincent's School for March showed Nicholas perfect in attendance and doing excellent work. Martin had missed two and a half days excused, doing good work. Elizabeth excused for one day's absence with excellent work. The April report showed perfect attendance with scholarship unchanged.

*May 25, 1920.*—School reports from St. Vincent's School for Nicholas and Elizabeth satisfactory. Martin was graded fair, only. Interviewed Mrs. Legaikas at County Agent's office. She stated that she would work only two days per week, hereafter, as she does not wish to have her pension reduced.

*June 4, 1920.*—Household accounts show adequate use of milk and vegetables. Mrs. Legaikas is now using baker's bread and other prepared foods as she is working away from home. Too much sugar is used. Explained these mistakes to Mrs. Legaikas.

*June 10, 1920.*—Accounts submitted showed excessive purchase of sugar, cheap vegetables, and dried fruits. Food cost is increased by use of baker's bread and cooked meats for school lunches, owing to the fact that Mrs. Legaikas works in a factory and has little time to prepare food.

*June 24, 1920.*—School report for Martin for June only fair. Nicholas' report entirely satisfactory.

Called at the home but Mrs. Legaikas was not there. Victoria stated that she had gone to the store. Victoria was in good condition.

*June 29, 1920.*—Found the children in good condition and the home well cared for. Reminded Mrs. Legaikas to complete her naturalization papers by August 26. She reported that she is not working at all at present as her children required all her care during vacation. Martin has been truant and disobedient. Talked to him about his conduct. Mrs. Legaikas was very despondent owing to receipt of bill of $34.40 for special street assessment on property. Explained to her she must market more economically. She has just purchased a watermelon.

*July 9, 1920.*—Mrs. Legaikas stated that she is not working at the present time; Nicholas is 55.7 inches tall, weight 77.7 pounds, normal. Martin is 53.5 inches tall, weight 66.5, 8⅓ per cent underweight. Victoria is 44 inches tall, weight 41.5, 6.9 per cent underweight. Elizabeth is normal.

*July 16, 1920.*—Called about 5:00 P.M., and found all the children excepting Martin at home, clean, happy, and well behaved. They reported that their mother was at the store, and they had no idea where Martin was.

*July 26, 1920.*—Mrs. Legaikas reported that she is working in the Car Repair Shops. She has not been studying questions for citizenship. She promised to send Martin and Victoria to Nutrition Clinic but cannot attend herself.

*July 29, 1920.*—Committee decided to allow Mrs. Legaikas to continue to work for Car Repair Company for sixty days in order to pay for her street assessment.

*October 25, 1920.*—Mrs. Legaikas stated that she is still employed at Car Repair Shops but will give up work as she wishes to keep her pension unchanged. She has applied for her second papers.

*October 27, 1920.*—Found three children attending St. Vincent's School regularly. They are very neat and well clothed. Nicholas is doing unusually good school work but Martin gives considerable trouble.

*November 9, 1920.*—Called at employment office of Car Repair Company and learned that Mrs. Legaikas earns 45 cents per hour and is supposed to put in 50 hours a week.[1] She was absent three days in September, fourteen days in October, and has not reported for work in November, though considered an employee. This is evidently Mrs. Legaikas' way of working part time as company will not give short-hour work. Martin and Victoria are attending nutri-

[1] [The mother is doing surreptitious work!]

tion class and show great improvement. They are only slightly below normal weight now.

*November 12, 1920.*—Found no one at home. Neighbors reported that Mrs. Legaikas is not working but had gone out marketing.

*November 13, 1920.*—Found three children in the best of physical condition and the home was neat and clean. Mrs. Legaikas' first declaration of intention to become a citizen was No. 23579, Superior Court. She applied for her second papers in August, saw communication from Washington saying that as she arrived in the United States since 1906, she must await their securing of her certificate of arrival before applying for second papers, that she would be notified when to apply. She has not received notice up to date. She will not work at Car Repair Shops this winter. . . . .

*February 18, 1921.*—Found the home in excellent condition. Mrs. Legaikas is keeping Victoria at home from school in the afternoon as she cries easily and is not in good health. Martin's conduct has improved although he still smokes stubs of cigars which he finds in the street. Mrs. Legaikas is having trouble with her application for citizenship as she entered this country through Quebec. A Lithuanian real estate man who works for Nauseidus and Company [Mr. Simkus] is helping her to get the matter straightened out. . . . .

*March 7, 1921.*—Household accounts showed well-balanced diet and economical expenditure.

*April 8, 1921.*—Found Nicholas at home; he was in excellent condition. Later met Mrs. Legaikas on the street. She stated that she is not working; is going to try to get her brother to pay her special assessments. Her application for citizenship has now been filed correctly she said. She reported the children in good condition but complained of pain in her arm. Advised her to go to Dispensary for advice. . . . .

*May 20, 1921.*—Found the home in good condition, the older children were in school, but Gladys was clean and in the best of health. Mrs. Legaikas stated that both Nicholas and Victoria have been recommended for tonsillectomy by Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary. She is willing to have this work done. She has not heard from Washington, but her application for second papers has been made.

*June 14, 1921.*—Found Victoria and Gladys at home receiving excellent care. Mrs. Legaikas was worried because Martin still smokes; believes that he wants to give up the habit but is unable to do so. Officer promised to get prescription for cure of cigarette habit.

Mr. F. U. Simkus of Nauseidus and Company stated that he assisted Mrs. Legaikas to fill out her naturalization papers for Washington.

*June 16, 1921.*—Household accounts were satisfactory; reported rent at $9 and income from mother's work, $23.25 (Budget: $92.50).

*June 18, 1921.*—Found the children in the care of Elizabeth as her mother had gone out to make arrangements for a new house. The household goods were packed to move; Elizabeth stated that the family was leaving because of lack of water.

*July 6, 1921.*—Found all the children but Martin at home and receiving the best of care. Mrs. Legaikas did not know Martin's whereabouts. Mrs. Legaikas reports that she is not working, and her relatives do not assist her; is much worried about her special assessments. As the children are in such good condition, officer believes that there is some resource besides the pension. Mrs. Legaikas and Victoria have received dental care recently at Municipal Tuberculosis Dispensary. Mrs. Legaikas is a very intelligent woman. She stated that as a child she was compelled to work on a farm from the time she was seven years old. She learned her letters from her brothers and taught herself how to read and write Lithuanian. However, she is unwilling to try to learn how to read and write English as she believes that anxiety and poor health have injured her memory. She speaks English well. She has not heard from her citizenship papers.

*July 22, 1921.*—This family is now living in a suitable cottage of four rooms supplied with city water and an indoor toilet. The children and home were untidy as Mrs. Legaikas was away at work. They appeared to be in good health and were very well behaved playing with their toys with which they are generously supplied.

*July 25, 1921.*—Mrs. Legaikas stated that she is now earning about $8 per week and that the Town Supervisor is giving her supplies amounting to $8 per month. Asked her to remain at home with her children as much as possible. She said that the farm in Czecho-Slovakia which she has inherited with the two children of her deceased sister as joint heirs does not produce any income for her as the taxes are so heavy. She could not sell it to any advantage for according to her statement $15 of their money is like 60 cents of ours. [She has moved outside the city limits. The County Agent seems never to have learned that she was the owner of property in the Old Country.]

*August 8, 1921.*—Called at office of Anti-Cigarette League and secured a copy of cure for cigarette habit which was mailed to Mrs. Legaikas.

*August 11, 1921.*—Household accounts showed well-balanced diet.

*August 12, 1921.*—Mrs. Legaikas was suffering from indigestion; the house was untidy because of illness. She had tried to make the home attractive with the bouquet of cut flowers and blooming house plants. Elizabeth and Victoria were swimming at the City Natatorium. Mrs. Legaikas stated that she had been receiving regular contributions from her brother-in-law, Nicholas Legaikas, a watchman at Gary, Indiana, whose address she does not know. The Society of St. Vincent's School occasionally contributes clothing. She hopes that her brother, John Vasiliankas, will pay her street assessments.

*September 14, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas not at home. Children at home from school and Elizabeth doing the home work. Said mother was visiting a cousin. Left card with Elizabeth for mother to submit budget at Cook County Agent's. House in disorder, beds unmade, but home showed evidence of cleanliness.

*Later.*—Mrs. Legaikas had all lower teeth extracted one month ago and has not been well since. Budget shows well-balanced diet.

Mrs. Legaikas has five small children. She does no remunerative work; her brother, John Vasiliankas, has helped her with her taxes and the upkeep of her home; says he is now unable to assist any longer. She receives $55 pension.

| | |
|---|---|
| Budget | $96.95 |
| Pension | 55.00 |
| | $ 41.95 |

This family should be given increase.

*October 30, 1921.*—Mrs. Legaikas home; house in order and children home for lunch. She does not work; promised to give her case consideration for increase.

*November 14, 1921.*—Mrs. Legaikas was doing a washing when officer called. Said she was able to do but one wash a week; the home was in order and children in school. Promised Mrs. Legaikas to give her consideration for increase in pension. Reports from St. Vincent's School show perfect attendance and deportment for children.

*November 28, 1921.*—Visited. Welfare Agency telephoned to say that Mrs. Legaikas had asked for shoes for her children. Visited Mrs. Legaikas, who said her pension was inadequate for her family needs; that she was in debt to her brother John Vasiliankas for $70 borrowed to pay her assessments. Visited Mr. Vasiliankas, who said it was impossible to do any more for his sister and her family;

he keeps a market on Michigan Avenue; his wife has just returned from the hospital, and he has all he can do to make his own expenses. Will recommend this family for increase. Visited school and received reports on children's attendance. Sister states children always clean and well cared for; attendance perfect.

*December 8, 1921.*—Case before committee. Recommendation: Increase from $55.[1]

*December 12, 1921.*—Served notice on Mrs. Legaikas to appear in court with children; she seemed delighted at the prospect of receiving an increase in pension.

*January 21, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas was doing her Saturday baking; the children were all home, and the house in order. She did not receive her increase in her last pension check and was much disappointed; promised to look into the matter for her. Mrs. Legaikas is trying to complete her citizenship and has written Washington some six months ago for bill of landing but has heard nothing as yet. Children are attending school regularly.

*February 23, 1922.*—Served notice on Mrs. Legaikas to appear in court March 2. Overdue citizenship papers. She says she has made a third application to Washington for her second papers and has heard nothing.

*March 8, 1922.*—Mrs. Legaikas was at home; had just finished washing; the children were all in school. Gladys had been sick with a severe cold. Mrs. Legaikas says she is studying hard to complete her citizenship.

*April 21, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Legaikas had received word from Department of Labor at Washington that they have no record of her entry into the United States. She received a card to go to the Federal Building, which she did. Mrs. Legaikas is in despair over her citizenship. She is illiterate; can neither read nor write and says it is impossible for her to learn. She speaks English fairly well. Said there was no use sending another English teacher into her home as she felt it was impossible for her to learn. She is a devoted mother and gives her children excellent care. Told her she should put her best efforts into her English that she might complete citizenship.

*May 10, 1922.*—Mrs. Legaikas has received word to call at United States Department of Labor, Federal Building, May 16, with her witnesses to complete citizenship.

[1] [An amendment to the Aid to Mothers Law became effective July 1, 1921. Under this amendment more generous allowances were possible.]

*May 25, 1922.*—Mrs. Legaikas has filed application for second papers. Petition No. 96854, April 25, 1922. Notified Mrs. Legaikas to be in court June 1, as her case for completing citizenship comes up on that day.

*June 1, 1922.*—Mrs. Legaikas in court this morning. She has filed petition for second papers. Case continued one month by Judge Benedict.

*June 7, 1922.*—Called. Found Mrs. Legaikas not home. Neighbor next door said Mrs. Legaikas had gone to do some shopping.

*Court Order, July 13, 1922.*—Pension stayed, July 15, 1922. [It should be said that the practice of staying pensions in situations like that of Mrs. Legaikas has probably been abandoned by the court. The statute allows seven years, and in the absence of gross negligence and of other evidence of unfitness the court would probably allow the same amount of time.

Mrs. Legaikas obtained her second papers October 6, 1922; in December she was restored to the Mothers' Aid Roll, this time with a grant of $85. During the interval the Family Welfare Agency assumed the responsibility for her care. On March 21, 1923, however, Nicholas became fourteen, and his allowance of $15 was stayed.]

### 21. The Family of Theresa Parzyk

(*A Polish Widow with Four Dependent Children*)

*March 2, 1922.*—Mrs. Parzyk in office asking assistance with rent. She is working nights at the Western Union Telegraph Building, making $11 a week. Mr. Parzyk is ill with asthma and has been unable to work for a month. Dr. Senn, corner Ashland Avenue and Noble Street, is attending. Mr. Parzyk has worked irregularly several years, and Mrs. Parzyk has supported the family.

*March 8, 1922.*—Visited. Family have lived for two years in a five-room second-floor apartment for which they pay $11 rent. The sanitary conditions are good. There are four children: Clara (born November 7, 1911), Eddie (born June 5, 1914), Joseph (born November 25, 1915), Felix (born February 2, 1917). Mrs. Parzyk came from Austrian Poland in 1904 and Mr. Parzyk in 1907. They were married in Chicago October 5, 1910.

Visiting Nurse Association (May 3, 1916) and the Infant Welfare Association (March 12, 1917) were registered on the case.

Mr. Parzyk started to work two days ago at the Gas Building, Adams and Michigan, making $125 a month. The family appear to be of a very high type. The home and children were neat and clean.

*September 14, 1922.*—Mrs. Parzyk in the office asking for short-hour work. Mr. Parzyk died April 2. She received $1,000 from Prudential Insurance Company and has $50 left. Funeral expenses were $387, Mr. Pacholska, undertaker. She returned a loan of $85 to Mrs. Bernatowicz, her sister. She had about $500 remaining after all debts were paid. She has worked very little during vacation, but would like short-hour work now that the children are in school. Mrs. Parzyk is attending citizenship class at the Settlement as she wishes to secure her second papers. She has her money in the bank and will show visitor her book when she calls.

Mrs. Parzyk was given card to Illinois Free Employment Bureau. Visitor also telephoned Mothers' Pension Department and put her name on the waiting list (No. 863). (She had been down during the summer to apply for a Mothers' Pension. She was accompanied by two public-school teachers who had been interested in her.)

*September 18, 1922.*—Visited. Rooms clean and in very good order. Mrs. Parzyk is above the average height; has medium brown hair, which she combs very becomingly. (She says her boy tells her to comb her hair "nice," as he likes to see it that way.) Mrs. Parzyk had on a clean house dress. She speaks English, and apologizes often in the midst of her conversation for her poor English.

*History.*—Her parents were Galician peasants. Her mother died when Mrs. Parzyk was only a year old. She was taken care of by her sister, Mrs. Bernatowicz. She did not attend school, but went out and worked in the field just as soon as she was able. She came to the United States in 1904 with her brother. They stopped first in Pennsylvania and her brother died there, and later she came to Chicago. She has worked in restaurants and in cafeterias. She learned how to cook food in the American way; she can bake fancy cakes and corn bread and make most any dish. She related an incident of how one of her employers corrected her for putting a table cloth on upside down. He asked her if she put her dress on in the morning wrong side out. She says she has never forgotten that. She has worked a great deal since she was married as her husband was never very well. She does not sew very much as she hasn't a sewing-machine now.

Mrs. Parzyk knew very little about Mr. Parzyk's parents or past. She says that they have always gotten along well. She felt very badly when she spoke about his last sickness; said he really should not have gone to work when he did.

*Insurance, undertaker, etc.*—She had receipts from the Prudential Company showing that they paid her two different policies—one $493.65 and the other $501.84. Policy numbers were 4251808 and 5342262.

She had receipted undertaker's bill of $353.10 from undertaker Pacholska. She showed visitor her bankbook, savings account No. 6464, in the Atlas National Bank, Chicago and Milwaukee avenues, which showed that she deposited $500 on April 29, 1922, and that on August 22, 1922, she drew out $247, leaving a balance of $5.00 in the bank. She has about $55 cash on hand. Her rent is paid to October 13. Landlady lives upstairs, but she does not know her name and has not a receipt.

*Children.*—Eddie came in from school. He wanted his lunch, but he had to wash his hands and face before he got it. He was given some bread and butter and sat down to the table to eat it. Eddie attends Motley School and is in the second grade; goes only a half-day.

Joseph attends Motley School and is in the second grade.

Felix is in the kindergarten.

Clara attends St. Agnes and is in the sixth grade.

All the children have very nice manners. They were very respectful to their mother. Mrs. Parzyk seems to worry about leaving them alone when she goes to work. She said that one day the boys were out in the alley making a fire and another day they jumped on the floor and knocked some of the plaster off the of ceiling of the flat below. Mrs. Parzyk is planning to have Eddie go to Mozart Park for some club. She would like to get part-time work.

*Relatives.*—Later visited Mrs. Bernatowicz, 127 Anne Street. Mr. Bernatowicz is her second husband. She has six children, only one of whom is working. Mr. Bernatowicz just started to work yesterday. He is a second-class carpenter and works for the Chicago Burlington and Quincy Railroad. He was out on strike. He receives 56 cents an hour. Mrs. Bernatowicz had no plan to suggest for Mrs. Parzyk. Felt they could not assist her very much.

*September 19, 1922.*—Talked with Felix' teacher, who said that they were trying to arrange for the older children to stay in school all day, and, if that is possible, she will keep Felix in kindergarten all day.

*Later.*—Learned from Settlement worker that Mrs. Parzyk is attending citizenship class on Tuesday and Thursday evening.

*September 21, 1922.*—Mrs. Parzyk in office to report that she got a short-hour job in a cafeteria through a paid employment bureau.

SUMMARY (MR. PARZYK)

*Heredity?*

*Physical.*—Not well for some time before death. Died April 2, 1922. Cause of death: bronchitis and asthma.

Mr. Parzyk said by his wife to have provided for his family and that he never drank nor quarreled in the home. That he was interested in his children was evidenced by the fact that he called at the school frequently to see how they were getting along.

*Occupation.*—He was a janitor at the Gas Building, worked there from April, 1920, to April, 1922. He was reported as a very good workman.

*Religion.*—Roman Catholic.

SUMMARY (MRS. PARZYK)

*Heredity.*—Mrs. Parzyk's mother died when she was a baby. Father remarried. Mrs. Zurenzcowski (case) child this marriage, is a half-sister of Mrs. Parzyk. She is said to drink and to evade her debts.

*Physical.*—Mrs. Parzyk apparently strong.

*Family.*—Mrs. Parzyk is fond of her children, keeps them clean and well dressed, sends them to school every day. She does not want them to play on the streets. She does not wish to take a job which keeps her away from home when the children are out of school. She worked and helped out when Mr. Parzyk was alive. She speaks English, and prefers to work in a place where English is spoken. She has taken out her second papers since her husband's death.

*Occupation.*—Mrs. Parzyk is working in the Southern Cafeteria, doing pantry work. She is reported a very good worker.

*Religion.*—Roman Catholic.

*Treatment.*—For semi-dependent mother until Mothers' Pension[1] can be granted: supplement Mrs. Parzyk's income by paying rent.

*September 26, 1922.*—Called at Bureau of Vital Statistics. Found Mr. Parzyk died April 2, 1922, death caused by bronchitis and asthma.

[1] [Mothers' Pension granted March 22, 1923; first pension paid April 23, 1923.]

*Later.*—Called at Gas Building, where Mr. Parzyk was formerly employed as janitor. Employment agent stated that he had been in their employ from April, 1920, to April, 1922. He was a very good worker.

*October 1–October 27, 1922.*—About three visits to the home have been made to arrange about Mrs. Parzyk taking a job at the lunch-room at Southeastern Bank. Mrs. Parzyk gave up her $8.00 a week job to take a $12 a week—hours supposedly from 8:00 to 4:00. Learned after she had started to work that on Saturday she was expected to work until 7:00. She did not feel that she could do this as she has her own housework to do after she gets home and then she is attending citizenship class two evenings a week. She did not notify her employer that she was not returning. She has now secured a job for $10 a week from 10:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. The first of the month Clara hurt her foot while playing at the park. Mrs. Parzyk said that it was broken. She got a neighbor, who sets bones, whom she has had before, to attend to it. She did not wish to give the name or address of the neighbor. She would not hear to having a nurse or doctor. Saw Clara the last of the month. Her foot seems to be all right.

On October 24, 1922, Mrs. Parzyk brought in an account of how she had spent the $247 she drew out of the bank in August. Her niece wrote it for her.

*October 31, 1922.*—Eddie is in Grade II A at school. His teacher reports him good in deportment and attendance, but he is very slow in his studies. He comes to school very neat and clean.

Joseph is in I A in the morning and IB in the afternoon; made arrangements for him to stay all day, as his mother works. His teacher reports him very slow in his studies.

Felix is in kindergarten; report about same as above.

Miss McCann and Miss Hadley, former teachers of the children, say that they are all exceedingly stupid with regard to their work. Mr. and Mrs. Parzyk were always very much interested in the progress of the children and came to the school frequently.

*November 9, 1922.*—Visited St. Agnes School and talked with Clara's teacher, who reports her very slow in her work. Attendance good and behavior good. Clara is in VI A but should be demoted. She will not be because there is not any room.

*November 15, 1922.*—Visited St. Agnes Church and talked with priest. He looked up the record, which showed that Mrs. Parzyk

had joined the Parish September, 1922. He does not know the family personally.

*November 15–December 5, 1922.*—Mrs. Parzyk would like some help with her December rent, as she says she has used up all her savings. She thinks she can manage on what she earns if the rent is paid and she gets coal.

Mrs. Parzyk was quite embarrassed when asked about her half-sister, Mrs. Zurenzcowski, who had applied to Welfare Agency for aid. Mrs. Parzyk brought her half-sister to the United States and tried to do what she could for her. She has always been quite wild, and her first baby was born about four months after she was married. Mr. and Mrs. Zurenzcowski fight between themselves and both drink. They run up bills, then move to avoid paying them.

Mrs. Parzyk has made her application for her second papers. She said that the clerk who gave her the examination went very slowly and was very nice to her. She asked why it was the "English people had such nice children and that the Polish people were all bums." Mrs. Parzyk is very anxious that her children behave nicely and learn in school.

On December 4 telephoned Southern Cafeteria and talked with Miss McElroy, the director, who reports Mrs. Parzyk a very good worker. She is doing pantry work—washing dishes and washing wood work. She works five days a week from 8:30 A.M. until 3:00 P.M. Two days she stays a little bit later than 3:00. She gets from $9.00 to $10.75 a week, depending upon the amount of overtime.

*December, 1922.*—One visit made to the home and visitor has talked to Mrs. Parzyk several times at the Settlement as she goes there every Tuesday and Thursday. She has passed her examination for her second papers. (This was confirmed by teacher of citizenship class.) Following arrangements made with Mrs. Parzyk: The Family Welfare Agency undertook to pay the rent and to supply the fuel.

*December 30, 1922.*—Mrs. Parzyk reports a very lovely Christmas. Mann High School brought a large supply of groceries, clothing, toys, and Christmas dinner. Mrs. Parzyk said she knew how to cook every single thing they brought, and seemed very proud of it. The high school also gave her $10. The firm for whom Mr. Parzyk worked brought her $59.15. She showed the card with the firm's name on it. Mrs. Parzyk says she is not going back to her old job. Miss McElroy is very mean. Mrs. Parzyk will pay her rent next month.

*January 4, 1923.*—Telephoned Miss McElroy, Mrs. Parzyk's employer. She said that Mrs. Parzyk left of her own accord, but that she was glad she was gone as she had tried to run the place. Said she upset the other women by talking to them. Miss McElroy thought she would have left before Christmas, had she not expected a Christmas present. Only concrete grievance mentioned was that she refused to finish her scrubbing the Saturday before Christmas.

*January 9–January 31, 1923.*—On January 9 called with Mrs. Parzyk on Mrs. Taylor at Otis School to apply for job in the lunchroom. In the evening Mrs. Taylor telephoned for Mrs. Parzyk to come to work in the morning. She started to work January 10. Mrs. Parzyk received a notification from Juvenile Court to come down and make an application for Mothers' Pension, which she did on January 10.

*February, 1923.*—Visited on the twenty-first and twenty-seventh. Mrs. Parzyk complains that she is having a great deal of difficulty making both ends meet, altogether she has received $49.50 from the school. Mrs. Parzyk was instructed how to keep an expense account, and the budget was gone over with her again. She is continuing to attend the citizenship class at the Settlement. She also goes to the home-coming the first Sunday of the month. The children make a great deal of trouble at that time as they insist upon staying with their mother when they go to the nursery.

Eddie was examined by Dr. Rosenbaum of Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund and found to have two carious teeth. Dental care was recommended.

*March, 1923.*—Report from Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund indicates that Eddie is 12.9 per cent underweight and Clara is 5.4 per cent underweight. Felix and Joseph are average weight.

Visited on March 6, 13, and 24. Mrs. Parzyk feels that she cannot manage on her income and that $8.35 a week the budget allowance for groceries is not sufficient. She has been buying at the neighborhood grocer on credit, and paying when she received her check. Mrs. Parzyk has kept an account of expenditures, and visitor has gone over with her the different items, trying to point out the items that are expensive such as cake, oysterettes, cookies, and which have little food value. Because of Mrs. Parzyk's earning part of the money herself, arranged to let her have $15 for clothing, this to be given in two monthly instalments. The first was given on March 6; $5.00 cash for groceries was given so that Mrs. Parzyk would not have to run further credit. She used most of the $5.00 to buy clothing so

that she really has had $12.50 for clothing in March. She paid $4.00 for shoe repairs, $4.00 for hat, and other items such as bloomers, stockings, and aprons, total $15.82. She quite frankly tells of all these things—said she would not go around looking like a tramp, so bought the hat. This made her short on money for groceries before her next pay day.

Edward's dental work was finished on March 12. Children did not come to go to the dentist on the nineteenth as had been agreed as Mrs. Parzyk felt that it was too cold. They were taken by Mrs. Sanok (case) on March 12 and 26. Explained to Mrs. Parzyk early in the month about the necessity of Edward's resting every afternoon because of his being underweight. Later in the month Mrs. Parzyk said she had not carried out those instructions and did not think it necessary. Edward has always been small. The children are taking their lunches at the Otis School.

Mrs. Parzyk went for her final hearing for second papers March 19, and she was before the judge in Juvenile Court on March 22 and will receive her first pension April 23— $27.50.

*March 30, 1923.*—Notification received from Juvenile Court that $55 pension has been granted.

*April 2, 1923.*—Clara and Joseph were examined by Elizabeth McCormick physician. Clara was found to have small and buried tonsils. Joseph—some anterior, cervical glands—remains of old rickets present—two carious teeth. Dental care was recommended for Joseph.

*April, 1923.*—Visited on eighteenth and twenty-fifth.

Mrs. Parzyk received $27.50 Mothers' Pension on the twenty-third. She was very happy at the time of the visit. She showed a new dress which she had purchased for herself to wear to work and a Sunday dress for Clara. She plans to leave money with the teachers at school to buy milk for Felix and Joseph as she cannot trust them with the money as they buy candy.

Talked with Miss Fry at the Dental Clinic. She says that Felix cries so when they try to work on him that it makes it very difficult and it has prolonged the work a great deal. They hope to finish up both Joseph and Felix in a short time.

*September 20, 1923.*—Notification received from Juvenile Court that stay has been recommended. (Mrs. Parzyk remarried, to a Stanislaus Kolecki.)

[The following letter, dated December 27, 1922, to the secretary of the Ravenswood Woman's Club from the district superintendent

of the Welfare Agency, is one of many to be found in this record and in other records like this. The *special appeal* for the family without the normal sources of support must be repeated again and again directed to every promising source of aid. The suburban Woman's Club is such a source.]

We should like to use the contribution from the Woman's Club for Mrs. Parzyk and her family if that is agreeable to you. Mrs. McGinnis, for whom it has been used recently, is getting along very well. Her oldest boy still continues at the Braedalbane School and the next child we have just sent to the State School for the Feeble-minded. This was done with some hesitation and after a good deal of worry on Mrs. McGinnis' part because of her inability to control the child. This leaves her with only three younger children, and her Mothers' Pension will be more nearly adequate to care for the family.

Mrs. Parzyk has been known to us only a few months because of the death of her husband last April. She was left with four children under eleven years and will be considered for the Mothers' Pension within the next three or four months.

In the meantime she will probably be able to earn $45 to $50 a month. She is a person of a good deal of independence but sufficiently concerned about the care of the children to try and plan her work so as to be absent only during school hours. We should like very much to help Mrs. Parzyk with her rent, $10 a month, with milk for the children and possibly fuel. We feel that her standards for the children are very high and that whatever we do for her will bring results.

I have wondered whether the club might be willing to increase their monthly contribution so as to cover, for instance, the rent of this family. The better industrial conditions this winter have brought to us a fewer number of families than last year. They have, however, been families such as these two, dependent over a rather long period of time because of the death of the father and the family of small children. It is help for families of this kind which so taxes our funds but which at the same time we feel most worth while. We should be happy to have you consider increasing your contribution but if that is not possible, happy also to have you continue the amount you have been contributing for some time past.

### 22. Mrs. Elizabeth Meyer

*(A Jewish Widow with Three Boys of School Age)*

[Mrs. Elizabeth Meyer, a widow, born in 1877 in Russia, with three boys, Albert (born September 13, 1906), Morris (born December 25, 1907), and David (born May 7, 1914), was called to the attention of the Jewish Welfare Bureau December 26, 1916, by the Hungarian

Society. Mr. David Meyer had died of diabetes the previous June. He had belonged to a number of organizations, and she had received $420 in death benefits and had been living on that since his death. She was living in a four-room apartment, for which she paid $16.50, and had living with her her own parents, who had come to care for her during an illness from which she is recovering. Since the birth of the last child she had been in need of surgical treatment and in December an operation had been performed at Whitfield Hospital.

The addresses of her brother and sister and of Mr. Meyer's brother were obtained as well as the facts about Mr. Meyer's employment, citizenship, and insurance, and the names and addresses of the doctors who had treated her. She was referred to the Funds to Parents Department of the Juvenile Court.

The usual investigation consisting of visits to relatives and physicians, etc., followed the first interview, a budget was estimated, and the Bureau undertook to pay the rent, furnish coal, and to supplement for the time the assistance given by relatives and other interested persons.

On May 15, 1917, she was granted by the Juvenile Court an allowance of $30 which was increased in September, 1919, to $35. During this period she took in sewing and earned the difference between the requirements of her budget (estimated September 21, 1920, at $95.16) and the court's allowance. This meant very steady hard work for her; and when the oldest boy, Albert, became fourteen he was found to be underweight so that he could not obtain his working-papers. In December of 1920 the Bureau therefore decided to supplement her allowance so that she might rest and undergo a thorough physical diagnosis.

She is a very proud woman and did not wish it known that she was compelled to receive charitable aid. She co-operated in every way with the Bureau, by taking the children to the Dispensary, obeying the instructions given at the Dispensary, helping the children with their school work, following suggestions with reference to diet, and so forth. The situation became difficult, however, as the older boys reached the age of fourteen and their pensions were stayed. Mrs. Meyer returned to her sewing, the boys began to earn by working after school hours, and the Bureau attempted to treat her as a person independent of charitable aid and yet to keep in mind the limitations under which minimum budget requirements had to be regarded as likewise maximum possibilities.

Finally the burden seemed too heavy for Mrs. Meyer, and a plan was worked out for her employment in the Industrial Workshops so that she could earn the income she received and spent. The record covering this period of treatment, beginning with November 9, 1922, follows.]

*November 9, 1922.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Meyer doing a little sewing. She explained that she was not well for the past few days, and, as she has a little dress to make for a customer, she was doing it now. States that she does not earn more than about $10 a week at sewing. She would be glad to do more work if she could only get the calls for them. She stated that last evening she had to spend a whole evening in doing a repair job for a young lady who needed the work immediately. She earned $2.00 in this way, and, as she is very much in need of the money, she did not want to refuse taking the job. Mrs. Meyer appeared to be under a nervous strain. Questioned her about it and she stated that she very seldom has a chance to go out for any kind of entertainment. Occasionally, when she would like to visit friends or her relatives, she is afraid to leave the house for fear she would miss the little work that is likely to come in during her absence. Suggested to her that it would perhaps be a better plan for her to work in our Sewing-Shop, as in that way she would have a chance to get away from her household a little, she would be in the company of other people, and the little money she would earn would be during the day and she would not have to be in constant fear of missing her customers. She would then have her evenings free to spend with her children, which she desires. Mrs. Meyer accepted this suggestion very favorably. She was advised that we would prefer to have her re-examined at the Dispensary and to ask the doctor's recommendation regarding this plan. She did not favor the idea of returning for another examination, but finally consented to go for same next week. Stated that she felt perfectly able to do some work.

Albert and Morris, she stated, have both finished the Hebrew School. She is planning to start David, as she is anxious that he should learn some Hebrew.

*Later.*—Spoke with director of Workshops, who advised that they have a vacancy in the Sewing-Shop and that Mrs. Meyer can begin work there immediately.

*November 10, 1922.*—Called to ask Mrs. Meyer whether she could begin working immediately, but she was in the midst of her Friday

cleaning. She promised, however, to come the following Monday, November 13.

*November 11, 1922.*—Morris Meyer in office by appointment. He is a well-built boy, bright and clean looking. He is much concerned over the fact that his mother worries a great deal. Morris attends the Duncan School and brought in the following report: English—G; Reading—E; Writing—G; Geography—F; History—E; Effort—E; Manual Training—G; and Deportment—E. He promised to do better and feels quite certain that next month he will have no "F's" on his report card. He is very anxious to go to high school. He is sure that he will make good as his brother did. He thinks that he would like to be a dentist when he grows up. He is also interested in radio and has joined a radio club, the dues for which are 15 cents a month. As yet the club has not enough money to buy the radio outfit. The members are selling subscriptions for the *Evening Republican* in order to make enough money for receivers.

*November 13, 1922.*—Mrs. Meyer in office. She was taken to the Sewing-Shop and began work the same day.

*November 15, 1922.*—Director of the Sewing-Shop advised that Mrs. Meyer is very readily learning the work and seems to like it.

*November 18, 1922.*—Was informed by director that Mrs. Meyer is doing very well and can probably earn $2.00 a day from now on. She had already earned $2.00 one day in the first week that she worked. She enjoys the work and the social contact which she makes in the Sewing-Shop, and the other women working with her all love her. Her entire attitude is changed, and she is actually radiantly happy.

*November 29, 1922.*—Mrs. Meyer in office. She is very satisfied working in the Sewing-Shop. She feels well and does not wish to have physical examination at the present time. Advised her not to be too eager and do what is beyond her strength. Mrs. Meyer promises to see a doctor when she does not feel well rather than go at the present time. She is worrying considerably about financial matters. She owes $40 to Mr. Thalheimer, her sister's brother-in-law, $10 to her sister, and $10 to a Mrs. Fishman, and would like to get these off her conscience. Explained to Mrs. Meyer that we do not pay back debts. However, in order to ease her mind and to be able better to work with her it was decided not to change the budget[1] for Mrs. Meyer until the following month. Mrs. Meyer was

[1] [The worker means the allowance indicated by the budget as necessary].

worried also that the pension from the Funds to Parents Department will be cut off. However, the Department must be notified.

*December 5, 1922.*—Letter to Scholarship Association referring Morris.

*December 6, 1922.*—Letter to Funds to Parents Department informing them of our change of plan for Mrs. Meyer and asking them what steps they are taking in view of the changed situation.

*December 8, 1922.*—Called visitor of Scholarship Association with regard to Morris. In view of the fact that he is almost fifteen years old and only in the eighth grade, she asked that Welfare Bureau make a preliminary investigation to ascertain just why Morris was retarded in order to know whether or not he is a scholarship "case."

*January 3, 1923.*—Worker had been informed several times by the Sewing-Shop director that Mrs. Meyer works often until about 5:30 and she is probably trying to do more than she ought. Mrs. Meyer was requested to come to office on this date. She stated that she is very happy since she has been working and that she feels a great pride in the fact that she is able to do something toward earning her living. When she goes to work and comes home at night with all the other people who have been working during the day, she feels a certain pride and exhilaration, to think that she too is a wage-earner and not so dependent as formerly. Even the children are happier.

Talked at great length with her asking her to work fewer hours and to go home earlier. However, she is very reluctant to do so. Suggested then that she have a medical examination to determine whether she is overtaxing her strength. She finally consented to go to the Dispensary on January 10. She has been suffering a great deal from headaches.

The probation officer from the Funds to Parents Department had visited the home about three weeks ago and mentioned the fact that she had been informed of the change which had taken place in the family and the fact that Mrs. Meyer was working. However, as far as Mrs. Meyer knows, there will be no change in the pension.

Questioned her with regard to Morris' retardation. She stated that Morris had been out of school a great deal on account of illness, and two years ago when he had the "flu" he failed one grade. The fact that Morris has changed schools seven times has also been a factor in his retardation.

*January 4, 1923.*—Budget revised for the Meyer family and it was found, allowing for all the necessary extra expense of carfare,

laundry, etc., the income in the family is above budget requirements. Therefore, removed the family from the list of regulars.

*January 8, 1923.*—Background for Mrs. Meyer sent to Dispensary.

*January 10, 1923.*—Called at Duncan School to get a report regarding Morris. He has repeated work several times in different grades, but he is showing a marked improvement now and the teacher feels that he would do well in high school. He is doing much better work than Albert did when he attended the Duncan School.

*January 11, 1923.*—Mrs. Meyer in office. She complained that no check had been sent her this month and that it was impossible for her to get along. Worker explained the budget to her, showing her that before she was working her total income from the court, from the pension committee, and the Bureau was $93.32, which just covered budget requirements. Now that she is working, we have estimated the extra expense to which she is put and we feel that she must have $110. Her income, however, is $10 above budget requirements and in view of this fact it is impossible to give her further relief. During the past month she paid $18 on the debt which she had owed. She bought a mackinaw, shoes, and cap for one of the boys and therefore has not enough money left to meet her expenses until her next pay day. She cannot seem to manage her financial affairs even with the larger income she is now receiving. Since she is working and people know this fact she is ashamed to face people to whom she owes money and is therefore anxious to pay off her debts as quickly as possible. She feels also now that the children should be better dressed and they should receive better food and she therefore cannot manage on the amount which she receives. Informed her that we must assist her in the manner in which we are assisting others and put the question to her as to what she thought was the fair thing to be done now. She evaded the question. She stated instead that it seems no matter how hard she works, how honest she was, or how good she tried to be, things never seemed any better. She had expected at least she would be given a chance to clear off all her debts, and until this is done she will have no peace of mind. For this reason only was she working so hard. It was explained to her that we do not wish her to overtax her strength, nor to do an injustice to the children. They needed her companionship and should she work from 10:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. every day, instead of until 5:30 we would be glad to supplement with any amount necessary to bring her up to budget requirements.

*January 12, 1923.*—It was decided, upon conferring with supervisor, that $10 be granted Mrs. Meyer since she was unprepared for the withdrawal of all relief. However, it must be explained to her that nothing can be promised her for the future, nor can any definite policy be decided upon until she is examined at the Dispensary.

*January 13, 1923.*—Letter from the Dispensary asking that Mrs. Meyer report on Monday, January 22, at 1:00 P.M.

*January 15, 1923.*—Mrs. Meyer was given $10, and the situation was explained to her. She was asked to report to the Dispensary Monday, January 22.

*January 24, 1923.*—Letter received from the Scholarship Association stating that Morris has been granted a scholarship of $23 a month, to go into effect February 1. The report from the Juvenile Psychopathic Bureau was as follows: "Physical age—15.1; mental age—13.1. Intelligent quotient—92. He is considered average."

*January 26, 1923.*—Background received from Dispensary. The diagnosis made for Mrs. Meyer was "Neurasthenia" (a chain of symptoms neurological in nature without any physical cause). The prognosis was good, and it was stated that the patient may continue her present work full time as the work is not harmful. Mrs. Meyer was directed to see an eye doctor for the correction of her glasses and she may do this on any Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday at 1:00 P.M.

*February 8, 1923.*—Was informed by director of the Sewing-Shop that Mrs. Meyer is unable to work properly as she seems to have some trouble with her eyes. Reported diagnosis received from Dispensary and promised to speak to Mrs. Meyer with regard to this.

*February 12, 1923.*—Met Mrs. Meyer on her way to work and explained to her the report received from the Dispensary. Mrs. Meyer was unwilling to take any time off during the week from her work in order to go to the Dispensary. She finally promised that she would report next Saturday, February 17, to the Eye Clinic.

*February 20, 1923.*—Director of Sewing-Shop advised that Mrs. Meyer had been absent the day previously and had not come down this morning.

*Later.*—Letter received from Mrs. Meyer stating that she has been ill with a cold for two weeks and is now sick in bed with the grippe. She asked also for coal.

Verified Mrs. Meyer's earnings for the month of January. They were $69.76.

*March 9, 1923.*—Report received from probation officer of the Juvenile Court as follows:

Called and found Albert and David at home after school doing their home work for school the next day. They were such perfect little gentlemen and were attending strictly to their own business. The mother was at work. Morris was still at school.

*March 13, 1923.*—Spoke to Mrs. Meyer in the Sewing-Shop. She had not reported to the Dispensary for treatment of her eyes, but informed worker that she had been to a private doctor, as she did not like to wait a half a day in the Dispensary. She promised to bring in the name of the doctor who examined her eyes.

*March 14, 1923.*—Mrs. Meyer in office. Stated that she was examined at Hochenberg's Optical Parlor at 1343 Roosevelt Road. She was told to wear the glasses that she now has and to report back again within two weeks. As she does not wish to pay another fee, she promised to go to the Dispensary the following Saturday, March 17.

Mrs. Meyer is still working full time in the Sewing Shop and consequently has not enough time to attend to her household duties and to cook proper meals for her children in the evening, nor has she any extra time for recreation, as most of her time is taken up with mending and sewing for herself and the boys. Explained to Mrs. Meyer that we were opposed to having her work full time in the shop. If she is to do full-time work, she can easily get a job on the outside. If she will agree to work about five hours a day, she would be able to go home about 3:30 or 4:00 and should her income not come up to budget, Jewish Welfare Bureau will supplement. At the present time, however, taking into consideration her earnings for January, Mrs. Meyer was about $16 above budget. Mrs. Meyer strongly objected to the plan which was outlined for her. She stated that she would not be able to get along on our budget; that even now with the extra amount she is earning, she has a very difficult time. She is struggling hard to give her boys as much as the others in their high-school class have. If she works fewer hours, she will not be able to buy the extra things which they need for the Passover holidays, and she begged that nothing be done for the present at least.

*March 15, 1923.*—Mrs. Meyer informed worker that her rent is to be raised.

The following statements prepared for supervisor by worker:

Mrs. Meyer, a widow, aged forty-five, with three dependent boys, sixteen, fifteen, and eight, entered the Industrial Workshops November 13,

1922. At that time her monthly income was $58, which included Mrs. Meyer's wage $10; Funds to Parents allowance $25; Albert's scholarship $23. The Welfare Bureau supplementation was $35.32 per month. The Dispensary diagnosis of Mrs. Meyer showed "neurasthenia and general debility" and recommended no work outside of housework. Despite this, Mrs. Meyer, a seamstress, eager to be independent, and to give the neighbors the impression that she was self-supporting, never left her home, worked irregularly late at night and earned little. The case worker felt that placement in the Industrial Workshops would regulate her working hours, give her social contacts, and would relieve her mind of the worry caused by the uncertainty and irregularity of her work.

Mrs. Meyer first received financial assistance from February, 1917, to May, 1917, and then from November, 1920, on. In February, 1923, after six weeks in the Sewing-Shop, Mrs. Meyer's budget was $124.86 per month and coal; her income, $140.76, included $25 from the Funds to Parents, two scholarships, $46, and her earnings $69.76 working seven hours per day, five days per week. The Welfare Bureau supplemented with coal only. The Dispensary report showed "neurasthenia" (a train of symptoms neurological in nature without any physical cause), eyes to be examined, and work not harmful. Mrs. Meyer's sons assisted her with the housework and prepared their own lunches, making it possible for their mother to remain away all day.

The shop supervisor reported that Mrs. Meyer is neat, moderately quick in speed; that as far as her knowledge of the work is concerned, she could be placed in a factory making plain garments; that she is intelligent, co-operative, conscientious, anxious to please, and pleasant with other workers and supervisor.

The case worker stated that the Meyer children are proud of the fact that their mother works; that Mrs. Meyer has been made self-supporting without injury to her health, and that the family seem more content. However, the case worker felt that Mrs. Meyer should not be working so many hours per day as she does at present in the shop.

Recommendation of supervisor: Mrs. Meyer is to remain in the shop and work only five hours per day.

*April 21, 1923.*—Report from Funds to Parents Department as follows:

I have not been able to find Mrs. Meyer at home this month as she has been working. But I do find the boys at home studying so nicely and quietly and home always neat and clean.—PROBATION OFFICER.

*May 3, 1923.*—Mrs. Meyer in office by appointment. She states that she is getting along very nicely with her work now. She has been to the Dispensary and was told by the doctor in the Eye Clinic to

wear the glasses which she has all the time while working and she has followed these instructions. She feels that her work is somewhat of a strain on her physically, and yet under no circumstances would she give it up, nor would she work fewer hours a day. She enjoys the work and appreciates the fact that she is allowed to come at 10:00, whereas if she were working in a shop not under supervision of the Bureau she would be forced to come to work a great deal earlier. The boys are very glad of the fact that she has obtained this work, but Albert feels too that she is under a physical strain and is worried about her. Mrs. Meyer is also worried over the fact that work will stop for a few days when the shop will be moved to another building. She has not yet paid all her debts. She still owes about $35. She feels that when all has been paid she will feel much better.

Albert is still attending the Art Institute, but is not so interested in the work as formerly. He is beginning to think about a business career.

*May 14, 1923.*—Called about 4:30 P.M. but found none of the boys at home.

*May 17, 1923.*—Ascertained from director of the Industrial Workshops the earnings of Mrs. Meyer were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| February | $61.30 |
| March | 77.07 |
| April | 75.29 |

*June 8, 1923.*—Called at the home. Found Albert ironing his blouses and also Morris'. He states that he always does this. A boy friend was at the house doing school work. The Meyer family will move next week. They learned only last evening that the people living in the flat into which they will move are moving out.

Morris does not wish to go to camp this year. He would rather work and then remain in the city for two weeks, not working. He believes that he will enjoy the change just as much. However, if his mother will go away with David, as he very much doubts, he will be willing to go away at the same time with Albert, if such arrangements can be made.

Albert is a member of the American Boys Commonwealth, to which organization Morris also belongs. Albert belongs also to a club of boys, who are interested chiefly in sports, also in meeting just socially. Morris belonged at one time to this club, but has dropped out as he found that the group of boys were older than he. He has his own friends and companions with whom he mingles, but they are not an organized group.

Morris is very anxious to get through with his school work so that he may go to work. He is contemplating continuing his education by taking college courses in the evening. He wants to become a certified public accountant.

Albert believes that his mother is feeling much better both physically and mentally since she has been working in the Sewing-Shop. She is very much happier than before, but she always finds something to worry about. The boys help a great deal in the housework, ironing, dusting, etc., and manage the housework very satisfactorily.

*June 28, 1923.*—Registration received stating that the Mothers' Pension Department of the Juvenile Court stayed the Meyer pension on June 20 as the family can be self-supporting.

*August 7, 1923.*—Information had been received that Mrs. Meyer had been absent from work for several days the week previous. Worker called on this date and found Morris and his younger brother at home. Morris explained that his mother had been ill for about four days and was unable to get up from bed. She was attended by Dr. Fink of Roosevelt Road, who informed her that she was overworked, that she should have a good rest and should not work as hard as she has been doing. She should stay at home at least a few days every month. She should drink one pint of cream daily. Morris was much disturbed over his mother's health. He discussed the whole family situation very seriously. He stated that inasmuch as his brother Albert had only one-half year to finish at high school, he felt that Albert should continue his schooling in the fall, but that he, Morris, should stay out of school the next semester and work until Albert had finished high school. He stated that he had been thinking the matter over and felt that this was the best plan. He does not mean to drop his schooling entirely but to do as much as he can at night school. He has not discussed these plans with his mother nor his older brother. He knows they will object, but in spite of their objections he stated quite emphatically he would carry out his idea, as this was the only way in which his mother could be relieved of a great deal of worry over financial matters. He does not want "her to grow old before her time."

The rooms in which the Meyer family now live are much lighter and airier than those which they previously had. There is much more closet space and pantry room. The family are well satisfied. Mrs. Meyer has a neighbor who comes in to help the boys and to watch the food which Mrs. Meyer sets on the stove before she goes away in the morning.

Albert is working for an insurance concern, the name of which Morris did not know, nor did he know his earnings, but promised to have Albert notify worker. Morris worked for a short time for a telegraph company. He was paid on a commission basis, but his earnings were very small. He earned about $6.00 a week. His hours were from 1:00 to 8:00 P.M. The work was very strenuous and for a time he gave it up. However, he intended to go back to work on this date so that his mother need not work so hard.

*August 14, 1923.*—Called at the Sewing-Shop to speak to Mrs. Meyer, who states that she was ill four days. She suffered from a severe hemorrhage. She was so badly frightened that she now promises to follow Dr. Fink's recommendation and remain at home for a few days each month. She has also been drinking cream every day and has gained a few pounds. She still worries about the inadequacy of her income and the fact that it is difficult for her to get along, even with what she is earning. She states that she had expected to save money to buy coal in winter, but has not been able to do this. She did not know where Albert was working, but states that he earns $65 a month. The work is not difficult and he enjoys it. Mrs. Meyer stated that if possible, she wished to receive no more financial assistance from the Bureau. She resented somewhat the fact that the pension had been taken from her. She claims that not even her own sister knew she was receiving anything from our organization, but thought that all aid was received from the county.

*August 23, 1923.*—Called on Dr. Fink, 1810 Roosevelt Road, but he was not in. Following the instruction of Mrs. Fink, worker called again in an hour but the doctor had not returned.

[During the following months the worker kept track of Mrs. Meyer's hours of work, earnings, and health.]

*October 15, 1923.*—Called at the shops. Director informed worker that Mrs. Meyer is apparently much satisfied in the shops. She has no complaints to make regarding her health lately and seems much brighter and happier.

Spoke to Mrs. Meyer. Although she had the usual complaints to make about the difficulty of getting along, and she complained bitterly of the manner in which she had been treated by the Funds to Parents Department when they withdrew her pension, she now states that were they to take her to court and reinstate the pension, she would not take it. She would prefer to get along as she is now doing. She has bought one ton of coal for the winter.

Albert is very well liked in the school by his teachers, as well as the students, and has been elected president of his class. Mrs. Meyer was very proud of his election. He is kept very busy with his school work and other duties as president of his class. Morris is looking for an after-school job, and Mrs. Meyer is very anxious that he find one so that he may help out. She will send him to the Bureau, but does not know whether he will come as the boy wished to have as little as possible to do with this organization.

*October 24, 1923.*—Telephoned Miss Bassett of the Jewish Scholarship Committee. Informed her that Mrs. Meyer is very anxious that the boys obtain employment. They, however, are unwilling to come to this office or to have anyone know that they are connected with the Bureau. Miss Bassett will assist the boys in finding work if they are referred to her. If there is no work available at the present time, however, she will induce the boys to apply at the Jewish Free Employment Bureau. [Letter to Morris and Albert asking about their plans for work and offering assistance.]

*October 27, 1923.*—Morris in office in response to letter. He stated that Albert is at present working at Einstein's [a mail-order house] after school and half-day on Saturday. He earns about $4.00 weekly. Morris has tried to obtain employment through the office at the Board of Education but has been unsuccessful. He was referred to the Jewish Free Employment Bureau.

*October 31, 1923.*—Was informed by Jewish Free Employment Bureau that there was no opening available at the time when Morris applied, but he was asked to return.

*November 5, 1923.*—Statement from the Industrial Workshops to the effect that Mrs. Meyer has received in wages from the Industrial Workshops, the sum of $88.09 for the period of October 1 to November 1.

*November 8, 1923.*—Visited. No one was home.

*November 10, 1923.*—Met Mrs. Meyer and Morris on Roosevelt Road. Learned that through the Employment Bureau, Morris obtained work at a millinery concern, earning $5.00 weekly for after-school hours, and half-days on Saturdays. Both Mrs. Meyer and Morris were very glad.

*December 4, 1923.*—Statement from the Industrial Workshops, saying that Mrs. Meyer had received in wages, the sum of $75.08 for the period from November 1 to December 1.

*January 25, 1924.*—Morris in office saying that he had been to the Employment Bureau to try to get a job for afternoons as his school

hours were now from 8:00 to 12:00. He is still working an hour and a half a day earning $5.00 a week but he is very anxious to get work for all afternoon thus earning more. He is now in his first semester of his second year high school and advised that Albert was graduated on Wednesday, January 21, from the two-year high-school course, and is now looking for a full-time job. His mother is in bed with a very bad cold today and has therefore not gone to the shops. Advised him to call a Dispensary doctor if his mother does not get better. Also notified director of the Industrial Workshops the reason for Mrs. Meyer's absence.

*January 31, 1924.*—Visited. Mrs. Meyer was still at home as she was just recuperating from a very bad cold. She was preparing to go back to work in a few days. Mrs. Meyer was feeling very despondent over her financial situation. Albert has been graduated from a two-year course but thus far has been unsuccessful in finding employment. Morris has also as yet not been able to find work for the full afternoon. Mrs. Meyer stated that since last summer it has been necessary for her to remain at home two or three days out of every month. Acccording to her statement, she is not permitted to earn more than $4.00 a day at the shops. As this prevents her from making up for the days she loses through illness, she has been gradually getting herself into debt due to the fact that her earnings are insufficient for her needs. Should Albert begin to work she does not wish to use all his earnings as she feels that because he is ambitious to continue his studies she does not want to put any obstacles in his way. His plans are to take a night-school course, in order to complete his high-school course. Mrs. Meyer requested that worker intercede with the director of the Workshops in her behalf and obtain permission for her to be allowed to earn to the fullest of her capacity when she is able to work at least for the following three or four months until she should be able to get herself out of debt. She asks for no relief from this office saying that even should we give her as much as a ton of coal she would not receive it as she has made up her mind to be self-supporting.

*February 6, 1924.*—Letter to director of the Industrial Workshops regarding Mrs. Meyer [asking that in view of the fact she must lose some time every month, she might be allowed to work up to the limit of her strength on the days when she can be at the shops].

## SECTION V

## THE WELFARE AGENCY AND THE DESERTED FAMILY

### 23. The Family of John Malachowski

(*A Deserting Husband Brought Back by the Extradition Process*)

[The family lived in a small, frame structure without a stone foundation, barely weatherproof, and very poorly built. The high basement is used as a shed, while the flat roof equipped with posts and clotheslines serves for laundry purposes. The house is directly on the alley and in the rear of a brick flat building, from which it is separated by a stone court. In general, there is just enough space for a cement sidewalk between the houses in this block, though the buildings themselves are clean and well-kept two- and three-story brick and frame structures, built for the most part right off the sidewalk. On the lots adjacent to this home, there are other rear buildings of about the same type—square, flat-roofed, shedlike houses. The alley is very uneven and covered with papers and rubbish. On the corner at the west end of the block there was a saloon. It is a predominantly Polish neighborhood, and there is a Polish Catholic church just one-half block east and a block north.

In this record there are four episodes: (1) September 19, 1913, to November 1, 1913, when Mrs. Malachowski is asking help, Mr. Malachowski seems to be a "shirk," and the Agency refuses help; (2) February 17, 1914, an incident; (3) September 9, 1918, to March 15, 1919, when Mr. Malachowski is reported to have left his family while Mrs. Malachowski says that she left him; after three months he writes promising to send money every week; (4) March 15, 1919, to April 29, 1920, when the record is closed for a time.]

*September 19, 1913 (Friday).*—Woman at office. Says man is troubled with rheumatism and has been out of work three weeks because he must be employed indoors, and it is difficult to find a suitable occupation on account of his affliction. Was conductor on Northwestern Elevated five years, but his physician advised him to quit to improve his health. Woman seven months pregnant. They have mortgaged their furniture to the Fidelity Loan Company for $25 and agreed to make weekly payments of $1.00 until $50 has been

paid. The Guarantee Loan Company has a salary mortgage for $18 on man's wages, and, everywhere he works, his earnings are attached. Woman says she has a stepmother but is estranged from her. Has been helped with rent and food by a friend. Asks for food and fuel; says she has only part of a loaf of bread in the house. There are five children, Cassie (born August 6, 1905), Helen (born December 8, 1906), Mary (born September 13, 1908), Emily (born July 26, 1910), and John (born July 27, 1912). Both Mr. and Mrs. Malachowski are American-born (Chicago) of Polish parents. He is thirty and she is twenty-six years old. His parents, an aunt, and five brothers live in Chicago; and she has a father and stepmother and a married sister in Chicago. They were married October 1, 1904, at St. Michael's Church, when he was twenty-one and she seventeen years old. The three oldest children go to the public school.

*September 23, 1913.*—Visited. The family lives in a cottage on rear of lot, rent $8.50. Man out looking for work; woman says he has been offered several jobs at $10 or $12, but he wants $15. They have paid $20 on the furniture and about $30 on salary loan. Showed the visitor a letter from the Fidelity Loan Company,[1] saying they

[1] [Loans on furniture and other personal goods are made by organizations limited by the terms of the following statute:

"348. *Organization.* Be it enacted etc., That corporations may be organized under and by virtue of this act in the same manner as corporations for pecuniary profit under and by virtue of "An Act concerning corporations," approved April 18, 1872, in force July, 1872, as amended, except as otherwise herein provided.

"349. *Capital required—loan limited.* Corporations with a capital of not less than $25,000.00 may be organized under the provisions of this act in all cities for the purpose of loaning money on wage assignments, but in no case shall the amount loaned to any one person exceed the sum of $250.00.

"351. *Loans, assignment of wages, rate, no other charges.* Such corporations may loan money and take and hold as security for the payment of the same an assignment of the wages of the borrower, and may charge and collect not to exceed three (3) per cent per month as interest and compensation for the use of such money. Beside the interest charge herein before specified, no further or other charges for any services, or upon any pretext whatsoever by deductions in advance or otherwise, shall be asked, charged or in any way received, where the same would in any way operate to make a greater charge for the use of the money loaned than the aforesaid rate; and where made, any such additional charges shall be taken and held to be so much added interest.

"357. *Annual dividends.* Any corporation organized under this act may out of the profits realized out of its business, declare and pay to its stockholders an annual dividend of not to exceed six per cent (6) on its capital stock.

"358. *Governor and mayor to appoint directors.* The Governor of this state and the mayor of the city in which the principal office of said corporation shall be located shall each appoint one director, who shall not be a stockholder or employee of such corporation, whose term of office shall be two (2) years, unless sooner removed by the Governor or mayor who made the appointment, and said directors shall have the same power and authority as the other directors of the corporation. The number of directors of any such corporation shall not exceed nine."—*Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 32. See also chap. 74., secs. 13–18.]

would be around on that day for the furniture. Woman had written to say man had no work, and so far no one had come. While visitor was there, a neighbor came in, asking for man whose help he wanted with some painting; said he could give him several days' work and would try to get him a steady job. Man has applied for position as a fireman but could not be appointed until his teeth were fixed, which would cost $50. Woman says her husband's mother helps them some, but she is ashamed to go to her every day.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Lorbewicz, Mrs. Malachowski's stepmother. She said she had not seen her stepdaughter for about a year. Had known that the man was out of work but could see no reason why he should be unemployed, as he is big and strong and seems to have quite recovered from his rheumatism. Said when the family had money they spent it lavishly and never thought of saving; while Mrs. Lorbewicz will not go over to see the woman, she is willing to help her if she comes and asks for help.

*September 27, 1913.*—Woman in office asking for more aid; man has no work. Says neighbor who had come in while visitor was there would give no more than enough to buy beer, so she did not let him go there to work. Said her stepmother had spoiled everything for her. It was she who put the loan sharks on her husband at the places he worked last. She is good talker but will not do what she promises. Told woman to go to her mother-in-law for help, but she says she applied to her last week and is ashamed to go back. Told her Welfare Agency could not help her until she had shown that her husband had made every effort to get work and was unsuccessful.

*Later.*—Woman returned with letter from her stepmother refusing aid. Said she has sent children over with a request for help, and this was the result. Said she had nothing to eat over Sunday and was in great distress. Told her that man must either find work or be arrested.

*September 29, 1913.*—Visited Mrs. Thomas Malachowski, mother of man, who said she had frequently helped family and felt that the man should get a job for himself. She promised, however, to send over some food that afternoon. Her husband owns the small property where they live, but it is heavily mortgaged.

*October 3, 1913.*—Visited. Man had gone to work at the Leonard-Morton Mail-Order House, and woman thinks he will get $9.00 or $10.00 a week. Says her mother-in-law sent her a basket on Tuesday containing three loaves of bread, some jelly, cheese, and cakes. Today a friend had given her 25 cents, 5 cents of which she had spent

for cakes for the children. She says they like them so much better than bread. Had only 20 cents left to live on till her husband gets his wages. Left card for man to go to Legal Aid about settling his loans.

*October 4, 1913.*—Woman at office; said she had nothing to eat in the house. Stepmother had given her some food yesterday, but she would give her no more. Says man went to work at Leonard-Morton Company October 2; will not be paid for two weeks. Says she can no longer get help from her friends or family.

*October 16, 1913.*—Telephoned Leonard-Morton Company, who said man is employed there. Could not give the amount of his wages.

*October 22, 1913.*—Woman in office asking for money to buy food. Says her husband got $9.00 last week, $8.50 of which was paid for rent, which was already two weeks overdue. The week before he made $7.00, and she had to pay some debts with part of that. Says she had gone to all of her relatives, and they refuse to do any more for her. Her insurance is also due and a payment of $2.00 on her machine.

*November 1, 1913.*—Woman in office asking for help with money till husband is paid on Tuesday. Last week she had to pay all his wages on back rent and insurance and so has only one bucket of coal, but landlady told her she would loan her 40 cents to buy a bushel. County Agent cannot give her coal until December. Says relatives will not help her. She asked her mother and sister-in-law and they refused. Advised her to go and ask them again before Agency would help her.

*February 17, 1914.*—Probation officer in office to talk over neighbor, Mrs. Czarnocki, whom Juvenile Court is considering for pension. She says that in going about the neighborhood, one or two of the shopkeepers have spoken very bitterly of the help received by "unworthy families," and have quoted the Malachowskis. It is said that he is working regularly and still receives help from the county. Probation officer reported this at once to the County Agent.

[*December 9, 1914.*—James born.]

[*December 24, 1917.*—Eugene born.]

*September 9, 1918.*—Protective League telephones asking visit. Family are to be evicted September 20, 1918, and have no money. Mr. Malachowski has deserted.

*Later.*—Telephoned Protective League. The family lived at 1809 Lawrence Avenue. Mrs. Malachowski is to move near her sister.

She had her husband at the Court of Domestic Relations; and on account of her temper and hasty speech, the judge dismissed the case, and it cannot be brought into court again for six months. Said that Mr. Malachowski had given his wife $5.00 at that time. Protective League does not know where he is.

*September 23, 1918.*—Visited. Found address to be home of Mrs. Malachowski's sister, Mrs. Lettman. Casimira was there and stated that her aunt was not at home and that her mother was at the other place packing. Said that her father had left them without anything to eat and that they had been staying with their aunt for three weeks. She had started in at school but was obliged to stay at home and care for the baby while her mother was moving.

*September 24, 1918.*—Mrs. Malachowski in office. Said she was sorry she was not at home the day visitor called. Said she intended to move the next day into rooms in rear building at the same address as her sister's. Said she had heard nothing from her husband; that she had left him. Promised visit.

*September 25, 1918.*—Visited late in the afternoon. The expressman was just unloading the last load of furniture. Mrs. Malachowski gave him $5.00 for his services. Said she had borrowed money to do this. She still had some bills in her purse.

The rooms are in the rear of basement and are dark, damp, and dirty. Mrs. Malachowski seems to think they are all right. Said the rooms they moved from were just the same, and her children are healthy. She lined them all up for visitor to inspect, and they were certainly a set of fine, healthy-looking children.

She stated that the new landlord had given her two beds, a gas range, and heating stove. For this reason she felt obliged to stay.

She seemed very unconcerned about her husband. Said that at the time of the Mexican War, he had gone to the border and learned all his bad habits there; that women were running after him and that he was drunk most of the time. Said she left him about three weeks ago and came to her sister. He had been at her sister's a week ago and stated that he was going to another city. Left $5.00 at her sister's for her, and that is the last she has heard from him. He was in the last draft and was anxious to go to war, and she would not be surprised if he had gone. He registered with Local Board 97. She intends to go there and have him put in first class. [See below, p. 575, for classification of registrants]. She was too busy to bother with him, however. She did not seem inclined to favor moving into better

rooms, as she pays only $5.00 and as the landlord was willing to let her stay and pay rent when she could. Advised her to make every effort to find her husband immediately.

*September 27, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Malachowski sick with sore throat. They had nothing in the house to eat. The house was somewhat settled. Prefers to remain just where she is at present. She had made no effort to locate her husband, although she thought his mother might have heard. Stated that he had promised her sister that he would send her money through his mother. Said she would send Cassie over on Sunday.

*October 2, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Malachowski still sick. Had not been able to go to Local Board on account of her throat. Her husband's mother had heard nothing from him. Mrs. Malachowski intends to get sewing to do, as she had been a dressmaker before she married. Said she did not worry about supporting herself and children, and as soon as she felt better, intended to go to work. Said she had promised to make a dress for a friend.

*October 5, 1918.*—Visited with regard to getting Mrs. Malachowski to help Mrs. Doane at Newton Day Nursery. Mrs. Malachowski looked very bright and happy. Said she was well. Had been to Local Board and had found her husband's serial number. Clerk made a note of his case. Said he had not sent out questionnaire, but would get around to it in a week, and see that her husband was placed in first class.

She had her sister and her two children, all her own children, and woman for whom she was making a dress, for luncheon. She did not want to take a position with Mrs. Doane, although it offered her a fine opportunity to place the children in the nursery. Stated that she had finished dress for the friend and thought she might be sick again if she attempted to do hard work, and the prospect of earning sufficient money to pay rent was no inducement to her. She is determined to remain in present quarters. Said she would let visitor know when she received her husband's questionnaire.

*October 11, 1918.*—Mrs. Malachowski's sister telephoned that Mrs. Malachowski is very ill. Telephoned county doctor. Promised to call as soon as possible.

*October 12, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Malachowski in bed. Stated that county doctor had called in the morning. She was feeling better. Said she received postal card, also letter from Mr. Malachowski inclosing $15. Children are all at home from school with colds.

Her sister is taking care of her. County doctor promised to call again the following Monday.

*October 14, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Malachowski better. County doctor had not made a second call. Children were not feeling well.

*Later.*—Left word with Visiting Nurse, Miss Clay, to have nurse call.

*October 15, 1918.*—Visited Local Board 97. Clerk stated that if Mrs. Malachowski would file complaint, he would make an effort to have her husband put in first class immediately. Said she could fill in affidavit and have it sworn to later when she was able to come down.

*October 18, 1918.*—Visited. The Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium nurse was there. Mrs. Malachowski sitting up; temperature normal. Children's temperature also normal. She stated that she had paid one month's rent, and that she had no money left to buy food with. She filled in affidavit waiving all claim to exemption for Mr. Malachowski.

*October 21, 1918.*—Visited Local Board 97. Gave clerk affidavit signed by Mrs. Malachowski. Said he would do all he could but could not promise to take care of matter outside of the regular order of things. Said for her to come in as soon as she was able, to swear before a Notary Public.

*November 6, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Malachowski at home. Was sewing in sleeve linings on boys' coats. She said she earned $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents on each garment, and was making about $7.50 a week. Said she received $12 from Mr. Malachowski a few days previous. Showed visitor registered envelope in which money came. His address is Carney's Point, New Jersey, Box 25, Y.M.C.A.

Mr. Malachowski is working for an ammunition plant. His excuse for not sending her more was that he had injured his hand and has been laid up. Mr. Malachowski does not know anything about his father's death. His brother Thomas' wife also died last week. She wrote to Mr. Malachowski but gave him the impression that she was sick and staying with her sister. Did not wish him to know that she is keeping house or that she is working. Said she told him their furniture was stored in her sister's shed.

She said that she had not been to Local Board to swear before Notary Public. She had been too busy going to funerals and sewing. She would go the following morning. Mrs. Frost, from the County Agent's, told her she should be getting $72 a month from the Red Cross. She receives county supplies.

She does not seem to think that the indisposition of the children and herself is due to their housing conditions, but still feels that it is a desirable place to live.

*November 30, 1918.*—Mrs. Malachowski in office. Has not heard from her husband for two weeks. Has not been able to get coats to sew on and has no food or fuel in the house. Had never been to Local Board to swear to affidavit.

She would like Welfare Agency to help her until January, as she will be able to bring case up in court again at that time, and will have a warrant sworn out immediately.

Suggested that she find something to do which will pay her better than sewing on coats; also that she go to Local Board, as they might be willing to call Mr. Malachowski home, as she can prove that he has lied about his age.

*December 5, 1918.*—Visited Mrs. Thomas Malachowski, mother of Mr. Malachowski. The home conditions in this place are most unsatisfactory. Mrs. Malachowski feels very bitter toward her son. Although he has written to her several times, she refuses to answer his letters. Sympathizes greatly with her daughter-in-law but does not feel able to help her, as she needs all the money she has to take care of herself. She owns the property where they are living but claims that it takes the income to keep up the taxes and repairs. She says that her son Thomas received a letter from his brother John, and at the present time he is in Philadelphia in the shipyards. Thinks Welfare Agency ought to be able to make him support his family.

*December 6, 1918.*—Visited Thomas Malachowski, 1609 Blair Street. Found it to be the home of his mother-in-law, who cannot speak English. His wife died several weeks ago, and he is still making his home with her people.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Malachowski and children at home. Was surprised to hear that Mr. Malachowski's brother had heard from him. Said she would go right over and get the address, and send one of the children over with it the following morning.

Helen was obliged to stay home from school because of a toothache. Mrs. Malachowski's sister took her to the dentist and had three teeth filled. This took all the money she had, but said she could not stand it to have the child crying both day and night. She claims she made a little money by sewing last week.

*December 7, 1918.*—Helen in office, with note stating that her mother received letter from Mr. Malachowski with $9.00 inclosed, and

a promise to send money every week after this. (Address: John Malachowski, Hog Island Post-Office, Pennsylvania.)

*February 25, 1919.*—Vocational Bureau of Board of Education telephoned that Mrs. Malachowski had been in office asking for a permit allowing Cassie to work at home and take care of children. Mr. Malachowski is not adequately supporting her, and she wishes to find work and cannot leave baby at home alone.

*March 15, 1919.*—Mrs. Malachowski in office asking assistance with food. Has not heard from her husband for two months. She owes four months' rent and a gas bill of $15, which she is going to take up with Public Utility Company. Promised visit.

*March 18, 1919.*—Mrs. Malachowski at home. Was sewing on coats for tailoring company. Said she was obliged last week to discontinue this on account of the baby's illness. She earned only $3.00, her insurance of 40 cents a week is due New Haven Industrial Company, and $1.80 to the Royal Neighbors, St. Anne's Council, in which Mrs. Malachowski carries $1,000.

Mrs. Malachowski seemed worried over something but would not tell visitor. She very emphatically refused to take her husband back, although he had been writing to his people asking that she should do so. She says she has only received a small amount from him for the past six months. She would like to swear out a warrant for him and have him brought home. Advised her that it might be better for her to allow him to come home and then take out a warrant for him.

*March 24, 1919.*—Visited. The children were at home alone, getting dinner. Said their mother had gone down to the city hall to do electioneering.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Lettman, sister of Mrs. Malachowski, attributes Mr. Malachowski's indifference to interest in other women, developed while in army service. Feels sure his postal orders have been for small amounts with the exception of $15 and $10 sent several months ago. She agrees that Mrs. Malachowski might be making a mistake in refusing to allow him to come back, as he has just requested to do. His people are said not to visit her, though she goes to see them occasionally. Baby is said to be in better health. Mrs. Malachowski feeds him on Borden's Condensed Milk. Does not take him to Infant Welfare. Mrs. Lettman spoke of three rats having been caught in Mrs. Malachowski's room recently. Also of the fact that Mrs. Malachowski paid no rent for months. Gave Mrs. Mala-

chowski's earnings at $6.00 to $7.00 weekly, used to supplement county rations.

*April 16, 1919.*—Visited with district superintendent. Mrs. Malachowski is willing to take any action against her husband that the visitor suggests. She has not heard from him for three months, so is not sure just where he is.

She is anxious to move into more desirable rooms, as she now attributes the health of her children to their undesirable housing. Casimira weighs only sixty-six pounds, and looks sickly and undernourished. Suggested that she go to the Preventorium. Cassie was very eager to go, as one of her schoolmates had been there. Mrs. Malachowski immediately consented to allow her to go.

Advised Mrs. Malachowski to look for more desirable rooms, and let visitor know when she found some. Also made arrangements to take Casimira to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary to be examined for Preventorium.

*April 22, 1919.*—Took Cassie to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium to be examined. Diagnosis as follows: "Slight mitral regurgitation, a slight enlargement of thyroid, glandular Tb. Cervical Ant. and Post., Tracheo, bronchial glands, Underweight, 25 pounds."

*Later.*—Sent in application to Preventorium.

*April 29, 1919.*—Mrs. Malachowski found rooms. They are very desirable. Made arrangements with agent to make necessary repairs.

*Later.*—Cassie in office saying her mother had secured an expressman, who will move her for $5.00.

*April 30, 1919.*—Visited a previous address of family. The house is two-story brick, old but well preserved, with arbor and garden. Talked with Mr. Hunt and Mr. Trevor. The former has had a store in the neighborhood for years, and the family dealt with him. He has known them very intimately, and Mrs. Malachowski still comes to see them. Although Mr. Malachowski worked regularly, he turned over only one-half of his earnings to his wife. If she had not washed and done cleaning almost daily, the children would have been without clothing. They feel she is most industrious and ambitious for her children. When they moved the family owed $50 to Mr. Hunt, which Mrs. Malachowski has paid in part by working.

Mr. Hunt thinks Mr. Malachowski is thoroughly worthless. He understood he was an army man before his marriage. He feels Mrs. Malachowski should be aided in her efforts to bring up her family.

*May 1, 1919.*—Committee decision, that effort be made to locate Mr. Malachowski in Philadelphia and persuade him to support family. That Mrs. Malachowski and children be given whatever aid is needed in the meantime.

*May 2, 1919.*—Mrs. Malachowski in office asking that we let her pay the expressman for moving her as she feels he will not do it for the small amount if he knows the Agency is going to pay for it. She secured the same man who moved her to her present rooms. Gave her $5.00.

*May 3, 1919.*—Visited Mrs. Malachowski at her new home. The children have been transferred to the Sanborn School. The landlord did the necessary cleaning. Mrs. Malachowski has polished up all her furniture; gotten out all her rugs, curtains, and so forth, which she has not been able to use in her former home; and the place looks very habitable.

She has not been doing any work outside of getting settled. She has inquired of the neighbors with regard to getting sewing to do, and thinks it rather doubtful. There is a large garden spot in the back yard, and the children are anxious to make a garden.

Her sister is looking for rooms in the neighborhood. Said a gang of boys had been trying to hold forth in the vacant flat below her. She has been given the keys and is taking charge of the renting of same.

Letter written Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity asking that an effort be made to locate Mr. Malachowski.

*May 12, 1919.*—Letter received Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity stating that they were unable to locate Mr. Malachowski.

*May 13, 1919.*—Visited Mrs. Malachowski at home. The baby has a cough and looked feverish, and Mrs. Malachowski says he is teething.

She has two dresses to make, one for a girl who is to be confirmed and the other a child's dress; and she will receive $4.00 for this work.

She readily consented to assist the Welfare Agency in moving. Says her sister will take care of the baby while she is away.

*May 14, 1919.*—Mrs. Malachowski reported for work. Gave her $3.00 for same. Made arrangements for her to make the curtains for the office.

*May 26, 1919.*—Visited Mrs. Thomas Malachowski, Mr. Malachowski's mother. The mailman had just left a card from Mr. Malachowski for his brother who has just returned from France. He stated on this card that he was sorry he had missed seeing him in Phila-

delphia, but that he had had a fall and could not make it. The card was postmarked Hog Island, May 24. Mrs. Malachowski says that she has not heard from him herself since Christmas time. She refused to answer his letter then. Mrs. Malachowski says she has so many troubles of her own she cannot bother with a worthless bum like Mr. Malachowski. She says that their property is in probate and she has barely enough to live on herself or she would be glad to help Mrs. Malachowski and the children.

*May 27, 1919.*—Visited Mrs. Malachowski at home. She has six boys' waists to make. Thinks she should charge only 25 cents apiece.

She is getting nervous. She says the children drive her wild when they are at home from school.

She received a letter from her husband in which he stated he would be home in about three weeks if she wanted him to come. She claims she will not live with him, but will advise him to come home if the Welfare Agency thinks it the right thing to do. Will have warrant ready waiting for him. Advised her to wait before answering letter until visitor had talked with his brother Tom. Left $5.00 for making curtains.

*Later.*—Visited Tom in the evening. He is a clean, pleasant man to talk to. He did not understand his brother, but felt that drink was the cause of his behavior. Said he had written him several times, asking him either to send sufficient money to support his family or to come home and be a man. Thought Mrs. Malachowski was rather hasty and quick tempered, but did not wish to make any excuse for his brother on this account. He advised that unless the Welfare Agency could see him through their organization in Philadelphia, or find out his physical condition, it might not be advisable for his wife to allow him to come home. Said the last letter be received from him, he wrote that he had broken his arm and that it was in a plaster cast. Mr. Malachowski did not know in which department his brother was working, but thought it might be in the riveting department. Said this information was not authentic, but was his own conclusion. All the letters he wrote were directed to general delivery.

*May 28, 1919.*—Complaint made to Health Department with regard to housing.

*May 31, 1919.*—Casimira in office with extra curtain Mrs. Malachowski made for the office, with note from her asking money for food. Gave Cassie $2.00 for food.

*June 2, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Malachowski was sewing, finishing up a few things which she took in last week, for which she will receive about $5.00.

She said she received a letter from Mr. Malachowski with a money order for $8.00 Saturday afternoon. He also stated he would be back in about one month. Mrs. Malachowski will let him come, but still insists that the she will not allow him in the house.

Mrs. Malachowski took all the children to the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary on Decoration Day. She received a card for extra rations from the county. She gets her supplies on the second of the month.

*June 3, 1924.*—Visited office of landlord in regard to rent. Paid rent from May 3 to June 3 and promised to send check for following month.

*June 9, 1919.*—Visited [while on vacation] Mr. Malachowski at Hog Island Shipyards, Philadelphia. He is a surly person and very little concerned, it seems, about his family. Has been working as one of a set of three assistants to the riveters, earning 58 cents an hour. Because of occasional slack work, says he has averaged only $22 to $26 a week. He lives in a barracks, paying $1.45 a week for his room, but his meals in the cafeteria cost him from $10 to $12 a week (a high estimate judging from reports from other employees). He injured his arm recently, and his leg during the winter. Also had rheumatism. He was much more in sympathy with his own difficulties than with those of the family. When questioned about money sent Mrs. Malachowski, he said it totaled between $200 and $300 since September, 1918. Upon request he went to his locker and brought back stubs of postal orders totaling $115, dated from September to April. He stated he sent $8.50 each of the past three weeks, though he had no stubs. Mr. Malachowski made no excuse for himself in the treatment of his family. He agreed that he drank heavily and was abusive and that his wife has found letters from other women in his pocket. He said they got to quarreling about every little thing; and when she finally left him to go to her sister's, he went three times to beg her to return. When she refused, he decided he could get better work in the yards. He plans to return about July 1 and try to get back on the elevated railway. Says his wife had written him to come, and he thinks they can patch up their quarrels. She had also told him of time of children's ill health, which seemed to make a slight impression upon him.

Because of the noise of the surroundings, and lack of privacy, it was difficult to talk with him further. He promised to continue to send money until his return. He blames his sister-in-law, Mrs. Lettman, for interfering in their quarrels. Could get along better away from her.

*June 11, 1919.*—Letter written landlord inclosing rent of $12 for rent from June 3 to July 3.

*June 12, 1919.*—Visited gas company and paid three months back on gas bill. Gas company promised to turn on gas following day.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Malachowski said she had received another letter from Mr. Malachowski but that he had not sent her money. He told her, however, that someone who knew his entire history and who had a picture of him had been inquiring for him. He wondered who this was, and if it was someone that Mrs. Malachowski had sent to look him up. He also stated he would return home in a few weeks, and that he would send her money the following week. Mrs. Malachowski seemed very excited over this news and thought it was probable that the visitor was having him arrested. Mrs. Malachowski received the bed, gas oven, and some toys from donation received by Welfare Agency.

Mrs. Malachowski has finished all the sewing she has in the house. Said she used the money that Mr. Malachowski sent her the week before for food, and the money she had earned sewing she used to buy the smaller children shoes and stockings. Gave her cash grant for food and told her if she did not receive money from Mr. Malachowski when that was gone to let Agency know.

*June 18, 1919.*—Letter received from Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Mrs. Malachowski, Helen, Mary, Emily, James, and Eugene are pronounced non-tubercular. Cassie and John have glandular tuberculosis.

*Later.*—Mrs. Malachowski has two dresses to make this week for Mrs. Stuckso, a friend who lives at their previous address. She is very much interested in her dressmaking and proud of the fact that her customers leave the designing to her.

Mrs. Malachowski received $5.00 from her husband Saturday, the fourteenth. He wrote that someone from the Welfare Agency of Chicago had been to see him. Mrs. Malachowski said he was concerned about the children's health, especially the fact that Casimira was being sent to Preventorium. She seems to be willing to give information contained in her husband's letters but will never give

visitor an opportunity to read them. She was in hopes that Welfare Agency would have Mr. Malachowski arrested after finding him, as she is afraid he will get away after returning to Chicago. She does not want to take him back since she is beginning to get some business, but wants him to be made to help support the children.

Secured a gas range for Mrs. Malachowski. She will get the same man who moved her to call at office for same.

Gave her a grant to cover the expense of attaching the stove and the delivery of same.

Casimira is having her teeth attended to at the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

*July 1, 1919.*—Mrs. Malachowski in office at our request to get some sewing. She received a letter from Mr. Malachowski with $7.00 in it, also stated that he will be home July 4. She feels sure that he will come, and she is anxious to know what to do. Promised to go with her to Court of Domestic Relations the following morning.

Mrs. Malachowski received $7.00 for making a dress for Mrs. Stuckso and a new shirtwaist.

*Later.*—Miss Hannah telephoned that she would like to have Mrs. Malachowski come out to their camp and cook for them during the summer. Informed her of the possibility of Mr. Malachowski's return, which would make it necessary for Mrs. Malachowski to be in the city.

*July 2, 1919.*—Visited Court of Domestic Relations with Mrs. Malachowski. Social worker said she would not swear out a warrant for Mr. Malachowski as their records show that Mrs. Malachowski was partly to blame. Social worker gave Mrs. Malachowski a talking to in regard to her hasty temper; and the best she could do would be to write a letter to Mr. Malachowski asking him to appear in court on July 8. She did this and gave the letter to Mrs. Malachowski to give to him when he arrived.

*July 5, 1919.*—Mrs. Malachowski brought back sewing for office; she said her husband did not return on the fourth; that she had no money or food. Gave her $2.00 for her work.

*July 9, 1919.*—Mrs. Malachowski had gone to the Settlement Camp, but had some trouble and returned. Casimira came to office with letter from her mother to superintendent, as follows:

I have left the camp and come home. Is there anything I can sew for you? I haven't got any money at all. I am sorry I could not do and

stay for Miss Hannah just is the limit anything I done wasn't good she always had something had me working ten times harder than I do at home. I could not stand it.

*July 15, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Malachowski is very nervous. She is disappointed because Mr. Malachowski did not return. She has not heard from him since he wrote her that he was coming on the fourth. Her unpleasant experience at the Settlement Camp, she acknowledges, is probably due to her temper. She said she had to work so hard and she did not feel equal to it. Advised her to go to West Side Dispensary and have a thorough examination. She promised to do this. She has not received word from her husband. She is sure that he has gone some place else since he learned that the Agency knew where he was.

She did not receive the special ration from the county this month. Is getting the extra quart of milk from the Infant Welfare Society for Eugene.

*July 23, 1919.*—Casimira in office with note from her mother asking visitor to call.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Malachowski said she received a letter from Mr. Malachowski but no money. Visitor read letter, in which he promised to send money the following Monday, July 28. He also states that he is tired of staying away from home and will return as soon as he can. The reason he has not sent money before is that he had two fingers broken.

Mrs. Malachowski went to the West Side Dispensary. Says the medicine the doctor gave her makes her feel sick. She promised to follow doctor's orders and to return to the Dispensary at her appointed time.

Suggested that she and the children go on boat party July 25. All the children were pleased at the prospects of an outing. Asked her to drop us a card if Mr. Malachowski did not send her money as he promised.

*July 31, 1919.*—Mrs. Lettman in office to say that her sister has been very ill. Is in bed. Wishes doctor. Gave cash grant for Mrs. Malachowski. Telephoned county doctor.

*August 8, 1919.*—Mrs. Malachowski in office. Is feeling much better, but still very weak.

*August 20, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Malachowski still feels bad. She is following out the county doctor's instructions. Has not been

back to the West Side Dispensary. Mary and Emily are at Holiday Home. Casimira is still waiting patiently for her summons to Preventorium. She is not feeling well; has completed her dentistry at the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary.

Helen has been staying with Mrs. Lettman, helping her to move. With three children away, Mrs. Malachowski feels she has been able to cut down expenses. She expects to start the two boys in school in September.

Mrs. Lettman took advantage of a bargain at the Boston Store and purchased several pairs of pants for the boys at 10 cents apiece.

The doctor has forbidden Mrs. Malachowski to wash so she has been sending her laundry to the wet-wash every two weeks. This costs her from $1.10 to $1.25.

Mrs. Malachowski received a letter from Mr. Malachowski from Camden, New Jersey. He is working at the Dupont Works, Carney's Point, New Jersey, the same position he had before going to Philadelphia. When Mrs. Malachowski was taken suddenly ill, she thought she was going to die, so sent for him to come home; and the letter which she allowed visitor to read was an answer to her message. He stated he had been very sick himself with a fever and was obliged to use all the money he had saved to come home to pay doctor bills. The letter was full of excuses and very affectionate, but he did not send any money or make any references in regard to doing so.

Mrs. Malachowski is discouraged. She thinks her nervousness and unrest is due to the fact that Mr. Malachowski is not supporting his family. Mrs. Malachowski has been taking John and Cassie to the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary every month.

*August 22, 1919.*—The following letter, dated August 20, 1919, received from Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity:

> This is in reply to your letter of July 23, 1919. John Malachowski formerly employed in the shipyard as a holder on, terminated his work voluntarily on June 27, 1919. He was paid in full. His reason for leaving was recorded as being due to sickness.
>
> On the same date, June 27, 1919, he was rehired as a holder on, and was assigned to work in Yard No. 3 under the Badge No. 23. Meanwhile he continued to live in Barracks No. 3 as before. This termination and rehiring gave Mr. Malachowski all the money due him (one week's pay is withheld all tradesmen) and set ahead the next pay day two weeks. He continued working until July 26, 1919, when he again asked for a termination. The records show the cause for leaving to be "Sickness at home."

The records of the Labor Agent contain no mention of any injury which Mr. Malachowski received during the period of his employment. So the broken finger incident mentioned as an excuse for not forwarding money to his family is a myth and not a fact according to the hospital minor injury case record.

During the early part of July excessive rains prevented work on hull construction and may have affected Mr. Malachowski which would account for his action in terminating work in order to obtain all money due him. And the fact that the next pay day was two weeks hence, may account for the broken finger excuse made by way of explanation for his inability to make a remittance.

If John Malachowski is still employed in Hog Island, he is going under an assumed name. If in the meantime, he has not returned to Chicago, and you have reason to believe he is still here, I will be glad to follow up any clues as to his whereabouts.

P.S.—John Malachowski left no forwarding address at the post-office and advised the mail clerk to return any mail received for him in case an address was given; otherwise to "can it." He stated that he was going into the Merchant Marine and over seas.

*August 31, 1919.*—The following letter was written to social service worker, Court of Domestic Relations:

On one or two occasions, we have talked to you in regard to John and Martha Malachowski. You will remember, the couple seemed unable to get along, due in the first place to his hard drinking and abuse, and perhaps equally to Mrs. Malachowski's hasty temper. However, there are seven young children. In the past four months, it has been necessary for us to help largely toward their support, in addition to securing county rations.

Mr. Malachowski is now employed at the Dupont Works, Carney's Point, New Jersey and is living at the Y.M.C.A. barracks. I, myself, was in Philadelphia on June 9 and have hunted him up at the shipyards there. Have tried hard, asking him to do more toward the support of the children. As the result, he sent $8.00 for three or four weeks, but has since stopped.

Mrs. Malachowski is under care of the West Side Dispensary and is said to have a severe case of neurasthenia. The oldest child we have sent to the Preventorium for Tubercular Children.

In view of the fact that this large family is a heavy charge on the community would it not be possible to have Mr. Malachowski extradited?

I should be very glad to hear from you by telephone or letter as to what you can do.

*September 4, 1919.*—Mrs. Malachowski in office with Eugene. The other children were all in school. Gave her cash grant for food. Cassie went to the Preventorium August 30.

*Later.*—Visited County Agent, who had instructed Mrs. Malachowski that she could not have county supplies because he understood Mr. Malachowski was coming home. Advised visitor to have her come in again and he would continue supplies.

*September 29, 1919.*—Mrs. Malachowski has been sick with tonsillitis and was obliged to go to County Hospital to have tonsils removed. Doctor advised that she return in ten days to have them removed.

Mrs. Malachowski received letter from Mr. Malachowski, which visitor read. States that he has changed his address. He has not been able to send money on account of his sickness. Is doing light work at present with small pay. Will send money as soon as he can. Expects to be home about November 1.

*October 29, 1919.*—Weekly visits have been made to the home, in which it was found that both John and Edward are ill. John is in the Contagious Hospital with diphtheria, and Edward at Children's Memorial Hospital with an abscessed tooth. Arrangements made by Visiting Nurse.

Mrs. Malachowski has been sewing, earning $3.00 one week and $5.00 another. She had bought underwear for children. October 3 a letter came from Mr. Malachowski saying he would send money soon, and might return in a month or two.

*November 12, 1919.*—Visited. Eugene was taken to Contagious Hospital November 10 with diphtheria. Child was treated with antitoxin and room was fumigated. November 7 another letter came from Mr. Malachowski giving his address. Mrs. Malachowski took out a new warrant November 10 on a charge of desertion, and Mr. Malachowski is to be extradited.

*November 21, 1919.*—Case before Judge Cook, Court of Domestic Relations. Mr. Malachowski testified that his wife had left him, that he offered her several chances to return. He had money-order stubs which he showed the judge, totaling about $130 and stated he had sent at least $100 more for which he had no receipt. He was sentenced to House of Correction for one year, and advised to have his people give a property bond for his release.

The bailiff who arrested Mr. Malachowski said that he insisted until the last minute that he was not the man, and almost convinced him. His only request was that he be allowed to get one more drink.

*December 23, 1919.*—Attended hearing at Court of Domestic Relations. Mr. Malachowski was released from House of Correction

and placed on probation for one year, to pay $10 a week to his wife if he lived away from home and to turn over his complete pay if he was with her.

Roman Malachowski, his brother, and also his brother-in-law, were present and turned over to court $500 in Liberty Bonds as security for Mr. Malachowski. They were both clean-cut and industrious-looking fellows and felt convinced that Mr. Malachowski had had his lesson and that they could keep him straight.

Mrs. Malachowski had decided to give him another chance, because of the urging of his people. When questioned by Judge Cook as to what he had been thinking about in the House of Correction, his only reply was, "what a fool I have been." He appeared to be in better health and very penitent.

*December 24, 1919.*—Visited. After his release, Mr. Malachowski sat all day with his head down and refused to eat, saying he did not deserve it. He sat by the stove until 1:00 or 2:00 A.M. when Mrs. Malachowski permitted him to go to bed with the smaller children. Mrs. Malachowski seems much touched by his changed attitude and willing to deal gently with him.

*January 2, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Malachowski found work at the American Light Company December 26. He continues with exemplary behavior. The family will have to move, as the landlord wants to improve the house.

*February 25, 1920.*—Mr. Malachowski's pay checks have increased from $25 to nearly $33 a week. Mrs. Malachowski takes $20 at a time to the Court of Domestic Relations and gets receipt for it. She seems to feel it an incentive to continued good behavior on Mr. Malachowski's part. The family is paying no rent because the rooms are torn up, owing to remodeling. The house is always in wretched condition. Mrs. Malachowski seems restless and wants to go to work. Helen vehemently refuses to go to the Preventorium, and visitor is not certain that Mrs. Malachowski really wants her to go. She says that Mr. Malachowski does not wish it, and she is afraid of starting a quarrel with him.

*April 29, 1920.*—Mrs. Malachowski in office asking that application for Preventorium be filed for Helen. Mr. Malachowski is very much interested in Cassie's improvement, and they both wish Helen to go as soon as possible.

Mr. Malachowski, with overtime, continues to earn about $33 weekly, and Mrs. Malachowski is earning $6.00 to $8.00 by sewing

for her old customers. Mr. Malachowski is perfectly quiet and agreeable, such as he has never been since she married him, and is still a great deal ashamed of himself.

Mrs. Malachowski was unable to find any satisfactory flat but promises to make efforts to move to a less crowded neighborhood. She took occasion to express her gratitude for all that had been done for her by the Welfare Agency.

[The Agency spent $124.45 in relief, besides paying Mrs. Malachowski $10 in wages for work done at the office, and making donations of furniture, clothes, toys, etc., and obtaining county rations, medical and Preventorium care, and Thanksgiving and Christmas gifts.]

### 24. The Family of Stephen Walczak

*(An Iron-Worker Who Takes a Vacation from Family Responsibilities)*

[This family lives on the second floor front of a plain but decent-looking, two-story frame house facing east. A vegetable patch with a small building on the rear of the lot joins it on the north, while a two-story frame house occupies the lot immediately to the south. On the block are large and small frame cottages, some old, others in good repair, owned by the people who live in them. Both on the east and west sides of the block at the north end there are a few small yards and patches of grass as well as young shade trees. A public playground is just a little south and east and is much used by the children of the neighborhood. The great Polish church of the district is about two and a half blocks to the northeast. The people living on this block are mostly Poles, but there is one Irish family. To the north there are more Americans. The neighborhood is somewhat congested, there being rear houses on many of the lots.]

*May 11, 1920 (Tuesday).*—Miss Haynes, social worker at Court of Domestic Relations, telephoned asking that a visit be made to Mrs. Maggie Walczak, whose husband Stephen deserted a week ago, leaving the family without funds. Miss Haynes has no information as to Mr. Walczak's whereabouts other than that they believe he went to New Jersey. Mrs. Walczak is sick.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Walczak lives in four neat rooms on the second floor front. Her rent $11 was due April 28. Landlady lives in same building. A gas bill of $1.92 is overdue. There are two little girls, Veronica (born July 4, 1917) and Sophie (born September 18,

1918). She receives no county supplies and owes a $60 grocery bill. She has no idea where her husband went. The night that Mr. Walczak left her he and his brother Stanley got all the wood he had chopped and took that and the axe away from her. He also drew out all their savings from the bank. When Mr. and Mrs. Walczak had been married about eight months (they were married at St. Gabriel's January 24, 1916), Mr. Walczak took his wife to the hospital to find out why she had no children. Soon after this she had her first child. When her second child was born, her husband disowned it. According to Mrs. Walczak that is his reason for not wanting to live with her. Mrs. Walczak offered to have him bring to her the party he thought guilty, but he never mentioned any particular person. Stanley threatens to beat her if she comes near him. He tells her that her husband is going to the Old Country. She has been sick for the past month. Dr. Bell, 4720 Coyne Avenue, has been attending her. Her husband was "sore on her," because she was sick and would not work. Up to the time he left, he was employed as an iron-worker for the Great Lakes Steel Company, making as a minimum $6.00 a day. Although he has two brothers, Stanley, living a few blocks away, and Walter, living in the lower floor of the same building in which she lives, neither helps her. Another brother, John, lives "somewhere on a farm." He is married and has seven children. Mrs. Walczak has a sister, Mrs. Slominski. Both Mr. and Mrs. Walczak are Polish. Left card to County Agent. Two previous addresses were ascertained.

*Later.*—Saw Father Zwerchowski of St. Gabriel's. He does not know the family.

*Later.*—Saw Mrs. Walter Walczak. She is a young, clean-looking Polish woman, who, like her sister-in-law, speaks no English. Her home was neat but poorly furnished. She has three babies. She promised to try to persuade her husband to pay the gas bill. They will be unable to contribute regularly, however. The landlady, Mrs. Pesek, could give no additional information other than that Mrs. Walczak was sick and had no income. Mrs. Pesek understood she was to go to the Infant Welfare Society with the children and to the Great Lakes Steel Company for milk tickets. She does not know whether Mr. Walczak belonged to the Goodfellow Club.

*Later.*—Reported to Miss Haynes.

*Later.*—Letter to Stanley returned. Will send another letter by police officer.

*May 12, 1920.*—Security Savings Bank reported that a Stephen Walczak had $100 on deposit July 14, 1919. He withdrew $50 on November 1 and another $50 on November 13, 1919, thus closing his account.

*Later.*—Revisited Mrs. Walter Walczak. Her husband refused to pay the gas bill and has returned it to Mrs. Walczak. He works in the Great Lakes Steel Mills, but his wife does not know what wages he makes nor his work number.

*Later.*—Visited Mr. Stanley Walczak. He has two children to provide for and says he can do nothing for his sister-in-law except possibly take the oldest child, who, he says, could take care of his own children.

*Later.*—Visited Dr. Bell, 4720 Coyne Avenue. Two months ago Mrs. Walczak came to his office. She was suffering from rheumatism. He advised her to stay in bed for a few weeks and prescribed a diet. She did not stay in bed more than a few days because of domestic difficulties at the time.

*Later.*—Visited previous addresses. The woman living on the first floor rear and the people living next door knew the family only slightly. They knew Mr. Walczak had been a barber in the army; that he had returned from war; but they did not know that he had left again. Mrs. Walczak has a sister, Mrs. Stella Slominski.

*May 15, 1920.*—Visited Mrs. Stella Slominski. She is a much more intelligent woman than any of Mr. Walczak's relatives. Her home was plain but clean. She has five small children and can do no more than keep her own family. Mr. Walczak was good to his wife for about a year; then he changed. He got the idea of going to the Old Country. Mrs. Slominski thinks that he wanted to get a new wife. Mr. Walczak has finally been traced to Milwaukee. His wife received a letter from him, saying he would meet her at the precinct police station at 2:00 P.M. today.

*May 17, 1920.*—Mrs. Walczak's letter from her husband bore no date, but the postmark was undoubtedly Milwaukee. He reports he is working on a boat, earning $135 a month. He said that he was only "fooling" and that he still likes Mrs. Walczak and promised to send her his address in his next letter. He did not appear at the police station as he promised. The officer there told her to wait until she received another letter and then come back to the station again. He did not inclose any money.

*May 24, 1920.*—County Agent has granted supplies.

*Later.*—Again visited the Stanley Walczaks to run down rumor that Stephen Walczak had been seen in the neighborhood. Mrs. Walczak was filthy and seemed to be mentally unbalanced. She asked what was wanted in good English; but when visitor asked about Stephen Walczak or whether he had been in Chicago recently, she repeated over and over "I don't know, I don't care."

*May 28, 1920.*—Mrs. Walczak examined by Dr. Flower at St. Anne's Hospital Clinic. She is undernourished. She weighs only 100 pounds. Doctor advised better care and food. Doctor also advised that part of her hair which is matted be cut out.

*June 9, 1920.*—Miss Haynes telephoned that as visitor had requested, Stanley Walczak was brought into court this morning.[1] He cried and said he did not know where his brother was, but would be glad to take Veronica; that Mrs. Walczak's sister was the one who was constantly making trouble in the family.

*June 14, 1920.*—Miss Craven, Great Lakes Steel Company, refused milk tickets as it is against the policy of Goodfellow Club to give to deserted women.

*June 15, 1920.*—Mrs. Walczak and children sent to summer camp for two weeks. Medical blanks signed by Dr. Bell.

*June 16, 1920.*—Letter written to Mr. Alfred C. Jones, Charity Organization Society, Indianapolis, Indiana, by district superintendent:

Will you please have your correspondent in Dennison, Indiana, call on John Walczak, Box 25, and find out whether he knows the whereabouts of his brother Stephen Walczak. Mr. Stephen Walczak deserted his sick

[1] [It may be that they brought him into the County Court as an accessory. See *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 38, secs. 582–84:

"582. *Before the fact.* An accessory is he who stands by, and aids, abets, or assists, or who, not being present, aiding, or abetting or assisting, hath advised, encouraged, aided or abetted the perpetration of the crime. He who thus aids, abets, assists, advises or encourages, shall be considered as principal and punished accordingly.

"583. *May be punished independently of principal.* Every such accessory, when a crime is committed within or without this state by his aid or procurement in this state, may be indicted and convicted at the same time as the principal, or before, or after his conviction, and whether the principal is convicted or amenable to justice or not, and punished as principal.

"584. *After the fact.* Every person not standing in the relation of husband or wife, parent or child, brother or sister to the offender, who knows the fact that a crime has been committed, and conceals it from the magistrate, or who harbors, conceals, maintains or assists any principal felon, or any accessory before the fact, knowing him to be such, shall be deemed an accessory after the fact, and shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a term of not less than one year and not exceeding two years, and fined not exceeding $500. (As amended by act approved June 28, 1919. In force July 1, 1919. L. 1919, p. 427.)"]

wife and two small girls May 5, 1920, taking the family earnings with him. Although we have had Stanley and Walter Walczak, the two brothers living in Chicago, brought into court, we have been unable to get any clue as to where this man has gone, and thought possibly he might be with the brother in Dennison, Indiana, or that he might have communicated with this brother. Any information you can get for us in regard to this man's past or present, we shall deeply appreciate.

*July 14, 1920.*—The following letter received from Dennison correspondent of Charity Organization Society, Indianapolis, Indiana:

In reply to your letter of June 16 wish to say that I have been trying to locate the party in question, but my search so far has been fruitless. I questioned Mr. John Walczak, who lives near this town, and he doesn't seem to know his brother's whereabouts at present, claiming that his brother came to pay him a visit some months ago and when his brother left he was headed for Chicago.

*July 15, 1920.*—Mrs. Walczak and children sent to summer camp for another two weeks. Medical blanks signed by Dr. Bell.

*July 25, 1920.*—Mrs. Walczak is attending Infant Welfare Pre-Natal Clinic. Nurse reports her five months pregnant.

*August 1—August 15, 1920.*—Mrs. Walczak is not feeling at all well, due partly to her condition but more particularly to the fact that Mr. Walter Walczak's family, who live downstairs, ignore her and do everything in their power to make her life miserable. She has heard nothing from her husband, Stephen.

*August 5, 1920.*—Letter written Alfred C. Jones, Charity Organization Society, Indianapolis, Indiana:

Again we are writing in regard to our client, Mr. Stephen Walczak, Chicago, who deserted his sick wife and two baby girls May 5, 1920. Mrs. Walczak tells us that her husband's brother, John Walzcak, who lives in Dennison, Box 25, owes her husband $150. Mrs. John Walczak was in Chicago a short time ago and acknowledged that her husband owed this money to Stephen, and said that it had not been paid. Kindly have your correspondent at Dennison, Indiana, call on Mr. John Walczak to see whether he will not make a payment to our Mrs. Stephen Walczak in the very near future. This little woman is sorely in need of funds, and anything you can do to assist in this direction will be greatly appreciated by us.

*August 21, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Walczak said that her husband returned on Wednesday. She had tried to telephone but had failed to reach us. The Polish investigator from the County Agent's office, who was visiting her at the same time, said that Mrs. Walczak telephoned them immediately upon her husband's return, and that

they were accordingly stopping supplies. Mrs. Walczak was not overly happy about Stephen's return. She feared that he would soon leave again. He was nice to the children, told her that he came back only on their account and not because of her. He gave her $7.00 and showed her checks amounting to $80. He was nervous all the time as he feared that he might be arrested.

*August 23, 1920.*—Miss Haynes said that it would be necessary for Mrs. Walczak to swear out another warrant in order to arrest her husband. Mrs. Walczak agreed to go to court and swear out another warrant, making her husband answer for his conduct before the judge. She did not have faith in her husband's promises to be good from now on. She thought that it would be best to make him responsible to someone else besides herself.

*August 25, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Walczak talked the matter over with her husband. She told him that we wanted to bring him before the judge. Stephen cried, and begged her to let him off this time, and to tell us that he promised never to run away again, if we would only not bring him before the court. Mrs. Walczak would not go to court, and would not therefore appear to prosecute in case we had him arrested on his first warrant. The building has been sold, and Mrs. Walczak has been given notice to move. The family do not know where to go, and so are very much puzzled to know what is best for them to do.

*September 6, 1920.*—Letter, dated September 2, 1920, received from Dennison correspondent of Charity Organization Society, Indianapolis, Indiana:

> In reply to your letter beg to say that I questioned Mr. John Walczak last evening and he had nothing to say regarding the money but assured me that his brother, Stephen, is now living with his wife, and that his brother was employed on a ship and was away for some time on a trip and when he returned he promptly returned to his wife.

*Later.*—Visited. Interviewed Stephen in regard to his prolonged absence from home, leaving the care of his wife and children to the Welfare Agency and the county. He said that he "got sore on his wife" and that was the reason he went away. Visitor told him that he had better not try the same thing again, as the Agency would have him arrested, as he owed them over $80 now.[1] He did not like to

[1] [The visitor had no clear idea of the distinction between the civil remedy under the doctrine of necessaries and the penal remedy under the Non-Support law.]

talk on the subject, hung his head, and finally refused to answer any questions, but he understood the facts put to him in strong language.

*Later.*—Mrs. Gawlinski, grocery-store keeper, informed the visitor that Stephen Walczak had purchased a building. She did not know the exact address.

*December 23, 1920.*—After continued investigation in an endeavor to locate the Walczaks' house, the visitor met Mrs. Walczak on the street in front of their new home, which she said her husband purchased shortly after his return home after deserting the family. Mrs. Walczak stated that her husband was very good to them all, and she was looking forward with pleasure to her expected confinement.

*December 27, 1920.*—Letter written to general assistant superintendent in charge of case work, by district superintendent:

> After continued investigation in an endeavor to locate Stephen Walczak and his family, we at last have found the new address. Mr. Walczak purchased this property shortly after his return to Chicago some time in October. You will recall that the Welfare Agency assisted the family for some months when he deserted. The property looks to be of considerable value in spite of the poor neighborhood. The family is a thrifty family all through and shows decided ability in its methods of fixing up old shattered houses, making them rentable. If Mr. Walczak was able to make a payment on this property so soon after his desertion, we are inclined to feel that he might reimburse the Agency for money expended on his family.[1] He owes us between eighty and one hundred dollars. You requested this information some time ago, but we are only submitting it now for the reason that the visitor was continually misinformed regarding the family's whereabouts.

*July 20, 1923.*—Visited last known address. The cottage formerly owned by the Walczaks is a two-story frame house which appears rather run down. This neighborhood is much less desirable than the former district. It is dreary and desolate with its soot-covered houses and sordid streets. The smoke-filled air reminds one continually of the presence of the steel mills, just a block east. There are a great many saloons on this street. The people here evidently have very little pride in improving their houses or planting gardens. This block is predominantly Polish, the block north, Hungarian. Talked

[1] [If the Agency had thought in terms of the common-law doctrine and supplied her with appropriate articles, expecting and intending to collect from him, an action against him might very well have been brought; but no such idea was in the visitor's mind. As a result of this and similar experiences, the practice was developed of giving such relief in the form of a loan, which it may or may not be possible to collect.]

with woman and her married son living on the second floor of the house. Mrs. Walczak died of tuberculosis at the County Hospital about four weeks ago. She had been taken to the hospital soon after Christmas. Mr. Walczak did not take good care of her when she was sick and seemed little concerned about her welfare. The youngest child, Victoria, is at the County Hospital, while the two older girls were placed in an orphanage in the vicinity. Mr. Walczak is a teamster and works for a House Supply Company.

A brother of Mrs. Walczak's died of tuberculosis a short time ago.

### 25. The Family of Ignatius Pawlowski

*(A Non-supporting Husband for Whom a Term in the House of Correction Proves Necessary)*

[The family lives on the second floor of a very decent and well-kept, red-brick flat building of three stories, in a district that does not appear overly congested. The east side of the block consists of two- and three-story houses and flat buildings. There are small green patches inclosed with iron fences in front of the majority of them, and this house has a well-kept yard in the front and a flower garden just north of the building. As there is a vacant, grass-covered lot south of it, the flat has very good exposure. There is a public school and school yard directly opposite, and there is a saloon at the corner to the south. The south end of the school lot is rather disfigured by the remains of an old basement, in which there are pools of water, and by a rubbish heap. Poles and Germans are living in the neighborhood. Immediately to the north the district is not densely built up.]

*December 9, 1919* (*Wednesday*).—Mrs. Pawlowski, a Polish immigrant woman, in office asking help because Mr. Pawlowski has deserted.

*December 12, 1919* (*Saturday*).—Visited. Family lives in a comfortable six-room flat, for which they pay $17. It is fairly comfortably furnished. There is a good parlor set and rug in the living-room, and the other rooms also contain a few good pieces. Mrs. Pawlowski, who is twenty-seven years old, is of medium height, very thin, and does not appear to be very intelligent. There are two children, Stephanie (born January 1, 1915) and Veronica (born July 18, 1918). Walter (born February 14, 1916) died October 1, 1919. Stephanie goes to the public school kindergarten.

Mrs. Pawlowski said that she had never gone to school. Her parents owned a small farm in Russian Poland and she had to work on same until she came to the United States in 1911. She has one sister and one brother in Europe and a sister, Mrs. Ziemski, an aunt, Mrs. Miretsky, and two cousins here. On coming to Chicago she stayed with an aunt, who has since gone back to Poland. She worked in tailor-shops, doing very light work, because she was unskilled. Two years later she met Mr. Pawlowski, who her aunt thought was a very fine man, because they knew his family in Poland and they were very well off. She knew him only one month when they were married, and ever since she has had a hard life. Said he was "too high toned to put up with her ignorance" and was very abusive. He has two brothers, Vincent in Chicago and Justin in the army, and a cousin, Mr. Brodowski, in Chicago. He left her twice, staying away once one day and another time two days. About five weeks ago, when Walter became ill with diphtheria and scarlet fever, he told her that if anything happened to the boy he would leave her forever, because he had no use for her or for the other children. He left December 7, taking $100 in Liberty Bonds. Mrs. Pawlowski said they had roomers, but all left her after Mr. Pawlowski deserted. All savings were spent for Walter's funeral. They were married November 27, 1913, at Holy Name Church. Mr. Pawlowski worked for the Acme Express Company. [A previous address was obtained. Mrs. Pawlowski receives Rations No. 2 from County Agent.]

*Later.*—Called on Mr. Brodowski, a barber. He was very much disgusted with Mr. Pawlowski. Said that Mr. Pawlowski comes from a wealthy family. His parents own a farm and used to employ a great many people on same. One sister is married to an army officer and two sisters were lost during the war. Mr. Pawlowski and his brother, who is a bachelor, living in Chicago, are worthless men. Mr. Brodowski advised that Mr. Pawlowski should not be allowed to return to Mrs. Pawlowski. He used to mistreat her; and on one occasion he beat her, and a man who saw her afterward told him that she was "black" with bruises. Mr. Brodowski thinks that Mr. Pawlowski's mentality is low. They always used to call him "half-crazy." He thinks that Mr. Pawlowski has saved money. Mr. Brodowski said he had never seen Mrs. Pawlowski on the street. She has always taken care of the home the best she could, and he remarked that she is a wonderful woman to bear his insults without complaining. Once the neighbors had him arrested for abusing her.

*December 22, 1919* (*Monday*).—Visited. Veronica had a bad cold. Mrs. Pawlowski has not heard anything from Mr. Pawlowski. Left Christmas tree there and decorations for it.

*Later.*—Put in call for county doctor.

*December 26, 1919* (*Saturday*).—Called at Acme Express Company and talked with Mr. Chalmers, who said that Mr. Pawlowski had been employed there up to December 1, 1919. Reason for his leaving is unknown to him.

*December 24, 1919.*—Family supplied with basket from Christmas fund.

*December 30, 1919* (*Tuesday*).—Visited. Mrs. Pawlowski had just received a letter from Mr. Pawlowski, postmarked Youngstown, Ohio. He said that he was writing only for the children's sake, that it is only the children he feels sorry for and he is teaching Mrs. Pawlowski a good lesson; also that she will never find out where he is. [A letter was sent to the Youngstown Charity Organization Society sending this letter and asking help in finding the deserter. That society was unable to find him. See below February 13, 1920.]

*Later.*—Called on Mrs. Berzewsky, cousin of Mrs. Pawlowski. The family live in a nicely furnished four-room flat. Mrs. Berzewsky is a very pleasant woman. They have one child. Mrs. Berzewsky said ever since the Pawlowskis were married there was always trouble in the family. Mr. Pawlowski was very inconsiderate, very abusive, liked to spend money on clothing and furniture and never saved anything. She always told Mrs. Pawlowski to report him for his cruelty, but Mrs. Pawlowski did not care to do this because she loves him. Mrs. Berzewsky works nights, and her husband is a laborer at the Electric Company. Mrs. Berzewsky feels that she cannot do anything for Mrs. Pawlowski.

*January 5, 1920.*—Visited. Found house quarantined for measles. Mrs. Pawlowski had heard nothing from Mr. Pawlowski. The landlord has served notice.

*January 7, 1920.*—Called on Mrs. Ziemski, sister of Mrs. Pawlowski. The Ziemski family own a small house and keep chickens and ducks. Mrs. Ziemski is a very fine type of woman. Said Mr. Pawlowski was brutal to her sister, and on one occasion she found Mrs. Pawlowski all bruised from Mr. Pawlowski's abuse. She took her to her home and cared for her for two weeks. Mr. Pawlowski came over and cried and begged her to return to him. Mrs. Ziemski thinks he is not "quite right." Mrs. Ziemski is unable to help her sister.

Her husband is earning $23 a week, and they are still paying on the house and also paying off some debts that they accumulated during Mr. Ziemski's illness. They have three children, and Mrs. Ziemski expects to be confined in the near future. She felt very sorry for Mrs. Pawlowski.

*Later.*—Called at the American Trust and Savings Bank. They have no deposits under name of Pawlowski. (Mr. Brodowski thought family might have money in bank because of Mr. Pawlowski's large income.)

*January 8, 1920.*—Verified marriage at the Holy Name Church.

*January 13, 1920.*—Called at previous address. Landlord knew family well. While they lived there, Mr. Pawlowski was constantly scolding and abusing Mrs. Pawlowski. Thinks that Mrs. Pawlowski is rather irresponsible and spent money carelessly. Landlord was a member of the same lodge (Justin Garczynski, Group 258), but he thinks Mr. Pawlowski had dropped out.

*Later.*—Called on friend, Mrs. Gurewicz. She seemed to be a good hard-working woman and has three attractive children. She knows the family situation only from what Mrs. Pawlowski tells her. Mrs. Pawlowski had come to her home several times, crying that Mr. Pawlowski abused her and that he cared nothing for her or the children.

*Later.*—Called on Mrs. Darshewski, another cousin of Mrs. Pawlowski's. Said she had heard that Mr. Pawlowski's brother calls on her sister, Mrs. Galezewski.

*Later.*—Called on Mrs. Galezewski, who tells about the same story as Mrs. Pawlowski and other relatives. Mr. Pawlowski spent his money on clothes and furniture, and Mrs. Pawlowski did whatever he commanded her to do. They never saved any money. When Mrs. Pawlowski came to America, she stayed with an aunt, worked in tailor-shops, and continued this work for several months after marriage. Mr. Galezewski is earning $26 a week. They own the house they are living in but are still making payments on it. Mrs. Galezewski takes in sewing. There are four small children.

*Later.*—Called at Acme Express Company and talked with Mr. Pawlowski's foreman and the men on the night shift. They knew little of him. Said he was a fairly good worker, but never talked of his domestic affairs. He left without giving notice.

*January 14, 1920.*—Visited family. Placard had been removed from door, and Mrs. Pawlowski is planning to look for another flat.

Stephanie and Veronica are very attractive. They always look neat and seem well nourished.

*January 16, 1920.*—Visited and found quite expensive food on table and Mrs. Pawlowski said she had earned 50 cents by scrubbing.

*Later.*—Called at Wachowski's Bank and found that Mrs. Pawlowski had had an account there of $157 but drew some money out in December, leaving a balance of $60.

*January 22, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Pawlowski said that neighbors told her not to tell about the money. A few years ago she had boarders who were paying her $30 and $35 a month. She saved some of this money and at times Mr. Pawlowski would give her a few dollars to put aside. They had $300 saved, but during Walter's illness they paid a great many doctor bills and also the funeral bill.

*January 28, 1920.*—Called at County Agent's office, to read record. Mrs. Pawlowski stated that she was left destitute. She is receiving County Rations No. 2. Gave report to County Agent.

*February 9, 1920.*—Called on Mrs. Klemensky, a distant relative of Mr. Pawlowski. Mr. and Mrs. Klemensky blame Mrs. Pawlowski for most of the trouble. Mr. Pawlowski used to call on the Klemensky family and complain that Mrs. Pawlowski would not cook for him and that she was always arguing with him. Some of the boarders left on account of her. (A boarder told this to Mrs. Klemensky.) They have not heard from family for past two years. Mrs. Klemensky said that Mrs. Pawlowski looks badly because of abortions which she had.

*February 11, 1920* (*Tuesday*).—Called on Vincent Pawlowski, who knew nothing about his brother's whereabouts. Said they are both to be blamed. Mrs. Pawlowski is very ignorant and Mr. Pawlowski very unreasonable and nervous. While Vincent was in the United States Army, he sent money to the family to keep for him, but they spent it and since then he has let them alone. He said Mr. Pawlowski, about seven years ago, was working in a freight house in Youngstown, Ohio, under name of Fred Yankovich, and thinks he has gone there again. Visitor suggested that Vincent try to locate Mr. Pawlowski and tell him he should make some arrangement with Welfare Agency for the care of the children.

*February 13, 1920.*—The following letter sent to superintendent, Charity Organization Society, Youngstown, Ohio:

> Thank you for your letter of January 5, in regard to the Pawlowski family.
>
> We have recently interviewed Mr. Pawlowski's brother (since receiving your letter) and he tells us that his brother is probably working in Youngs-

town, Ohio, under the name of Fred Yankovich, in a freight house (he was not sure that it was the American Express Company). He also told us that our Mr. Pawlowski worked in Youngstown about six or seven years ago under the name of Yankovich.

May we ask you again to try and locate Mr. Pawlowski for us, under the new name, so that we may take steps to have him brought back to Chicago. We are sending Mr. Pawlowski's picture to you again to help in recalling the man to his employer. We are grateful for your interest and help.

P.S.—Would you kindly return the letter written by Mr. Pawlowski which we inclosed in our letter to you of December 30?

*February 17, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Pawlowski has moved into a very nice four-room flat. Told visitor that she knew Vincent Pawlowski longer than she knew her husband. She was supposed to marry Vincent, when Mr. Pawlowski came to America. She knew latter just one week when she married him. Vincent tells her that she deserves to be mistreated by her husband because she refused to marry him.

*February 26, 1920*—Visited. Mrs. Pawlowski was very much upset. Mr. Pawlowski came home and told her that he would not live with her but will support the children. He will call in the evening.

*Later.*—Visited and found Mr. Pawlowski at home. He is of medium height, fairly intelligent, and very neat in appearance. Told visitor that they owned a very large farm in Niedzwiadna, in Russian Poland, and had four brothers and three sisters. While his mother lived they did very well; but his father squandered all they had, although the father is now living in good circumstances with a sister, who is married to an officer. Mr. Pawlowski had a good education. Mr. Pawlowski said he is very nervous. Mrs. Pawlowski annoys him a great deal by her careless appearance and by doing housework while he is around. She would wash for several days. He loses his temper and is unable to control himself. Mrs. Pawlowski said she has not enough money to dress as he wants her to and that she does economize because she believes in saving; that Mr. Pawlowski calls her vile names and beats her. Mr. Pawlowski assured visitor that he would not do so if she did not antagonize him with her helplessness.

Mr. Pawlowski is going to take a day job, as he thinks that working at night has caused his nervousness, and is willing to live with Mrs. Pawlowski and give her another chance. He seemed very fond of

the children and cried while talking of the boy who died. He will take Mrs. Pawlowski to St. Anne's Dispensary for examination.

*March 16, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Pawlowski has been unable to keep any position and because of not feeling well he went to a doctor who told him that he had contracted a "bad sickness," of which he would cure him for $100. Mr. Pawlowski is downhearted and threatens to commit suicide. Mrs. Pawlowski complains likewise.

*March 29, 1920.*—Visited in the evening. Mr. Pawlowski said that a friend in Youngstown, Ohio, induced him to live immorally. He has called at Social Hygiene League and realizes that he needs treatments.

*Later.*—Reported case to Visiting Nurse Association.

*March 31, 1920.*—Telephoned Dr. Freeman at Social Hygiene League, who said that Mr. Pawlowski is diseased and is calling regularly for treatment. Mrs. Pawlowski is also having treatments. Gave report.

*April 28, 1920.*—Miss Frank, Visiting Nurse, reports that she has made arrangements for Veronica to go to St. Anne's Hospital to undergo an operation for hernia. Family refuses to have this done.

*April 30, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Pawlowski returned to the Acme Express and is working nights. He is keeping up his treatments at the Social Hygiene League. Mrs. Pawlowski is greatly discouraged as Mr. Pawlowski is nagging all the time. He threatens to desert her, which Mr. Pawlowski denies. Mr. Pawlowski said that Mrs. Pawlowski is constantly "throwing up" his sickness. He gives her whatever he earns, but she is never satisfied. Mrs. Pawlowski is very careless, and it is through his efforts that she keeps a clean house.

*May 6, 1920.*—Visited. (Mrs. Pawlowski had telephoned that Mr. Pawlowski was leaving her.) Mr. Pawlowski seemed very much upset. He slapped the little girl for calling him. Said he was through with Mrs. Pawlowski, that she was constantly nagging at him and it upsets him to see her do housecleaning all day long. Mrs. Pawlowski said he was dissatisfied with treatments at Social Hygiene League as he is not cured yet. He says he is leaving and will use his wages for "real treatments."

*Later.*—In Welfare Agency office, Mr. Pawlowski agreed to take another position at day work, where he will have a chance to learn a trade. Arrangements were made with Nelson & Company, but Mr. Pawlowski did not accept the position.

*May 9, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Pawlowski still working nights. He ran away on the previous day, after a quarrel with Mrs. Pawlowski, who had encountered him on the street and made a scene. He is now at home.

*May 17, 1920.*—Mrs. Pawlowski telephones that Mr. Pawlowski is again threatening desertion. Later visitor called with letters from Court of Domestic Relations, summoning both to appear in court the next day. Mr. Pawlowski said he would not change his mind in regard to leaving his family. The first three months he will not contribute toward their support as he plans to use his earnings for doctors.

*May 18, 1920.*—The psychiatrist at the court refused to give Mr. Pawlowski a mental examination because of his infectious condition. He felt it would endanger his patients if Mr. Pawlowski should sit in his office. Advised that Mr. Pawlowski be taken to House of Correction Hospital. Said he is a liar and thinks his condition is so bad that there is no doubt that he would commit suicide. He also made a very superficial examination (because of lack of time) of Mrs. Pawlowski and thinks there is no doubt that she is somewhat feeble-minded.

*Later.*—Case up in Court of Domestic Relations. Judge ordered Mr. Pawlowski to House of Correction for four months,[1] until September 18, 1920. Mrs. Pawlowski, in telling of financial condition, made statements differing from those made to visitor in her home. It seems that she has the habit of altering facts to fit the immediate occasion.

*May 20, 1920.*—Called at House of Correction. Mr. Pawlowski was examined and will receive treatments three times a week, but will not be confined to hospital.

*May 22, 1920.*—Accompanied Mrs. Pawlowski and children to Social Hygiene League for re-examination.

Tests of Mrs. Pawlowski were negative and the children are also in good condition. Mrs. Pawlowski is to continue her treatments.

*June 7, 1920.*—Mr. Justin Pawlowski, twenty-two-year-old brother of Mr. Pawlowski, in office. He has been serving in the Seventy-fifth Infantry for twenty-seven months, overseas most of the time, and is on leave of absence, visiting Vincent Pawlowski.

[1] [Letters from the Court of Domestic Relations and a hearing for non-support mean really commitment for treatment to the House of Correction. It should have been hospitalization by the Health Department as was done in the Chiesa case or threatened in the Johnson case. See above, pp. 21 and 405. Here, however, there are social and moral implications as well as hygienic.]

He wished permission to see Mr. Pawlowski. He is a young, healthy-looking boy, and speaks a broken English. He has not been in Chicago since 1917, when he was here a few days, though he spent a good part of 1916 here. The only explanation he could give for trouble between the Pawlowskis was Mr. Pawlowski's excessive nervousness.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Pawlowski much upset. Said that Mr. Pawlowski's relatives are very bitter against her because of his being in House of Correction. Mrs. Pawlowski said if it were possible she would like to have him released but get a divorce. Mrs. Pawlowski has no confidence in his recovery or in his attitude toward her and insists upon freeing herself from him so that she may remarry.

*Later.*—Accompanied Mrs. Pawlowski to Mr. Pawlowski's cousin, Mr. Brodowski, who sides with Mr. Pawlowski's brothers in regard to his release. Mr. Brodowski called visitor aside and told her that they learned that Mrs. Pawlowski was on very intimate terms with a boarder named Budelowsky and that Veronica is his child. Mr. Budelowsky has called on her since Mr. Pawlowski is in jail. Mr. Brodowski's friend called on family one evening and found this man there. Mr. Brodowski realizes, too, that Mr. Pawlowski has not been fair with his family, and his wife advised that situation rest as it is.

*June 11, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Pawlowski denied the accusations made by Mr. Pawlowski's relatives. Said that Vincent claims he has seen her leaving Mr. Budelowsky's room at night while he was living with family. Mrs. Pawlowski said if that were true, Mr. Pawlowski would have known about it. Mr. Pawlowski has always been fond of Veronica and only when angry called the children vile names.

*June 15, 1920.*—Visited. Stephanie had burned her hand while family was visiting Mrs. Pawlowski's sister. Dr. Schmidt attending her.

Telephoned Dr. Schmidt, who said burn was not serious. Payment for first visit was promised by Mr. Ziemski (Mrs. Pawlowski's brother-in-law). He will give his further services free.

Told Mrs. Pawlowski to take Stephanie to Dr. Schmidt tomorrow.

*June 29, 1920.*—Social worker, Social Hygiene League, telephones that Mrs. Pawlowski is using medicine to amount of 75 cents weekly. The disease still active.

*July 13, 1920.*—The following letter written to the superintendent, House of Correction, Chicago, Illinois:

On May 18, 1920, Ignatius Pawlowski was sentenced to the House of Correction for four months.

Previous to this time he had been under treatment with the Social Hygiene League. We were told March 31, that he required regular attention. This diagnosis was confirmed by the specialist of the Municipal Court.

I am wondering if at the time of the man's commitment, special arrangements were made, as we were told they might be, to ask the necessary medical attention for him.

We understand from the court specialist that it would not be safe for him to be with his family, and both we and they would be relieved to feel that everything possible is being done for his cure.

We thank you for any special attention you can give this man.

*July 17, 1920.*—The following reply received from the Superintendent of the House of Correction:

I have your letter of even date calling my attention to the case of Ignatius Pawlowski.

This letter was referred to our Medical Superintendent, who sent me a written report, copy follows:

"Ignatius Pawlowski was received with the primary lesion of syphilis. He was immediately put on a course of treatment and his condition has improved to such an extent that Wassermann is now negative."

*July 21, 1920.*—Visited. A man of about thirty-five was visiting Mrs. Pawlowski, who said he was Mr. Czaikowski, a friend of Mr. Pawlowski. Mr. Czaikowski said he had known Mr. Pawlowski for quite a few years, that he is very inconsiderate of his wife and always causing trouble in the family.

Mrs. Pawlowski said she was willing to take Mr. Pawlowski out, but is undecided as to whether she will get a divorce or let him go free. Thinks he will be unable to work the first week, as he is much run down.

*July 28, 1920.*—Visited Mr. Pawlowski at House of Correction. He looked very thin. Said he is not receiving treatments as they told him his condition is improved. Said he realized what he had done in the past, but said Mrs. Pawlowski antagonized him and this made him unreasonable. He has also heard rumors about Mrs. Pawlowski keeping company with a boarder, which he does not believe. He said that both the children are his, but that his wife does not tell the truth. When Mr. Pawlowski returned from Youngstown, he gave her $175 and a few days later $24 (sent by his employer in Youngstown). He was working four days at the Motor Player Company, for which he received $30. Then he worked irregularly, but always managed to give her money. She must have had $200, which she left with a friend. When

he asked about money, she told him that it was all gone, that she bought a dress for herself, paying $9.00 a yard for material.

He begged to be taken out, as he does not sleep nights and cries constantly. He is willing to go back to her or do his share toward supporting family. He has heard that Mrs. Pawlowski gave $50 to Mr. Budelowsky. (See write-up June 7, 1920.)

*July 29, 1920.*—Called on Mr. Brodowski, cousin of Mr. Pawlowski. Both he and Mr. Pawlowski's brother have tried to take him out of House of Correction after he had been there twenty-eight days. He refused to appear in court and said he would rather stay there than go back to Mrs. Pawlowski. He seemed very irrational, and Mr. Brodowski did not persuade him further. Mr. Brodowski feels quite sure that the two will never live together. They had a witness, a young woman from Gary, Indiana, who wanted to testify that Mrs. Pawlowski was the cause of all the trouble. Mr. Brodowski thinks that Mr. Pawlowski is childish and needs a stronger influence than Mrs. Pawlowski.

*July 30, 1920.*—Visited. Talked to Mrs. Pawlowski about possible savings. Said Mr. Pawlowski never gave her the amount stated, but admitted that he had some money which he would not give to her. Mrs. Pawlowski said he has taught her to lie,[1] as he was always counting out every penny he gave her. Up to the time of Walter's death, Mr. Pawlowski worked hard. Worked not only during the day, but also evenings. Walter was a very beautiful boy, and Mr. Pawlowski took great pride in him. It seemed whatever he did was for the boy's sake. He would dress him up on Sunday and take him out for a walk. When the boy became ill, Mr. Pawlowski was very restless and threatened to desert family if Walter died and since child's death, Mr. Pawlowski has been very inconsiderate. She has tried to take him out of House of Correction but was told she could not do this at present. Her last decision is that they should live apart, as she could never live with him because of his sickness and she does not believe that he will be cured.

*August 9, 1920.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Pyterek, aunt of Mrs. Pawlowski, there. (This is the aunt to whom Mrs. Pawlowski came from Europe.) Mrs. Pyterek is an energetic woman, although past sixty years. She has no children but has taken care of practically all of Mrs. Pawlowski's relatives. She works in a tailor-shop.

[1] ["Counting out every penny he gave her" is the explanation of many women's lying.]

Mrs. Pawlowski said they owned a very small farm in the Old Country. Her father left them when they were all young children. He was a good-looking man; he did not like farm work and, when he came to America, he lived with women who supported him. They had to mortgage their farm, and Mrs. Pawlowski's grandfather assumed the responsibility.

Mrs. Pawlowski's father was burned while working in a factory in the United States. He received a large compensation and with this money he returned to her mother. He was so disfigured that the children did not know him. At first her mother resented his coming back in this condition, but, because of the money, she forgave him. He got the farm back, put up new barns and stables, and told Mrs. Pawlowski and her sister, Mrs. Ziemski, that they should go to America, where they would not have to work on farms, but in shops. He thought them very attractive and told them they would marry well here. He gave them money for transportation and both came to their aunt, Mrs. Pyterek. Mrs. Pawlowski's parents have since died, and a married brother has taken over the farm. The youngest sister, who is still single, is staying with him.

Mrs. Pyterek said that Mr. Pawlowski will never live with Mrs. Pawlowski, as he has no use for her. She blames Mr. Pawlowski, saying that he has no sense, uses vile language, and she would not be surprised if he went insane. She does not believe any of the gossip regarding the boarders.

*August 21, 1920.*—Called at Social Hygiene League. Superintendent said Mrs. Pawlowski needs an operation and will be an invalid if this is not done.

*September 13, 1920.*—Called at House of Correction and talked with doctor, who said that Mr. Pawlowski was not receiving further treatments and therefore condition must be good, but will give him final examination. Later talked with Mr. Pawlowski, who seemed to have gained more strength physically and in will power. He is much more consistent and realizes his situation. Said he is unable to say just what he will do until he has seen Mrs. Pawlowski and talked things over.

*September 18, 1920.*[1]—Visited. Mr. Pawlowski was not home yet and Mrs. Pawlowski much upset at it, thinking that he has left the city. Mrs. Pawlowski later telephoned visitor that Mr. Pawlowski had returned and they are all happy about it. When visitor called

[1] [The day for the release.]

three days later, Mrs. Pawlowski was very happy and said she would never have believed that he could change so much.

*September 28, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Pawlowski started to work September 27. Gave Mrs. Pawlowski last allowance. Mrs. Pawlowski said she is very grateful to Welfare Agency. Mr. Pawlowski is good to her and the children and is anxious to earn enough money in order to make the home as pleasant as possible. Mrs. Pawlowski dresses very carefully and tries to meet him in every way.

*September 30, 1920.*—Accompanied Mrs. Pawlowski to County Hospital. Doctor advised operation and arranged for same.

*October 6, 1920.*—Called on Mrs. Ziemski (sister of Mrs. Pawlowski) who is caring for Pawlowski children. The Ziemskis exchanged their property, which was demolished by recent tornado, after it had been rebuilt by the Red Cross. Mr. Pawlowski is taking his meals there. He seems very anxious for Mrs. Pawlowski to return from hospital as he claims children are on the street too much. Is very bitter for having been committed to House of Correction as they are now in need of a great many things. Advised him to return to Social Hygiene League. Referred him to several places of employment, which he refused because of small salary.

*October 28, 1920.*—Visiting Nurse reports Mrs. Pawlowski has returned from hospital and is in good condition.

*Later.*—Called at West Side Dispensary and read chart. Mrs. Pawlowski has internal disorder of chronic character. Was operated on October 2, 1920, by Dr. Barnes.

*November 4, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Pawlowski is recuperating from operation, looks considerably better, and seems to be quite happy for having it done. Mr. Pawlowski helps with the housework. Visitor suggested Convalescent Home for Mrs. Pawlowski, but Mr. Pawlowski said he will not send children to Mrs. Ziemski again, as they were neglected. He realizes after his recent experiences with the household that Mrs. Pawlowski is an excellent housekeeper. It was finally agreed that Mrs. Pawlowski should stay at home.

*July 26, 1923.*—Visited. Mrs. Pawlowski had just finished cleaning house. The kitchen floor was immaculate as well as the oil cloth on the round kitchen table and the freshly starched curtains around the sink. The new cooking gas range and large coal stove fairly shone. Ice box in one corner of kitchen. The living and bedroom adjoining also appeared very clean and tidy.

Mrs. Pawlowski, as well as the children, was barefoot, but their

clothes were clean. Mrs. Pawlowski had difficulty in explaining things because she speaks so little English. The little girl, Stephanie, tried to interpret. Mr. Pawlowski is working steadily, and the family is getting along well. Mrs. Pawlowski was very proud of the fact that Mr. Pawlowski had taken out his second papers this year, but she now feels ashamed that she cannot speak English. Told her about English classes at a neighboring settlement. Stephanie has a rupture which causes her considerable pain at times. Mrs. Pawlowski would send her to the County Hospital for an operation if a Visiting Nurse would take her there. Mr. Pawlowski is not interested in having the operation performed. A Visiting Nurse had been to see the family, but the family had not then agreed to the operation. Told family visitor would get in touch with Visiting Nurse Association, and inquire about nurse's plans.

*May 4, 1924.*—Met Mr. Pawlowski on the street. He was very well dressed. He said they are very happy now, as they have a boy, Stanley, born in February. He is working steadily. Things are going very well in the home. He wishes visitor to come to see the baby.

*June 11, 1924.*—Visited (in the evening). The flat is well furnished and immaculately clean. Mrs. Pawlowski said that, especially since the boy was born, things are going very well, as Mr. Pawlowski is so fond of the child. She is very careful about the baby. Referred her to Infant Welfare Society. She told visitor that, while Veronica was putting the baby to sleep recently, she overheard her singing to the child: "Sleep, sleep, little brother, and keep well; if you would die, father would leave us again."

Talked with Mr. Pawlowski about his partiality to the boy, which he denies, saying that he likes to see the girls healthy and well and is anxious to have them dressed neatly. He said Mrs. Pawlowski is trying her best to keep the home as he likes to have it.

### 26. The Family of Stephen Gutowski

*(Whose Wife and Two Children Were Left Destitute When He Was Sent to Jail Because He Could Not Give Bonds in a Bastardy Action Brought by the Unmarried Mother of His Two Children Born out of Wedlock)*

*February 24, 1920 (Tuesday).*—Mrs. Gutowski reported by the Settlement as in need of food. Mr. Gutowski is in the County Jail, because he cannot give bond in Hattie Wolenski's bastardy action against him.[1]

[1] [See below, p. 896, for the terms of the Bastardy Act. The story of Hattie's action may be briefly reviewed here. In September of 1917, she had given birth to a boy baby born out of wedlock, whose father was Stephen Gutowski. The neighbors

*February 25, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Gutowski lives in two rear rooms of a two-story frame building, both of which are light and airy, for which the rent is $7.50. She moved here about three months ago, to be near her brother, Wojik Kurovsky, who lives in the same house. The home was immaculately clean, but Mrs. Gutowski seems to have only the most necessary articles of furniture, not even having a kitchen stove. The curtains were freshly washed and ironed, and the bedding was clean.

Mrs. Gutowski is an attractive, light-haired woman. She was neatly dressed in a coverall apron, and the children, Marya (born January 1, 1913) and Elizabeth (born November 4, 1919), wore clean dresses. Marya has had some trouble with her eyes and is wearing glasses. She goes to the Polish school. The baby is quite a large child for her age and seems to be well cared for.

Mrs. Gutowski came to America from Poland about eleven years ago. She went to work making cigars.[1] She met her husband through her brother and knew him for nearly two years previous to their marriage on February 27, 1911, at Holy Name. At that time he was doing pressing at Goldschmidt and Klein's. At the time of their marriage Mr. Gutowski did not have money saved up, and the family went into debt for household equipment. Although she knew

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had called in the Visiting Nurse, and the Visiting Nurse had called in the Welfare Agency. The two together had got for her hospital care, the Welfare Agency had given her some pecuniary aid; the Social Service Department of the County Hospital had got a companion in misery to live with her. She had either deliberately or unintentionally deceived the Agency about the father's name, and the Agency had let her go in December, 1917. In February, 1918, the Infant Welfare nurse had found her and asked the Welfare Agency to have her examined mentally, as the nurse thought she might be subnormal. Nothing was done, however, at that time. In November of 1919, the Settlement reported that she was again an expectant mother, that she has given the name of the father and that the Settlement worker had taken her to the Court of Domestic Relations. They cannot find the father, however. In the meantime, she needs relief. She expects confinement in February. The visitor finally learns the address of the father and gives it to the court. He is brought in for the preliminary inquiry in December, he is held over until February, when on the twentieth he is ordered to pay under the Bastardy Law and, being unable to give bonds, he is committed to jail. His wife and two children are then deprived of his support, and the Settlement reports them to the Agency.]

[1] [There are very interesting points here with reference to the subject of women's wage-earning and the problem of married women's work. Mrs. Gutowski was evidently a competent worker. She married without savings conscious that their current earning capacity could meet the necessary payments, and Mr. Gutowski was tempted to rely upon her ability to supplement his earnings.]

that Mr. Gutowski was a drinking man, she had never seen him completely under the influence of liquor; but a short time after their marriage he began to drink quite steadily. He has changed jobs frequently, giving as a reason that he becomes tired of working in the same place. And the family have moved frequently. Mr. Gutowski also easily became dissatisfied with their rooms, and for the last three or four years they never lived more than a few months in one place. About three years ago, Mr. Gutowski bought a milk depot at Monmouth and Ohio streets, but kept this only for three months and sold it at a loss of $300. Mrs. Gutowski has frequently been forced to supplement the family income by working in restaurants as dishwasher. There have been five children. Two years ago, during the influenza epidemic, two of them became ill and one died at the time. The other child lived until the following summer but was in very poor health until the time of his death. The other child died as a young baby. Mrs. Gutowski claims that she had never known anything about Mr. Gutowski's relations with Hattie Wolenski until after the birth of Walter, and she saw her for the first time when the case was brought into court in December, 1919. Mr. Gutowski left her for three weeks last spring, and she feels he must have been living with Hattie. He was often away from home for a night at a time, but Mrs. Gutowski did not think much about this as he was an unusually heavy drinker. He has a half-brother, Walter Morowsky. Since Mrs. Gutowski learned of his relations with Hattie, life with him has become unbearable, as he taunts her with remarks of how his "girl" would not treat him as she does. Since the case was up in court in December, he has scarcely spoken to Mrs. Gutowski. He has always been the type of man who never tells his wife much about his personal affairs. She has seldom known where he was working, because he changed positions so frequently. Mr. Gutowski belongs to the Clothing Workers' Union, but Mrs. Gutowski does not know to what branch. [The visitor obtained various previous addresses.[1]]

[1] [Any plan for investigation would include (1) her domestic competence including her power to hold him in reasonable fidelity; (2) his capacity to meet the double obligations of payment to Hattie, the mother of his two illegitimate children (both infant daughters were named Elizabeth); and (3) the general possibilities of raising the standard of family life. The clues were his brother, her brother, his employers, past addresses, the church. The visitor selects the previous addresses where the testimony is unanimous to the effect that she is a competent, industrious, neat housewife—a Griselda—while he was drunken, irregular, and irresponsible.]

*March 1, 1920.*—Visited previous address, 825 Mayflower Avenue. Family lived here for about four months. Mr. Gutowski supposedly worked in a tailor-shop. He was away from home a great deal. The baby was born at this address, and at the time of her birth Mr. Gutowski remained away from home for several days. From the little the neighbors knew of Mrs. Gutowski she appeared to be a neat housekeeper and took good care of her children, sending Marya to school regularly. They seemed to know little about the family because of their short time of residence there. The neighborhood is a rather new one and seems to be settled by families who own their own homes.

*Later.*—Visited parochial school in neighborhood. Marya attended school for a period of about eight weeks, and left because the family were to move about November 1. She was in first grade and seemed to be well nourished and was always neat and clean. She grasped instruction readily.

*March 3, 1920.*—Visited previous address 1025 Water Street. The family lived here nearly a year. Mr. Gutowski was reported by the landlady as being irregular as to work and also a heavy drinker. Was very abusive to his wife at times, and landlady felt that Mrs. Gutowski, who was a neat housekeeper, was far superior to her husband. Mr. Gutowski was working in tailor-shops; and landlady feels that he did not turn his money over to Mrs. Gutowski, as there were times when she would work as a dishwasher in restaurants.

While family were living here, two of the children became ill, and one of them was practically an invalid until the time of his death several months later. Mrs. Gutowski did not mingle a great deal with the neighbors.

*March 4, 1920.*—Visited Mrs. Zenowich, 1027 Water Street, friend of the Gutowski family. She has known family for several years and knew considerable about the present state of affairs; in fact, Mrs. Gutowski had been to see her just a few days previous. She also stated that Mr. Gutowski had always been a drinking man and that he had never properly supported his family and that Mrs. Gutowski had frequently been forced to supplement the income. She also knows Mr. Gutowski's half-brother and his wife. Mr. Morowsky seems to be a different type of man. She feels sure that Mrs. Gutowski has no resources whatever, as Mr. Gutowski has kept most of his salary for himself, although he has earned good wages as a presser. Mrs. Zenowich is inclined to blame Hattie Wolenski; she

thinks Hattie must have known that he was a married man; she also corroborated the statement that Mr. Gutowski was never satisfied and that he would frequently move, as well as change positions often. Mrs. Zenowich lives in the rear house in a rather run-down neighborhood. There are three children in the family, the oldest being about twelve. Although the baby is possibly a year old, Mrs. Zenowich goes out scrubbing. Her husband works in a foundry. Although it was almost 6:00, Mrs. Zenowich was preparing to go out and there were no signs of an evening meal.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Morowsky, wife of Mr. Gutowski's half-brother.[1] Her husband works in a foundry. When Mr. Gutowski's case was in court in December, Mr. Morowsky and Mr. Spacek tried to settle with Hattie Wolenski for the sum of $200 in order to get the thing cleared up. However, Mr. Morowsky has since decided to withhold further assistance as he feels his brother is unreliable. Mr. Morowsky came to this country after Mr. Gutowski. Since coming here he knows that Mr. Gutowski has not tried to keep in touch with the family in Europe, and although Mr. Morowsky has on different occasions asked Mr. Gutowski to write a few words to his mother, he never does although he promised to do this. After the Armistice was signed and it was possible to get money through to Poland, Mr. Morowsky attempted to have Mr. Gutowsky send some money to the family, but he refused to do this, saying he needed everything he made for himself.

Mrs. Morowsky's opinion is that Mrs. Gutowski is much too good for her husband; that she has made every effort to keep the home together, has always been a good housekeeper, clean and orderly in her habits, and inclined to humor Mr. Gutowski, who is erratic and undependable. When he has not supported adequately, Mrs. Gutowski has worked, either doing home tailoring or going out to work in restaurants. She also told of the illness of the two children, and the great care that one of them had been to Mrs. Gutowski the last year he lived. She also stated that Mr. Gutowski is never satisfied for any length of time and frequently changed positions. He has also forced Mrs. Gutowski to move from place to place, giving trivial excuses such as darkness of the rooms, dampness, etc.

Mr. Gutowski bought a milk depot about three years ago but kept it for only a few months, partly because he grew dissatisfied

[1] [Visitor follows past history by appeal to his relatives to get the other side. His half-brother's wife testifies to the same effect.]

with the business and partly because his neglect made it unprofitable. Mr. Morowsky has had very little real contact with his brother, because of his unreliability. Mrs. Morowsky is an attractive, young Polish woman, and the family have a small, two-room flat, which was cheerful and homelike, although plainly furnished. There were many family photographs on the walls, which Mrs. Morowsky took pleasure in pointing out to visitor. She showed photograph of Stephen Gutowski and his wife and Marya, taken at the time Mr. and Mrs. Morowsky were married. There are two children, a boy of three and a baby three weeks old. Mrs. Morowsky seems kindly disposed toward Mrs. Gutowski, who, she said, came to visit her a few days previous.

*Later.*—Visited Ignatius Spacek. Mr. Spacek runs a dairy in the rear of his cottage. He has known Mr. Gutowski for about ten years. Previous to his marriage, Mr. Gutowski was very much interested in women. He has always been a presser, with the exception of the time he ran the dairy and when for a while he worked for a railroad in one of the suburbs. Although he has made good wages, he has not supported his family, and Mrs. Gutowski has been forced upon several occasions to go to work. For a while, the family lived in a suburb; and then the Spaceks were more or less out of touch with them, and Mr. Spacek is of the opinion that Mrs. Gutowski did not know of her husband's affair with Hattie Wolenski until after the birth of Walter. Mrs. Spacek claims that Mr. Gutowski was in the habit of staying away from home for a night or two at a time, and she feels that Mrs. Gutowski must have had some suspicions that something was wrong. The Spaceks also told of the trouble Mrs. Gutowski had had with her children. They corroborated Mrs. Morowsky's story. After the case was in court in December, Mr. Gutowski came to Mr. Spacek and asked him to sign his bond. However, when the case came up the second time and Mr. Spacek learned that the bond would be a money bond, he decided to withdraw his assistance as he felt that Mr. Gutowski was not reliable. Mr. Spacek offered Mr. Gutowski $200 to settle with Hattie Wolenski out of court. Both Mr. and Mrs. Spacek are of the opinion that Mrs. Gutowski has absolutely no resources. She has a brother living in the same building, but he is not in a position to assist. The Spaceks are evidently on quite friendly terms with Mrs. Gutowski and spoke of having seen her recently. They also made the statement that there must be "something wrong" with Mr. Gutowski to have gotten himself in so much trouble, as he was forced to disappear at the time the first

child was born. Mrs. Spacek made the statement that Mr. Gutowski and Hattie "would make a good pair." Mrs. Spacek says that Hattie knew that Mr. Gutowski was a married man, for after Walter's birth, Hattie, who was living across the street, told Mrs. Spacek that the father of the baby was Mr. Gutowski. Mrs. Spacek told her that Mr. Gutowski was married and had children, but Hattie refused to believe her, claiming that Mr. Gutowski had been coming to see her for many years.

*March 11, 1920.*—Visited Mrs. Kurovsky, Mrs. Gutowski's sister-in-law. Mrs. Kurovsky professed to know very little about Mr. Gutowski's affair with Hattie Wolenski and explained this by saying that the family had been living in a suburb and she had not seen them. Mr. Gutowski has always been a drinking man and has never taken good care of his family.

She corroborated Mrs. Spacek's and Mrs. Morowsky's story about Mrs. Gutowski working at various times and also said that she had known Mr. Gutowski to stay away from home for several days at a time. Mr. Gutowski changed positions very frequently, and she gave as a reason for the family's frequent moves, Mr. Gutowski's dissatisfaction. She could give no names of Mr. Gutowski's employers, but she knew that he had worked most of the time at a tailor's. She did not seem to be interested in the court proceedings, and visitor felt that she and her husband wanted to keep out of trouble. Mr. Kurovsky works in a leather concern, making leather shaving-strops. The family live in a four-room flat, which seems to be comfortable and light. Mrs. Kurovsky has two children, one four years old and a baby of several months. They have living with them an aunt of Mrs. Kurovsky's whose husband died during the influenza epidemic of 1918. This aunt has two children, a girl of ten or eleven and a small boy of about five. The aunt works at a tailor-shop during the day, and Mrs. Kurovsky looks after the children. They have assisted Mrs. Gutowski since her husband was sent to jail but do not feel that they can do anything definite, as they are doing a great deal for the aunt and her children.

*March 15, 1920.*—Visited 2530 Adamson Street, previous address. The family lived here during the spring and summer of 1919, and neighbor woman thought they moved to Mayflower Avenue from this address. Mr. Gutowski was working as a tailor. Mrs. Gutowski was clean in appearance; kept the children well dressed and her home in good order. The neighbor stated that she could not visit

very much with Mrs. Gutowski as she could speak only Polish. While family lived here Mrs. Gutowski had a great deal of trouble with one of the children, which the neighbor understood had had influenza. Mrs. Gutowski seemed to take very good care of the child and managed to get out almost every day for a walk. She stated that as far as she knew, Mr. and Mrs. Gutowski got along well, as she never heard any unusual disturbances. She also thought that Mr. Gutowski was not a heavy drinker, as she never saw him come home under the influence of liquor. The family seemed to have a number of friends. The neighborhood is quite new, there being only two houses in this particular block.

*March 31, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Gutowski received supplies March 29 from County Agent. Mr. Gutowski worked for Kahn, Davis, and Fleischmann as well as Goldschmidt and Klein, and for the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Company. He has changed his positions frequently, and Mrs. Gutowski has not known where he has been employed. The family have no bank account; in fact Mrs. Gutowski has never had an opportunity to save. After Mr. Gutowski's trial in December, he bought himself a suit for which he paid $40 and a harmonica, although Mrs. Gutowski was sadly in need of clothing. For the last few years Mr. Gutowski has not been in good health, and just after the trial he went to the County Hospital for treatment. After the death of her two children, Mrs. Gutowski had a debt of over $200, which she has gradually paid off. This was for doctor fees. During the illness of both children she changed doctors a number of times, as they did not seem to improve. She has had Dr. Fuchs, Dr. Kramer, Dr. Drisek, and Dr. Baleuski. Mr. Sladek was the undertaker. Mr. Gutowski is insured with the Metropolitan for $500, paying his premiums semi-annually. Mrs. Gutowski thinks this amounts to something over $5.00.

Mrs. Gutowski has been working in a restaurant as dishwasher. She has also done considerable tailoring at home. Mrs. Gutowski feels quite embittered toward her husband because she had made every effort possible to keep up the home, has taken particular pains to keep it clean and the children well cared for, and has been especially careful in preparing foods for her husband, as he has not been well for years. She also feels that Hattie has received considerable of Mr. Gutowski's earnings. Mr. Gutowski has paid the lawyer, Mr. Lehman, $50. Mr. Gutowski was offered money by Mr. Spacek to settle with Hattie Wolenski out of court.

*April 13, 1920.*—Visited Mr. Lehman, the lawyer. Mr. Gutowski was referred to him by Mr. Spacek, the bondsman. Mr. Gutowski indicated to Mr. Lehman that his wife had about $400 in savings, which she absolutely refused to allow him to use in settling the case. Mr. Lehman does not know if this money was in the bank. He stated that it is impossible to secure a bondsman for Mr. Gutowski, as he has no personal property and has an unfavorable work record. If Mr. Gutowski disappeared, the bondsman would be liable for $1,100 and would have nothing for security. It seems that Mr. Lehman has dropped the case. There also seemed to be no question in his mind about Mr. Gutowski's being the father of Hattie's child, although Mr. Gutowski always denied the fact. Mr. Lehman does not know Mr. Morowsky, Mr. Gutowski's brother.

*April 15, 1920.*—Visited Mr. Gutowski in the County Jail. He denies the fact that he is the father of either Walter or Elizabeth Wolenski, and reiterated repeatedly that Hattie had many other men coming to see her, among whom was Ignatius Spacek, the milkman. Mr. Gutowski stated that the reason Mr. Spacek was so willing to go on his bond was in order to save himself, and he also stated that Mr. Spacek and Mr. Lehman framed up matters in such a way that he would have to go to jail and suffer the consequences of Mr. Spacek's act, who he feels is the father of the baby.

Mr. Gutowski met Hattie through her brother-in-law, who was working with Mr. Gutowski in the tailor-shop. This brother-in-law and Hattie's sister have both died. He stated that Hattie knew from the very beginning that he was a married man, that she had often seen him walking down the streets with his wife and children. He states his reason for going to see her after Walter's birth (who is also supposed to be Mr. Spacek's child) was due to the fact that he felt very sorry for the baby because Hattie left it alone a great deal, especially at night. He also stated that he had asked his wife to bring up the child, but she refused to do this. The only reason he could give for his contact with Hattie was the fact that he was sorry for the baby. He also told visitor that upon one occasion when he visited Hattie she locked the door and hid the key so that he was forced to stay there for the night. He told of another occasion when she had whiskey, and while under the influence of this he was forced to remain. He spoke of Hattie as "that woman" and upon another occasion he made the remark, "That damn woman, why should I have anything to do with her when I have the wife that I have!" He spoke

very highly of his wife. He claims that he has not given Hattie any money, except on possibly one or two occasions, but that he did buy clothing and toys for Walter because he felt sorry for the youngster. He also admitted that he moved Hattie from one address to another because he felt sorry for her, and then he moved her still a second time. Mr. Gutowski has been in this country about thirteen years. He is a presser, has worked for [a list of the great clothing firms was obtained]. His health has not been good, and upon several occasions he left the tailor-shop and went to work in other lines. Was employed in a machine-shop and also worked for the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Company.

He implied that he had been a good husband and that the family's frequent moving was due to the fact that his wife would always select rooms which were cheap as to rent and were usually so bad that he could not stand them and would insist on moving to better rooms. They have never been able to save anything as it has taken everything he made for living expenses, and they have had heavy obligations due to the illness and death of the children. He stated that his half-brother offered him the money to settle with Hattie out of court but that the half-brother would not do anything for him at the present because he and his wife were in sympathy with Mrs. Gutowski. He seems to be uncertain as to what his wife's attitude will be when his time is up, as she is distant to him. He would like to return to her and seems not to care what might happen to Hattie.

He states that he is feeling in miserable health, and he asked to be sent to the County Infirmary to work on the farm. Mr. Gutowski belongs to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, but he does not know to what local, as he has always paid his dues through the concern with which he was employed. He also has insurance in the Metropolitan. He is a short, stockily built man. He does not seem to have much personality or manhood. He cried during the interview and constantly spoke of his innocence, saying the whole procedure was a frameup and that he was "too kind hearted to live," giving as an instance the fact that he had $15 when taken to the County Jail, all of which he gave to prisoners who had no money.

*April 30, 1920.*—Visited Goldschmidt and Klein's, but could find no record of Mr. Gutowski. Later visited National Trust and Savings Bank, who had no records of an account. Mrs. Gutowski is receiving county supplies, Rations No. 2. She is going to Infant Welfare.

*May 7, 1920.*—Case up in General Advisory Committee. It was agreed that whatever assistance is needed be granted to Mrs. Gutowski during her husband's imprisonment and that efforts be made to secure a mental examination for Mr. Gutowski.[1]

*May 7, 1920.*—Letter written a psychiatrist who was both a criminologist and head of the Juvenile Psychopathic Bureau asking if he would examine Stephen Gutowski.[2]

*May 10, 1920.*—Letter received from psychiatrist:

DEAR MADAM: Replying to your letter of May 7 in regard to the case of Stephen Gutowski, a prisoner in the County Jail, whom you request that we examine mentally:

I should be glad to arrange for the examination in this case, as it seems to be an exceptional one and likely to cause the State a great deal of expense and trouble unless cared for. We cannot, however, make an examination unless we are requested to do so by the authorities. If the committing judge, sheriff, jailer, or other authorized official will make this request, I shall be very glad to have this examination made. Since this case was committed by the Court of Domestic Relations, it is possible that the Psychopathic Laboratory of the Municipal Court has some information on it. If the Court of Domestic Relations still has jurisdiction over him, this would be a matter for the Municipal Court, and, in that case, the head of the Municipal Psychopathic Laboratory should be consulted.

After looking into these various points, will you please let me know if you care to have us proceed further.

*May 13, 1920.*—Letter written to Judge Tolliver, Court of Domestic Relations:

On February 20, 1920, you heard in the Court of Domestic Relations, the case of *Hattie Wolenski* vs. *Stephen Gutowski*, proceedings for the support of the illegitimate child of Miss Wolenski. You found Mr. Gutowski guilty; and, because of his inability to give the required bonds, he is serving a sentence in the County Jail.

We are taking care not only of Hattie Wolenski and her two illegitimate children, but also of Mrs. Mary Gutowski and her two children. Miss Wolenski proves to be of very low mentality, and custodial care for her at the State School for the Feeble-minded has been suggested.

A closer acquaintance with Stephen Gutowski, secured through visits to him at the County Jail, has led us to question his mentality. He seems

[1] [A mental examination might mean his commitment to the State Colony for the Feeble-minded and her eligibility for Mothers' Pension, although there is no record of his first papers.]

[2] [There is a Municipal Court Psychiatric Bureau, but the one appealed to is the one with whom workers dealing often with the Juvenile Court are more familiar.]

very stupid and slow, and we have conferred with the psychiatrist as to the advisability of a mental examination for him. He expressed himself as willing to arrange this if you as the committing judge will signify your willingness or desire that such an examination be made.

I have also conferred with the Municipal Laboratory, and understand that this is not a case which would be handled in that laboratory. We will appreciate your co-operation in trying to get a better understanding of this very complicated problem.

*June 16, 1920.*—Bought new clothing for Mrs. Gutowski to the amount of $10.63.

*July 17, 1920.*—Letter written to Judge Tolliver, Court of Domestic Relations:

Following the receipt of our letter of May 13, I explained to you by telephone that what we wish is merely a brief statement from you, indicating that as the committing judge you would consider it advisable that a mental examination be given Stephen Gutowski. With this notation from you, the state alienist will arrange for the necessary examination.

Gutowski's term of imprisonment will soon expire, and we are very anxious that this examination be made at once. May we have a brief note at your earliest convenience?

*July 31, 1920.*—Mrs. Gutowski's baby has been troubled with intestinal trouble. Called county doctor. Talked with Visiting Nurse, who states that Mrs. Gutowski should be careful in feeding the child. She had been working at office of the Agency helping with cleaning, but was forced to give this up when Elizabeth became ill.

*August 28, 1920.*—Mr. Gutowski was released from County Jail August 19. He is not working yet, as he had been scalded by hot water while working in jail. Reported case to Visiting Nurse, who made several calls but was never able to find Mr. Gutowski at home.

Mrs. Gutowski states that her husband was very friendly to her when he first returned but is now becoming indifferent toward her and the children. He accuses her of being the source of all his trouble and threatens to return to Hattie Wolenski. On August 26, learned that Mr. Gutowski had left home. Mrs. Gutowski had no idea as to where he might go.

*August 31, 1920.*—Mrs. Gutowski reported that Mr. Gutowski returned home and has gone to work in a foundry.

*September 28, 1920.*—Although several visits have been made to the home in order to get in touch with Mr. Gutowski, visitor has never been able to find him in. He is working in a foundry and leaves the

house about 4:00 in the afternoon for work. He usually sleeps until about noontime and then goes out, returning about four to get ready for the evening. He never tells Mrs. Gutowski where he is going and is quite independent in his actions. He has been giving her a sufficient amount for household expenses.

[*July, 1923.*—The family moved out of the district shortly after this, and the Welfare Agency have never discovered their address.]

### 27. The Family of Joseph Novak

(*A Cabinet-Maker Who Drinks and Fails to Support His Family*)

*August 9, 1918* (*Friday*).—Mrs. Novak in office. Referred by Infant Welfare Society nurse. Mr. Novak has deserted. Wishes some advice as to what she can do with him. When he is at home he abuses Mrs. Novak and drinks heavily. Mrs. Novak crochets and in this manner earns a little money to help herself out. Mrs. Novak is pregnant four months and feels that she needs some help because she is in this condition. [The Court of Domestic Relations and the Adult Probation Department are registered, May 21 and 24, 1913.]

*Later.*—Visited. Family live in a very light, five-room flat on the second floor of a corner building. They pay $13. The rooms are large, have many windows, and seem to be airy. Mrs. Novak has the rooms furnished in very good taste, and everything is immaculately clean and neat. Mrs. Novak does a great deal to beautify her home by crocheting, as she has crocheted lace upon the curtains and bed spreads, tablecloths, etc. There are four children, Alexander (born December 15, 1909), Rosa (born September 28, 1912), Joseph (born January 11, 1915), and Eleanor (born January 9, 1917).

Mrs. Novak, who is twenty-six years old, was born and raised in Chicago. Went to All Souls Independent Church and School.[1] As she was the oldest in her family and her father died at an early age, she was forced to leave school when only twelve years old, 1904.[2] She went to work in a tailor-shop until her marriage. She shows evidence of being able to sew well, for her children's clothes are very neatly and well made, although the materials are not very good.

Mrs. Novak met Mr. Novak, who is three years older than she, at a picnic in a very informal manner in 1907. He asked to go home

[1] [All Souls is the independent Polish church; and, while they were married there, he belonged to St. Casimir's, under the regular church discipline.]

[2] [Her story makes both of them leave school at twelve, which was probably the case.]

with her, and she consented. However, they went together for nearly a year before they were married—May 18, 1908, at All Souls Church. Her mother is alive and lives in the same block.

Mr. Novak's family were raised around Mohawk Street. His family were members of St. Casimir's Church, and Mr. Novak attended school there until about twelve years of age, in 1901. After leaving school he went to work for Hollatz Brothers Furniture Company, and was there until about two years ago, when he lost his position because of drink.

About a year and a half after their marriage, Mr. Novak started drinking and going away from home for a few days at a time. He takes the pay that he has coming to him and disappears until the money is spent, and then he returns home. Mrs. Novak has a suspicion that he is interested in another woman.

Mr. Novak's family drink very badly, and Mrs. Novak stated that he has known no other sort of life and so thinks nothing of his treatment of her. Mrs. Novak's religion [i.e., belonging to the Independent Church] has always been a source of contention between his family and him; and if Mrs. Novak visits with him, his mother always talks abusively to her and to him about her. She has not been to visit his parents for years.

He has several brothers who are just like him, drinking and leaving their wives; and Mrs. Novak thinks they all go home to the mother's and they have drinking parties, as the mother drinks as badly as the boys. Mrs. Novak also stated that although they had plenty of income coming into the family, they are always hard up and needing help, due to drinking habits. Mrs. Novak also knows that Mr. Novak hangs around Madison and Racine Avenues in saloons around there, as that is near his work.

Mr. Novak is now working for the American Parlor Furniture Company. He lost his position with Hollatz Brothers because he drank and was irregular in his work. They were very good to Mrs. Novak and often sent her his money and often brought him home on Saturdays when he was paid so that she might have the money. [The names of two other employers were obtained and one previous address in the same block where they had lived four years.][1]

[1] [The clues are her mother, who lives in the same block; and his parents and a brother and sister who live together; the employer, past and present; and a former address. It is the former address to which the visitor goes first and obtains there a story of careful, competent housekeeping.]

About three months ago Mrs. Novak moved to her present address because the rent was raised at her previous address and her apartment consisted of only four rooms. After moving here, Mr. Novak has been worse than usual. About two weeks ago he took $40 and disappeared for nearly a week. Then again, August 8, 1918, he drew what money was coming to him and failed to return home at night. Mrs. Novak telephoned his employer and found that he had taken $20 with him. He was earning $29 a week.

Mrs. Novak is a very attractive-looking, young Polish woman and seems to be much above the average in intelligence and understanding. The children are very clean-looking youngsters.

The three younger ones had been sleeping when visitor called and got up during the conversation. Mrs. Novak dressed them, and everything that she put on them was very clean and well made, although some of it was pretty well patched.

Mr. Novak is in the draft and has been exempted at Board 63, Division 10. Mrs. Novak does not know how he answered the questionnaire. She wishes to get in touch with the Board and have him reported to the federal authorities. She has had him in the Court of Domestic Relations several times, but it has not done any good.

*Later.*—Visited previous address. Found family had lived there for over four years. Mrs. Novak has always been a very good housekeeper and has done everything in her means to keep the family together. Mr. Novak has always been a drinker. Has left Mrs. Novak at times and caused a great deal of disturbance so that the neighbors often complained. Corroborated Mrs. Novak's story about her taking out warrants for Mr. Novak, which has done no good. He would stop for a while and then he would start in again. Also corroborated Mrs. Novak's story about his being brought home from work by a foreman from the factory, so that Mrs. Novak would receive his pay. Neighbors very frequently had to help Mrs. Novak out and frequently gave her food for the children when Mr. Novak had left them without anything.

*August 14, 1918.*—Visited in the evening. When visitor rapped at the door, Mr. Novak opened it; and when visitor asked if Mrs. Novak were home, he stated that she was out. He admitted that he was Mr. Novak but told visitor that he did not wish to see her. However, when visitor persisted in talking to him in the hall, keeping the door open with her foot, he finally consented to having visitor enter, as he said he did not want the neighbors to know of his private affairs.

Mr. Novak is rather a short man, and stockily built, and looks as though he might be very brutal; was very aggressive, and resented anyone interfering with his business.

Mr. Novak at first denied that he left home for short periods and that he did not support his family properly. Was very blustering when he made these denials. Later he admitted he did drink; that it was a bad habit that he had; and that he deserved to be "smashed one in the nose" for treating his family so. He told visitor that he could stop if he wanted to and that there was no reason why his family should not get along because he made good money, but he admitted that there was no use in having big money if it was used for drink.

Mr. Novak told visitor that Mr. Schmidt, one of the members of the firm for whom he is working, had called him in, August 12, 1918, when he returned to work, and gave him a very severe talking about not supporting his family and told him that he would have to do better. He also telephoned Mrs. Novak and told her that he hoped matters would go all right with them and that he would do everything in his power to keep Mr. Novak from drinking. Mrs. Novak corroborated this story.

Mr. Novak agreed to try to keep from drinking so heavily, and visitor told him that she would keep in touch with Mr. Schmidt; and if he did repeat this performance again, she would refer him to Draft Exemption Board.

The children came in while visitor was talking to Mr. Novak. They had spent the evening with their grandmother. They were very clean and neat and attractive-looking youngsters. The house was also clean and well cared for, as at the previous visit.

Mrs. Novak was very grateful for visitor's call, and agreed to let the Agency know if Mr. Novak became very bad.

*August 15, 1918.*—Telephoned American Parlor Furniture Company and talked with Mr. Schmidt. Mr. Novak is a splendid upholsterer and does excellent work. However, his trouble is caused by drink, and they have difficulty in keeping him working regularly. He makes excellent money; he works piece-work and makes as high as $30 to $35 a week. Mr. Schmidt has talked to him and is going to try and use his influence to keep him from drinking.

*October 1, 1918.*—Visited. Mr. Novak is doing very much better this last month. Has been drinking but, as far as Mrs. Novak knows, only in his own home. Mrs. Novak allows him to have a pail of

beer at his meals. Mrs. Novak stated that he has brought home about $30 every week.

The home was just as neat and clean as on previous visits. The baby, who had just awakened from her afternoon nap, was eating milk and bread when visitor arrived. Mrs. Novak stated that she has always had the children sleep during the day time, and she removes their clothing and puts on their night dresses as she feels they rest better.

Mrs. Novak would like to have visitor call in the evening to see Mr. Novak,[1] as he has made the remark to her, that he wondered if visitor would call again.

*November 4, 1918.*—Mrs. Novak telephoned visitor Mr. Novak has deserted.

*Later.*—Mrs. Novak in office by appointment. Mr. Novak left home October 31, 1918, drawing his salary, and also taking $40 from Mr. Schmidt which had been given him to buy leather for upholstering. Mrs. Novak stated that this is the first time she has ever known him to take something that did not belong to him. Mrs. Novak is going to call on his employer after leaving the office, as Mr. Schmidt telephoned her this morning asking for Mr. Novak's whereabouts.

Since visitor called on Mrs. Novak previously, Mrs. Novak has had a miscarriage brought about by Mr. Novak's treatment of her. Mrs. Novak still owes the midwife money for caring for her. Joseph had influenza and developed pneumonia, and Mrs. Novak called in Dr. Castle to attend him; also owes him $25. Mrs. Novak has nothing to live on at the present time but has been receiving aid from her mother and sister.[2]

Mrs. Novak has suspected that Mr. Novak is interested in other women, and a neighbor, Walter Gutowski, has told her that Mr. Novak has had a woman calling at his place of employment for him in the evening. Mr. Novak secured exemption[1] because of his wife and children, and Mrs. Novak signed his questionnaire. Mrs. Novak, however, stated that she will not live with Mr. Novak any longer and that she would like to go to the Board and have Mr. Novak's

[1] [The suggestion that a call be made in the evening would seem an easy one to comply with. It is a nice home and some contact with him should be possible. But it was just then that the influenza epidemic was developing.]

[2] [Mrs. Novak tells of debts, but no question is raised as to his possible saving out of what he called "big money." His drunkenness would account for the destitution she described.]

exemption recalled. She stated that she had gone back to Mr. Novak twice on the advice of the Court of Domestic Relations, but she feels that it has been of little use to make the effort.

[The threat of the Board is very terrible but it is understandable.[1] The following summary regarding the classification of registrants is in convenient form:]

### Classification of Registrants

In selecting the quota for the national army there was considerable trouble in regard to exemptions. On November 14, the provost marshal general issued a new classification of the registrants as follows:

#### CLASS I

*a*) Single man without dependent relatives.

*b*) Married man, with or without children, or father of motherless children who habitually failed to support his family.

*c*) Married man dependent on wife for support.

*d*) Married man, with or without children, or father of motherless children; man not usefully engaged, family supported by income independent of his labor.

*e*) Unskilled farm laborer.

*f*) Unskilled industrial laborer.

Registrant by or in respect of whom no deferred classification is claimed or made.

Registrant who fails to submit questionnaire and in respect of whom no deferred classification is claimed or made.

All registrants not included in any other division in this schedule.

#### CLASS II

*a*) Married man with children or father of motherless children, where such wife or children or such motherless children are not mainly dependent upon his labor for support for the reason that there are other reasonably certain sources of adequate support (excluding earnings or possible earnings from the labor of the wife) available, and that the removal of the registrant will not deprive such dependents of support.

*b*) Married man, without children, whose wife, although the registrant is engaged in a useful occupation, is not mainly dependent upon his labor for support, for the reason that the wife is skilled in some special class of work which she is physically able to perform and in which she is employed, or in which there is an immediate opening for her under conditions that will enable her to support herself decently and without suffering or hardship.

[1] [See U.S. Statutes, Sixty-fifth Congress, First Session, chap. 15, sec. 4 (1917, p. 79).]

*c*) Necessary skilled farm laborer in necessary agricultural enterprise.

*d*) Necessary skilled industrial laborer in necessary industrial enterprise.

CLASS III

*a*) Man with dependent children not his own but toward whom he stands in relation of parent.

*b*) Man with dependent aged or infirm parents.

*c*) Man with dependent helpless brothers or sisters.

*d*) County or municipal officer.

*e*) Highly trained fireman or policeman, at least three years in service of municipality.

*f*) Necessary custom house clerk.

*g*) Necessary employee of United States in transmission of the mails.

*h*) Necessary artificer or workman in United States armory or arsenal.

*i*) Necessary employee in service of the United States.

*j*) Necessary assistant, associate, or hired manager of necessary agricultural enterprise.

*k*) Necessary highly specialized technical or mechanical expert of necessary industrial enterprise.

*l*) Necessary assistant or associate manager of necessary industrial enterprise.

CLASS IV

*a*) Man whose wife or children are mainly dependent on his labor for support.

*b*) Mariner actually employed in sea service of citizen or merchant in the United States.

*c*) Necessary sole managing, controlling, or directing head of necessary agricultural enterprise.

*d*) Necessary sole managing, controlling, or directing head of necessary industrial enterprise.

CLASS V

*a*) Officers—legislative, executive, or judicial—of the United States or of any state, territory, or District of Columbia.

*b*) Regular or duly ordained minister of religion.

*c*) Student who on May 18, 1917, was preparing for ministry in recognized school.

*d*) Persons in military or naval service of United States.

*e*) Alien enemy.

*f*) Resident alien (not enemy) who claims exemption.

*g*) Person totally and permanently physically or mentally unfit for military service.

*h*) Person morally unfit to be a soldier of the United States.

*i*) Licensed pilot, actually employed in the pursuit of his vocation.

Members of well-recognized religious sect or organization, organized and existing on May 18, 1917, whose then existing creed or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form, and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein.

To enable the boards to classify the registrants in accordance with this plan each registrant not already in the service was required to fill out an elaborate questionnaire.[1]

*November 5, 1918.*—Visited Local Board 63. Mr. Novak was exempted because of wife and four children. Stated he was earning $80 a month, which he turned over to Mrs. Novak, and he was with the American Parlor Furniture Company when he signed the questionnaire. Chief clerk suggests that visitor get definite data concerning Mr. Novak's irregularity, drunkenness, etc., and they will call him in and reclassify him. Mr. Novak is now in Class IV–A.

*Later.*—Visited Hollatz Brothers. Mr. Hollatz states that Mr. Novak came to work for him when a young boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age. He went to work in the upholstery department under Mr. Hollatz; was always steady and reliable and an excellent workman before his marriage. About three years after his marriage, he began to drink and, as the years went by, he became very unreliable. Mr. Hollatz stated that he had often gone to the home himself with Mr. Novak's pay, and he seemed to know Mrs. Novak quite well. He stated that he had always seen the home in good order and the children appeared to be well cared for. About four years ago Mr. Novak was discharged, and during the period of a year he held a number of positions, after which Mr. Hollatz took him back again. However, he was drinking so very hard and was so irregular as to time and work, he was let go a second time, and Mr. Hollatz would not consider taking him back.

Mr. Novak has a sister who is working for Mr. Hollatz at the present time and is a very reliable girl, but another brother drinks very heavily. Mr. Hollatz knew about Mr. Novak's trouble and about his having stolen money from his employer through Mr. Novak's sister. Mr. Hollatz appears to know the family situation very well, and he stated that Mr. Novak was the type of a man that went around a great deal and frequented many saloons.

*November 9, 1918.*—Visited American Parlor Furniture Company. Talked with Mr. Schmidt. Mr. Novak left work October 1, 1918,

[1] [*Chicago Daily News Almanac and Year-book for 1918*, p. 485.]

with his own pay check and a check for leather goods that Mr. Schmidt had asked him to buy. He did not show up next day, and Mr. Schmidt found his goods in a saloon on Madison and Racine, where Mr. Novak probably went to cash his pay check. Mr. Novak returned to work November 8, 1918, stating that he had lost his pay in the saloon.[1]

Talked with Mr. Novak, who said he spent the rest of the time he was away working for the Randolph Street Market, driving a team, and that he has a check of $7.90 coming for his four days' work. He spent the nights in a lodging-house on Halsted Street. Mr. Novak has returned home, but Mrs. Novak refused to take him back.

Mr. Novak offered to have his pay turned over to Mrs. Novak each week if Mr. Schmidt would take him back to work. Mr. Schmidt agreed to do this, and Mr. Novak signed a paper, a duplicate copy of which was given to visitor.

Mr. Schmidt stated that Mr. Novak is an excellent workman when working and that he could make from $40 to $50 a week if he would keep sober. However, he is not a steady drinker but has sprees when he will drink for several days at a time. Told Mr. Novak that visitor would call on Mrs. Novak and give him a report of visit.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Novak ironing. Was very much upset that Mr. Novak wishes to return, as she has taken him back many times and finds that she has the same thing to go through with again. However, Mrs. Novak is very fair to Mr. Novak and stated that he was a good father to the children and was fond of them. He is also good to her when sober and allows her to manage the money ordinarily.

However, his drinking sprees are becoming more frequent, and, when on one, he takes all the money he can lay his hands upon and stays away for days, returning most of the time with all his money and part of his clothing gone. Mrs. Novak has had him in the Court of Domestic Relations twice and gone back to him on their recommendation, and she feels it has done no good and that the situation was becoming worse. Upon the other hand, he would be a "down and outer" in the course of a few months if Mrs. Novak decides to separate from him.

Mrs. Novak wishes to think over the situation, as she does not want to do anything rash, and will telephone visitor in an hour.

[1] [Mr. Novak had not stolen from his employer. He had bought the goods, but never taken them to the employer when he had gone to cash his pay check. Such an entry recalls the English Truck Acts and the whole question of payment of wages in lawful money. See Freund, *Police Power*, §§ 319–21.]

*Later.*—Mrs. Novak telephones that she feels she cannot take Mr. Novak back. If he will agree to send her money for the support of the children and will conduct himself as a man, she will agree at the end of four months to live with him again.

*Later.*—Telephoned report to Mr. Schmidt, and he agrees to try and keep Mr. Novak from getting drunk over Sunday.

*November 11, 1918.*—Mr. Novak telephoned asking visitor to call as he is back home.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. Novak went to Mrs. Novak's mother, November 10, 1918, and begged her family to use their influence with Mrs. Novak to take him back, which they did. Mr. Novak is perfectly willing to have Mrs. Novak receive his pay, and stated that he always made a fool of himself when he got to drinking. Stated that if someone kept in touch with him, he might be able to overcome the habit. Showed visitor check for $7.90 which he had received for teaming. Wishes visitor to keep in touch with his family and also with Mr. Schmidt.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mr. Schmidt, who will notify visitor whenever Mr. Novak fails to appear for work; he will also send Mr. Novak's pay direct to Mrs. Novak by check. Wishes visitor to keep in touch with Mrs. Novak and report to him as to what time Mr. Novak returns from work, as he wishes to learn whether Mr. Novak frequents saloons on the way home.

*November 18, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Novak seemed to be very cheerful. November 15 she received from Mr. Schmidt a check for $21.50, pay for three days' work with the American Parlor Furniture Company. She feels that if she can receive his salary each week possibly it will be easier to keep Mr. Novak from going to saloons. Mr. Novak has been coming home from work about 5:45 each evening. Mr. Novak has a fear of what people will think of him. Mrs. Novak will telephone visitor whenever Mr. Novak gets drunk, or whenever he does not come straight home from work. Mrs. Novak showed visitor bill from Mrs. Dora Kucharski, for $3.00 which she claims is for drinks. Mrs. Kucharski owns a saloon. Mrs. Novak is perfectly willing to sign papers in order to prevent Mr. Novak from obtaining drinks.[1]

[1] ["Signing papers" means taking action under *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 43, secs. 81 and 82:]

"81. *Liability for support, etc.* Every person who shall, by the sale of intoxicating liquors, with or without a license, cause the intoxication of any other person, shall be liable for and compelled to pay a reasonable compensation to any person

*November 19, 1918.*—Case brought before Polish Advisory Committee. Decision: That Welfare Agency keep in touch with family and, if Mr. Novak commences to drink again, Judge Kolecki, former municipal court judge, will visit and endeavor to help Mr. Novak keep sober.

*December 12, 1918.*—Visited. Mr. Novak has been keeping sober, and Mrs. Novak in an effort to keep Mr. Novak away from the saloons has allowed him to have beer occasionally at home. Mr. Schmidt has sent Mr. Novak's check to Mrs. Novak every week. Last week she received $38. Mrs. Novak states that Mr. Novak apparently seems to be satisfied with this arrangement and does not ask her for any more money than is necessary for him to get along on. Mrs. Novak has been able to put some in the bank.

Mr. and Mrs. Novak are planning to move out into the suburbs next spring, and Mrs. Novak feels that, if they put their money into their own home, this will probably give Mr. Novak enough pride to see that everything is kept up.

*January 14, 1919.*—Report given to Polish Advisory Committee.

*January 16, 1919.*—Letter received from Mrs. Novak stating that Mr. Novak was drinking again.

*Later.*—Visited. On the evening of January 14, Mr. Novak did not come home until 2:00 A.M. The Saturday previous to that

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who may take charge of and provide for such intoxicated person, and $2.00 per day in addition thereto for every day such intoxicated person shall be kept in consequence of such intoxication, which sums may be recovered in an action of debt before any court having competent jurisdiction.

"82. *Suit for damages by husband, wife, child, etc.—Forfeiture of lease, etc.* Every husband, wife, child, parent, guardian, employer or other person, who shall be injured in person or property, or means of support, by any intoxicated person, or in consequence of the intoxication, habitual or otherwise, of any person, shall have a right of action in his or her own name, severally or jointly, against any person or persons who shall, by selling or giving intoxicating liquors, have caused the intoxication, in whole or in part, of such person or persons; and any person owning, renting, leasing or permitting the occupation of any building or premises, and having knowledge that intoxicating liquors are to be sold therein, or who having leased the same for other purposes, shall knowingly permit therein the sale of any intoxicating liquors that have caused, in whole or in part, the intoxication of any person, shall be liable severally or jointly, with the person or persons selling or giving intoxicating liquors aforesaid, for all damages sustained, and for exemplary damages; and a married woman shall have the same right to bring suits and to control the same and the amount recovered, as a feme sole; and all damages recovered by a minor under this act shall be paid either to such minor, or to his or her parent, guardian or next friend, as the court shall direct; and the unlawful sale, or giving away, of intoxicating liquors, shall work a forfeiture of all rights of the lessee or tenant, under any lease or contract of rent upon the premises where such unlawful sale or giving away shall take place; and all suits for damages under this act may be by any appropriate action in any of the courts of this state having competent jurisdiction."

he had not returned until 8:00 P.M. Mrs. Novak is worried for fear he is going to start drinking. Mr. Novak offered the excuse to Mrs. Novak for staying out late, that he had been sent by Mr. Schmidt to hunt up men to work in the factory. Mrs. Novak had not given him any more money than usual to spend, and she does not know where he got the extra money.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mr. Schmidt, who told visitor that he had not sent Mr. Novak out to look for men and that there was no reason why Mr. Novak could not have gone directly home after work. Gave Mr. Schmidt report of visit, and he agreed to talk to Mr. Novak.

*January 30, 1919.*—Telephoned Judge Kolecki report of family. He agreed to visit Mrs. Novak occasionally, and will report to visitor.

*March 11, 1919.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Novak very cheerful and happy. Mr. Novak is said to be working steadily and is not drinking since his pay has come to Mrs. Novak regularly. If she has any further difficulty with him, she will report to the Agency.

*October 29, 1919.*—Met Mrs. Novak on street. Mr. Novak has changed his position, and is now with the Illinois Novelty Furniture Company, where he is holding the position of foreman. Mr. Novak earns $50 a week, and Mrs. Novak stated that she receives between $70 and $80 a week, as Mr. Novak puts in a great deal of overtime. She has same arrangement with this concern as with the American Parlor Furniture Company, and it seems to work very well. Mrs. Novak is able to put some money in the bank each week. She seems to be very happy now that prohibition is in effect. Mr. Novak will eventually get over this craving for drink. He has been drunk only once since July 1.

*September 23, 1920.*—Visited at Mrs. Novak's request. For several months Mr. Novak has been a member of the Chicago Parlor Furniture Company, with a small factory two blocks from their home. The business has been doing well, but Mr. Novak's position has given him the handling of considerable cash and put him in the position of treating and being treated to drinks. Mrs. Novak is fearful that he might have trouble with the funds. Mr. Novak came in; while courteous and evidently still under the influence of liquor, was blustering in his statements and upset because Mrs. Novak had come to the factory and created a scene. He insisted that no one would be more pleased than he if the saloons were closed but that his business necessitates a certain amount of "treating." He realizes that a very little liquor intoxicates him. Regular payments have

been made on the home, a modern two-story apartment in good repair. Mrs. Novak was violent in her statements and could not see that embarrassing Mr. Novak at the factory might cause more trouble.

*July 19, 1923.*—Visited. Family not at home. Mrs. Novak is working. The children stay at the grandmother's house during the day. The present home is quite superior to the former home. The family now lives on the first floor of a very modern-looking, two-story brick apartment building, which looks very well taken care of. There are grass plots on either side of the building both east and west. The street just to the west is quite attractive with comfortable-looking frame houses and new-looking brick and stone flat buildings. There are nice gardens and shade trees on this street. To the east, the neighborhood is not so desirable.

The district has been mostly Polish for a number of years, though a good many Germans live on a neighboring block and there are also a few Jews.

### 28. The Return to His Family of Benjamin Lawrence

*(A Deserting Husband Whose Return to His Family Is Hastened by the Co-operation of the National Desertion Bureau)*

[The following letters taken from the record of the Bureau's service to this family reveal the relationship between the Jewish Welfare Bureau and the National Desertion Bureau[1] and among the agencies in different communities when the National Bureau has once functioned. The record contains the story not only of this service but of the care and support given the wife and children, the conferences with employers, etc.]

1. Letter, dated October 17, 1922, to Miss Bernice M. Clay, United Charities, 768 East Lake Street, Cleveland, Ohio, from district supervisor, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

At present we are interested in Mrs. Ben Lawrence and her two small children. We have been told that Mr. Lawrence was employed at the Universal Publishers Service, 631 King Street, Room 114, your city with a branch office in Chicago. Approximately two months ago he suddenly ceased writing to his wife, who was then living in Chicago. According to

[1] [With reference to the National Desertion Bureau, see Bogen, *Jewish Philanthropy*, pp. 32, 171–79. See also papers there cited from the National Conference of Jewish Charities.]

information we have received, it appears that Mr. Lawrence left Cleveland without having given any clue whatsoever as to his intentions. Mrs. Lawrence also told us that she had found out that her husband took about $300 from the above firm and that that firm is also interested in locating him.

May we ask you kindly to interview the Universal Publishers Service and ascertain whether they have been successful in any of their efforts. We should also appreciate any information about the man that could possibly lead us to some definite results.

Mrs. Lawrence and her two children are living in Chicago with approximately no means of support, and it has become apparent that this organization will probably have to take care of the family. We are very anxious to secure all possible facts concerning Mr. Lawrence so that we can exert every effort to trace him.

May we ask you kindly to give this matter your attention as quickly as possible.

2. Letter, dated January 24, 1923, to counsel for the National Desertion Bureau, 356 Second Avenue, New York City, from district supervisor, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Inclosed is an application statement for Mr. Benjamin Lawrence, who disappeared from Cleveland on August 1, 1922. In addition to the information contained on the blank, we wish to state that on November 2 we were informed by Mr. Feder, Mr. Lawrence's former employer, that after Mr. Lawrence left Cleveland Mr. Feder received a letter from him, posted in Buffalo and marked "General Delivery," in which Mr. Lawrence stated that he would return the money as soon as he was able. The money referred to, presumably, is $50 loaned to Mr. Lawrence, plus $300, which Mr. Lawrence took from the Universal Publishing House.

We did not refer this matter to you before as the family seemed quite hopeful that Mr. Lawrence would return home soon. Mrs. Lawrence is anxious to have this matter given all possible publicity and volunteered to send you the photographs of her two children if you think this will in any way help locate Mr. Lawrence.

3. Letter, dated February 2, 1923, to counsel for the National Desertion Bureau, 356 Second Avenue, New York City, from district supervisor, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Benjamin Lawrence
3116 West Carpenter Street

On January 24 we wrote you regarding Mr. Lawrence. Up to that time we had had two interviews with his former employers at the Universal Publishers Service Bureau, Inc. On Monday, January 29, we again went to the office and talked with a Mr. Levy and Mr. Feder. After we had

told them that we are now almost convinced that Mr. Lawrence has left his family, not because of any domestic difficulty, but because of the money he owed their firm, Mr. Feder showed us a letter written to him by Mr. Lawrence from Buffalo on August 1. In this letter Mr. Lawrence continually repeated that he is ashamed of himself for having taken the money, $300, from the company and cannot bear to come back and "show his face." He declared that he would make good as soon as possible, but was going away until such a time. Mr. Feder could reach him through Buffalo general delivery, he said, but, though Mr. Feder wrote, his letter was returned. Because of this letter Mr. Levy and Mr. Feder believe that we are correct in believing that Mr. Lawrence is staying away because of his financial troubles. They therefore gave us the following address at which place they believe Mr. Lawrence is working: Mr. Lewis Bean, Great Lakes Publishing Company, 525 Ontario Building, Room 903, Buffalo, New York.

From all indications Mr. Lawrence is a rather intelligent man, fond of his children and fairly honest. For this reason Mr. Levy and we believe that if he is approached in the correct manner he will return without protest to his family. We believe that his presence in Buffalo should be established without his knowledge of our interest in him lest he become frightened and leave or assume another name. Then he should be approached with an appeal to his love for his children (they are fine and healthy—the younger one he has never seen) and home. If he mentions the money he should be told that Mr. Feder is only interested in the welfare of Mr. Lawrence's family and has assured us that he will not prosecute Mr. Lawrence if he returns to Chicago and takes up his responsibilities. Mr. Feder and Mr. Levy believe firmly that if Mr. Lawrence is appealed to in the right way he will come back and they are sincere in their desire to have him "do the right thing" for his family. They will help him in every way possible. However, they said that should we fail in this they will take the matter into their own hands and see that Mr. Lawrence is brought back.

We realize the delicacy of the situation and are anxious for your full co-operation in the matter. Therefore will you kindly communicate with us regarding it as early as possible?

4. Letter, dated February 19, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau, New York City, to superintendent, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Supplementing our communication of February 8, *re* Benj. and Mary Lawrence, permit me to inclose herewith a copy of a letter this day received from Buffalo relative to this matter. Immediately upon receipt of same I wired Buffalo requesting that they forward the letter to you. I presume that it will reach you about the same time that this letter will.

I await your further instructions.

5. Letter, dated February 15, 1923, from Hebrew Welfare Organization, 5224 East Twentieth Street, Buffalo, New York, to the National Desertion Bureau:

*Re* Benj. Lawrence

We were unable to arrange an interview with Benj. Lawrence until February 13. Mr. Lawrence made no attempt to avoid mention of his trouble with his former employers, but referred to it repeatedly in an attempt to explain his reason for not communicating with his family. He stated he had moved to Cleveland from Chicago about eight months ago and tried to establish his household there. Two months before his youngest child was born his wife returned to Chicago in order that she might be with her own people at the time of confinement. Mr. Lawrence could not meet the added expense connected with the moving, traveling, and doctor bills at that time and found it easy to take his employers' money to pay his debts. When he realized he would not be able to cover up his theft he lost courage and left Cleveland.

He knew that his disgrace would become known to his wife, yet he could not bring himself to write any explanation to her. She cannot read or write English and it is necessary that there be a third party to all of their correspondence. This has been embarrassing at best. Since this money matter has come up it has hurt him especially to think that what he wrote to her would not be for her eyes alone. His brother is married to a sister of his wife and that branch of the family would, in all probability, know even the most minute detail connected with his difficulties. He does not feel that they would treat any information that they might have as confidential nor with any degree of sympathy.

He has not now the moral courage to face what he calls "their ridicule and nagging" if he should return. He is certain that the affair has had considerable publicity among his former friends and acquaintances and he is ashamed to meet them. He refuses under any circumstances to return to Chicago. He is greatly worried about his wife and children, of whom he professes to be very fond. He has fretted and stewed so much over the present situation that his ability as a salesman has been impaired. He made no definite statement of his wage, but said that he had made barely enough to support himself. He thinks he is not in a position to send for his wife to come to Buffalo or even to send her money to Chicago.

It did not seem wise, at the time, to press Mr. Lawrence too much to make immediate financial contribution to his family's support. On our visitor's advice, however, Mr. Lawrence agreed to write to his wife and to deliver his letter to the visitor so that she might send it directly to some agent of the organization in Chicago who would act as intermediary to his wife and treat his confidence with respect. We have just received a letter from Mr. Lawrence addressed to his wife and we shall keep it on file

until we receive instructions from you as to its disposal. We do not wish to send it direct to the Jewish Welfare Bureau of Chicago lest some other agency be already interested. We are awaiting instructions from you before we act further.

We should greatly appreciate a telegram concerning the disposal of the letter since Mr. Lawrence is very eager to hear from his wife shortly.

6. Letter, dated February 20, 1923, from Hebrew Welfare Organization, Buffalo, to the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We are writing to you concerning Benj. Lawrence, whom we have interviewed at the request of the National Desertion Bureau. Mr. Lawrence's wife, Mary, is now living at 3116 West Carpenter Street, Chicago. There are two children, Joseph, born in 1919, and Robert, five months old.

The National Desertion Bureau informed us that Mr. Lawrence deserted his family on August 1, 1922, after having taken about $350 from his employers, the Universal Publishers Service Bureau, Inc., Chicago, Illinois. Mr. Feder, his former employer, will not prosecute him if he returns to Chicago to take up his responsibility.

We interviewed Mr. Lawrence as soon as we were able to reach him. He made no attempt to avoid the mention of his trouble with his former employers, but referred to it repeatedly in an attempt to explain his reason for not communicating with his family. He stated he had moved to Cleveland from Chicago about eight months ago and tried to establish his household there. Two months before his youngest child was born his wife returned to Chicago in order that she might be with her own people at the time of confinement. Mr. Lawrence could not meet the added expense connected with the moving, traveling, and doctor bills at that time and found it easy to take his employers' money to pay his debts. When he realized he would not be able to cover up his theft he lost courage and left Cleveland.

He knew that his disgrace would become known to his wife, yet he could not bring himself to write any explanation to her. She cannot read or write English and it is necessary that there be a third party to all of their correspondence. This has been embarrassing at best. Since this money matter has come up it has hurt him especially to think that what he wrote to her would not be for her eyes alone. His brother is married to a sister of his wife and that branch of the family would, in all probability, know even the most minute detail connected with his difficulties. He does not feel that they would treat any information that they might have as confidential nor with any degree of sympathy.

He has not now the moral courage to face what he calls "their ridicule and nagging" if he should return. He is certain that the affair has considerable publicity among his former friends and acquaintances and he is ashamed to meet them. He refuses, under any circumstances, to return to Chicago.

He is greatly worried about his wife and children of whom he professes to be very fond. He has fretted and stewed so much over the present situation that his ability as a salesman has been impaired. He made no definite statement of his wage, but said that he had made barely enough to support himself. He thinks he is in no position to send for his wife to come to Buffalo or even to send her money to Chicago. It did not seem wise to press Mr. Lawrence too much, at the time, to make immediate financial contributions to his family's support. On our visitor's advice, however, Mr. Lawrence agreed to write to his wife and to deliver his letter to the visitor so that she might send it directly to some agency in Chicago who would act as intermediary to his wife and treat his confidence with respect.

We wrote to the National Desertion Bureau for advice concerning forwarding the letter and were sent word to forward it to you. We were not told, however, whether you have had any contact with the family. Our visitor is in constant contact with Mr. Lawrence and can reach him whenever it is necessary.

7. Letter, dated February 23, 1923, to counsel for the National Desertion Bureau, New York City, from district supervisor, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We are in receipt of your letter of February 19. We have also received a letter from the Hebrew Welfare Organization of Buffalo regarding Mr. Lawrence. They inclosed a letter to Mrs. Lawrence from her husband. Mrs. Lawrence is going to write to Mr. Lawrence tomorrow, and we shall send this directly to the Hebrew Welfare Organization so that they can deliver it to Mr. Lawrence.

We appreciate your interest and work in this case and thank you for your co-operation.

8. Letter, dated March 1, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau, New York City, to superintendent, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We herewith acknowledge receipt of yours of the twenty-third ult., *re* Benj. Lawrence, 3116 W. Carpenter Street. We will hold the case in abeyance until we hear further from you. Will you please advise us of the final disposition in the case?

9. Letter, dated March 8, 1923, to the superintendent, Hebrew Welfare Organization, Buffalo, New York, from district supervisor, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Ben and Mary Lawrence

We regret that we were unable to let you hear from us before regarding this situation. We talked with the Chicago representatives of the Universal Publishing Service Bureau, Inc., and we are not certain what

action would be taken by them if Mr. Lawrence returned to Chicago. We therefore can no longer vouch for the statement we made in our letter of February 2 to the effect that the man is safe in returning to Chicago. We cannot extradite in this case because the desertion took place in Cleveland. The man, however, can be extradited on a charge of embezzlement if his employers saw fit.

We are at present not in a position to recommend a plan, but we would appreciate it greatly if you would get in touch with Mr. Lawrence and urge him to keep in touch with his wife.

10. Letter, dated March 29, 1923, to the superintendent, Hebrew Welfare Organization, Buffalo, New York, from district supervisor, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Ben Lawrence
3116 West Carpenter Street

In answer to your letter of March 21 we should appreciate your getting in touch with Mr. Lawrence in order to ascertain if he is making an effort to secure work and settle in your city, or if he is making other plans for himself and family. If so we should like to know what these plans are.

The letters he has sent to his wife have been of an ambiguous nature, and she has become discouraged at his apparent lack of decision. She resents having to address his mail to him at general delivery and would like to know where he lives and who his friends are. We feel that if Mr. Lawrence would frankly discuss his plans with you he would help both his wife and us and we would be in a position to advise him.

We would also like to know what Mr. Lawrence's reactions were to the content of our letter of March 8.

11. Letter, dated April 11, 1923, from the Hebrew Welfare Organization, Buffalo, New York, to the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Our visitor saw Benj. Lawrence a few days ago and learned from him that he is living in a boarding-house conducted by a Mrs. Nathan at 7173 Twenty-eighth Street, a cheap rooming-house district. Our visitor did not call at that address, but Mr. Lawrence himself told her that the roomers are not very reputable. He says that he prefers to have mail sent to the general delivery address because mail is apt to be tampered with or lost at the rooming-house.

We are not at all pleased with Mr. Lawrence's attitude of late. He is inclined to be a little bit virtuous about having written to his wife and seems to think that the greater portion of his duty has been accomplished when he has done this. He has been working very irregularly this month and has earned just enough to keep himself fed and a roof over his head, although he has been well. He gave up his place at the Great Lakes Publishing

Company and went to the Middle West Publishing Company about one month ago. He worked there for a week and has worked in at least three places since that time.

He is planning to work and earn enough within the next month to be able to go back to Chicago on his own earnings. He will not be able to do this if he continues as he has been this last month, but he promises to work more steadily and to return to the Middle West Publishing Company.

We are willing to pay his fare to Chicago but he has refused our offer. He also refuses to accept any loan whether it comes from our organization or from his relatives.

Do you suggest that we give the matter a trial for this month or that pressure be brought to bear on him so that he will return sooner? We shall be glad to carry out your plans.

12. Letter, dated April 23, 1923, to the superintendent, Hebrew Welfare Organization, Buffalo, New York, from district supervisor, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Ben Lawrence
3116 West Carpenter Street

Will you be kind enough to see Mr. Lawrence again and explain to him that we feel that we have given him an opportunity to get on his feet, but that he apparently seems to be making little effort to assist himself in this matter. We, therefore, cannot continue assisting his family and hope that he will begin assuming that responsibility.

In his letters to his wife, Mr. Lawrence never asks her how she is being cared for, nor has he once suggested sending her money. She resents this very much.

If Mr. Lawrence cannot find employment with a publishing company, will you suggest to him that he try some other kind of work?

13. Letter, dated April 26, 1923, from Hebrew Welfare Organization, Buffalo, New York, to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Mr. Lawrence has been working the past few nights at the Niagara Blower Company at 55 cents an hour. His first pay was $6.00 since he did not put in a full week. His next pay, however, will be about $30. He has a few small debts to pay out of this money. If he has enough money left he will return to Chicago this Saturday, April 28. Otherwise he will return no later than a week from Saturday. He will not send his wife money before then for he wishes to save for the trip.

If he does not keep his word, we shall be glad to take any action you may suggest. We have spent a great deal of time with Mr. Lawrence trying to point out to him why he should return sooner or assist his wife. Our powers of persuasion are limited, however, and we have not been successful.

14. Letter, dated May 7, 1923, from the Hebrew Welfare Organization, Buffalo, New York ,to the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Mr. Lawrence telephoned us on May 5 that he was leaving immediately to join his wife in Chicago.

We hope that he will now resume his responsibility to his family without further difficulty.

15. Letter, dated June 5, 1923, to National Desertion Bureau, New York City, from district supervisor, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Ben Lawrence,
3116 West Carpenter Street, 8346 B

We regret that we have not advised you before regarding the final disposition of the above case. Mr. Lawrence returned to Chicago May 5. He is now working for the same company with which he was associated at the time that he left Cleveland, and from whom he took the $300. He is paying this back in small instalments and seems to be quite pleased with the present arrangement.

The family is quite happy now that they are reunited, and we are pleased with the conditions in the home.

### 29. The Family of Isaac Weinberg

*(Who Deserts His Family, Marries in Another State, and Is Sentenced to State's Prison for Bigamy)*

*July 30, 1920.*—Mrs. Weinberg in office [Jewish Welfare Bureau] to report that her husband had deserted her four days ago. She related the following story: After an acquaintanceship of one and a half years she married Mr. Weinberg in Russia in 1910. When they had been married three years they came to New York City, residing there one year. They then came to Chicago and have lived here ever since.

Mrs. Weinberg stated that her husband and she have always been very happy; that he treated her with the utmost consideration and always gave her his entire pay. He helped her with the housework and did all in his power to make things easier for her. She therefore fails to understand what his motive might have been in leaving home.

On Monday, July 26, he left home at the usual time in the morning, bade her and the children, Rachel (born December 24, 1914), Ben (born July 16, 1918), and Baby Joe (born February 29, 1920), goodbye

and never returned. Upon inquiring at the Republic State Bank, Leslie and Fourteenth, where Mr. Weinberg had an account of $110.50 she was told that he called at the bank early Monday morning and drew out the entire amount.

When Mr. Weinberg left home, she had $10 in the house; of this amount she has about $5.00 left. She is badly in need of assistance.

The family have lived in a three-room basement flat at 1624 Philadelphia Avenue for the past three years. They now pay $16 rent.

Upon calling on Mr. Weinberg's employer, Mrs. Weinberg ascertained that he had not drawn his last week's pay amounting to something over $32. She is desirous that Legal Aid assist her in collecting same.

Mr. Weinberg was born in Odessa, Russia. He is five feet six inches tall; weighs one hundred and twenty pounds; has brown eyes and dark brown hair; speaks both Yiddish and English. He belongs to the Workman's Union and is insured with the New Haven Life Insurance Company.

Mrs. Weinberg was also born in Odessa, Russia.

*Later.*—Called Mr. Weinberg's employer on telephone but failed to get any definite information. Worker was advised to call later.

*August 2, 1920.*—Called at Mrs. Weinberg's home, Philadelphia Avenue, and spoke with Mrs. Weinberg. She lives in a nice, light, four-room basement flat and pays $16 rent.

She showed worker an old pay envelope of Mr. Weinberg's. His department number is 3666 and his clock number is 78404. His work number is F 435331.

He also belongs to the New Haven Life Insurance Company. He carries a twenty-year $1,500 policy. The policy number is 7938716. He joined in 1916 and every year pays $51.35, the $1,500 to be payable to him at the termination of twenty years. The last payment was due July 28, but he failed to meet it.

He also belongs to Worker's Union, of which the secretary is Abe Lowenstein, 2144 Fourteenth Street, Telephone Haymarket 3282. The president is C. Eppolito, 3244 Roosevelt Road, Telephone Garfield 1594.

Mrs. Weinberg had just $1.60 left at the time of worker's visit and is in need of financial assistance.

*August 3, 1920.*—Called Mr. Weinberg's employer, and spoke with Mr. Homan, Relief Division. He advised that he could not give Mr. Weinberg's check to Mrs. Weinberg except by court order.

If Mrs. Weinberg appears with a court order [for separate maintenance] he will be glad to give her Mr. Weinberg's check. He stated that otherwise Mr. Weinberg could return and demand payment for his week's wages. He advised that it is probable that any employer to whom Mr. Weinberg applies for work will write for references, and should he hear anything regarding Mr. Weinberg, he will advise the Bureau. He was very co-operative and stated that he would do all he could in the matter as soon as the money was ordered paid to Mrs. Weinberg.

*Later.*—Called Mr. Lowenstein, secretary of the Worker's Union, but he had moved. The party who answered the telephone did not know his present address. Worker will try to get in touch with him by calling the president, C. Eppolito.

*August 4, 1920.*—Conference with the Relief Department.[1] Decided that the case should be handled by Legal Aid until October 1.

It was deemed advisable that Mrs. Weinberg be given a check for $30, $16 with which to pay her rent, which was due, and $14 for living expenses. The two younger children, Ben and Joe, are both bottle babies, and she therefore needs an extra amount of milk per day.

It was also thought advisable that worker ask Mrs. Weinberg to appear at the Domestic Relations Court August 6 to swear to a warrant of non-support against her husband.[2]

*August 5, 1920.*—House visit. Found Mrs. Weinberg and the children at home. The house was immaculately clean at the time of worker's visit. She stated that she was just contemplating coming to the Bureau if worker had not called. She was absolutely destitute.

[1] [This case illustrates (1) the relationship between two divisions of the organization, the Legal Aid Department known as the Bureau of Personal Service, and the Relief Department. Between July 30, 1920, when Mrs. Weinberg applied for help in securing the return of her husband, who had without warning deserted her and their three children, and October 11, 1920, when the organization became convinced that the return was so uncertain as to give an element of permanence to the care needed by the family, the Legal Aid was the division responsible for the contact with the family. After the latter date, the case was transferred to the Relief Department.]

[2] [From this date until October 11, 1920, a weekly grant of $12 and a monthly grant of $16 for rent was sent Mrs. Weinberg in the form of check. The budget was estimated: rent $16, food $24.28, milk $10.54, clothing $8.50, fuel $6.50, incidentals $4.75, spending money $1.00, education 75 cents, making a total of $72.32. On the latter date, October 11, 1920, the case was duly referred to the Relief Department and a new record begins containing a summary of the case up to that time.]

Worker left with her the check for $30. Mrs. Weinberg promised that she would be at the Domestic Relations Court August 6 to swear to a warrant of non-support against her husband.

*August 6, 1920.*—Called New Haven Life Insurance Company, Main 1055, and was advised that Mr. Weinberg has a twenty-year endowment policy, No. 7938716. It was taken out in 1916—the last payment was due July 28, but the endowment policy is not considered canceled until a month later, August 28. The last payment was not met. The payment amounts to $17.16 due annually. However, in the event that it is not met, $23.50 (amount paid in) will be credited to Mr. Weinberg and the insurance will automatically become paid-up insurance and will run for six years and fifty-four days. However, if after that time no further amount is paid in, the policy will be canceled; if during that time Mr. Weinberg should die, Mrs. Weinberg will receive the $500, value of the policy. It is not their custom to return any money that has been paid in.[1]

*Later.*—Called at Domestic Relations Court. Mrs. Weinberg swore to a warrant, charging her husband with non-support of wife and three children.

*August 14, 1920.*—Check for $12 sent to Mrs. Weinberg.

*August 16, 1920.*—Worker called at the Republic State Bank and was advised by the cashier that a balance of $2.00 remains in the account of Mr. Weinberg.

*Later.*—Called C. Eppolito, President of the Worker's Union, and was advised he knew nothing of the whereabouts of Mr. Weinberg.

*Later.*—Mrs. Weinberg in office and asked that worker write to the Ford factory in Detroit, Michigan, to ascertain if Mr. Weinberg was employed there as he often expressed a desire of securing employment in the Ford factory.

Letter to Ford Factory, Detroit, Michigan, this date.

*August 17, 1920.*—House visit. Found Mrs. Weinberg and the children at home. Her home is always immaculately clean. She stated that the more she thinks of Mr. Weinberg's desertion, the less she can understand his motive for leaving home.

*August 28, 1920.*—Letter received from Ford Motor Company, Detroit, advising that they had no record of Mr. Weinberg ever having been in their employ.

[1] [The record is not clear as to the amount of the policy. Mrs. Weinberg thinks (see August 1, 1920) that it is $1,500, annual payment $51.35. The worker learns of a policy for one-third that amount with one-third the premium.]

*September 23, 1920.*—Called at the home of Mrs. Weinberg and was advised that she has heard nothing from her husband to date. Conditions are about the same in the home. The oldest child, Rachel, has enrolled in the kindergarten.

*October 4, 1920.*—House visit. Found Mrs. Weinberg and the children at home. Conditions are practically the same. Mrs. Weinberg has heard nothing from or of her husband since he disappeared. Her home is immaculately clean and orderly.

*October 11, 1920.*—Check for $16 to cover Mrs. Weinberg's rent sent this date.

*Later.*—Conferred with supervisor of Relief Department, who deemed it advisable that the Weinberg case be referred to the Relief Department as per arrangements at conference on August 4, 1920.

Letter to the Relief Department this date, referring the Weinberg case.

*February 2, 1921.*—Case turned over to District No. 1 for National Desertion Bureau action.

[For the next two and a half years, the care of the family is characterized by close supervision of the health of the children, a regular allowance to the mother, assistance in settling small difficulties, and general kindly and sympathetic relationships. Mrs. Weinberg is a very careful housewife, keeping her home clean, cooperating in plans for improving her children's health and so forth. There are suggestions that she is not always easy to get on with. A worker who repairs her stove reports that she nags him and speaks offensively to him; her landlady finds it necessary to call on the visitor to secure protection against needless annoyances by the children (May 31, 1923), but no adequate explanation of Mr. Weinberg's desertion is ever discovered. The Desertion Bureau repeats the publication of his picture in its "gallery of missing husbands" twice in the autumn of 1922 and winter of 1923. On March 28, 1923, the Safety Electric Company, which has kept his unpaid wages of $37, agreed to pay this amount to Mrs. Weinberg, if the Bureau would agree to reimburse them in case Mr. Weinberg returned and claimed his pay, and Mrs. Weinberg about this time begins to think about a divorce (May 30, 1923)[1], and gets restless under the necessity of living within the budget estimated by the organization (June 18, 1923). On July 16, 1923, a new worker takes up the case and reports that Mrs. Wein-

[1] [The grounds for divorce under the Illinois Statutes are (chap. 40, sec. 1) (1) natural impotence, (2) having a spouse living at time of marriage, (3) adultery subsequent to marriage, (4) wilful desertion for two years, (5) habitual drunkenness

berg has the attitude of a person who feels that the world owes her a living. It is now three years since Mr. Weinberg left, and she evidently is restive under the monotonous uncertainty.

When Mr. Weinberg left, the baby was only three weeks old and, while often mothers of three children are expected to work, the mother of a nursing infant of less than a year is not supposed to work. At the end of the year the health of the children and Mrs. Weinberg's own health needed and received care, and the idea of work either in the form of care of another child or of work in the Industrial Workshops is now proposed (July 25, 1923).

Finally (August 31, 1923) a telegram is received from the National Desertion Bureau informing the Society that Mr. Weinberg had been located in New York, arrested on the charge of bigamy, and was being held for extradition. It appears that Mr. Weinberg, who had been employed as a phonograph electrician in New York City, has been married in court in March and planned for a religious ceremony on September 1. On August 29 his picture was again published in the "gallery" and was recognized by his landlady, who reported to the National Desertion Bureau. The rest of the story is told in the following correspondence.]

1. Telegram, dated August 31, 1923, from the National Desertion Bureau, New York City, to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Ike Weinberg located. Arrested for bigamy. Thousand dollar bond. Are you ready for extradition. Wire immediately.—National Desertion Bureau.

2. Telegram, dated August 31, 1923, from the National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Indict Weinberg abandonment charge at once. Just learned wife No. 2 will not prosecute.—National Desertion Bureau.

3. Telegram, dated September 1, 1923 [Saturday] to National Desertion Bureau, from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Weinberg telegram arrived too late for action. Will decide on warrant Tuesday.—Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago.

4. Telegram, dated September 4, 1923, to National Desertion Bureau, from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Isaac Weinberg. Before deciding extradition advise following: How long man married. Are there children. Did he support second wife

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for two years, (6) attempt to take the life by poison or other means showing malice, (7) extreme and repeated cruelty, (8) conviction of felony and other infamous crime, (9) having infected spouse with communicable venereal disease.]

adequately. Can you ascertain man's attitude to family here. Is he willing to be reconciled to his first wife. Is man well fixed financially. Kindly send information.—JEWISH WELFARE BUREAU, CHICAGO.

5. Telegram, dated September 5, 1923, from National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Ike Weinberg married last March. No children. Religious ceremony scheduled for last Saturday. Employed phonograph electrician twenty dollars weekly. On arraignment told court desires reconciliation with your client. Doubt sincerity. Urge extradition.—NATIONAL DESERTION BUREAU.

6. Letter, dated September 5, 1923, to the Cook County Agent, Chicago, from the Jewish Welfare Bureau:

*Re* Isaac and Martha Weinberg, Rachel, Benjamin, Joe

Mr. Weinberg was located, after a desertion of three years, through his arrest in New York by an alleged second wife on a charge of bigamy. Our information is telegraphic to the effect that, although Mr. Weinberg is held and will probably be detained for a week for a hearing, the probabilities of prosecution are not definite. We have wired New York for further particulars.

Mrs. Weinberg has been known to us since 1920, when she came to our office stating that her husband had deserted four days previously for apparently no reason. He left home at the usual time in the morning, bade his wife and the children goodby, and never returned. Mrs. Weinberg stated that she and her husband always had lived happily the whole nine years of their married life. They never quarreled, always went out together, and he gave her his entire pay. She was at an utter loss to explain his action and, if it were not for the fact that he had withdrawn their savings from the bank, she would have believed that he met with foul play. Since that time the family has been supported entirely by the Jewish Welfare Bureau.

Mrs. Weinberg swore out a warrant charging her husband with nonsupport of her and their children on August 6, 1920. We have referred her for an extradition warrant.

We have sent a copy of this letter to the Social Worker of the Court of Domestic Relations.

7. Letter, dated September 5, 1923, to Director Social Service Department, Court of Domestic Relations, Chicago, from Jewish Welfare Bureau:

*Re* Weinberg—Isaac and Martha

May we have your help in the extradition of the above?

[Remainder of letter omitted as it is identical with letter 6.]

8. Letter, dated September 5, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau, New York City, to the superintendent of the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Permit me to acknowledge receipt of your wire of September 1, wherein you advise that our telegram arrived too late for action on Friday and that definite course of action will be decided on Tuesday, September 4.

I am inclosing, herewith, a clipping from the *Jewish Daily Forward* bearing on this case. Mr. Weinberg's picture appeared in the *Forward* "Gallery" on August 29, and on receipt of the information our worker interviewed wife No. 2, who stated that she was married to Weinberg at the City Hall, New York, about five months ago but that they have not yet gone into housekeeping and that the Jewish marriage ceremony was to take place last Sunday and the home has already been furnished. Our informant, whose maiden name was Marion Geiger, is an orphan girl and resides with her sister and brother-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. David Myers. Miss Geiger had spent her savings in furnishing the new home. Weinberg resided at 47 Delavan Street. It was the landlady of the last-named premises who recognized his photograph in the "Gallery." He was employed as an electrician at 92 East Thirtieth Street, this city, and claimed to be a bachelor.

When arraigned before Magistrate Weil, Weinberg admitted that he left a wife and three children in Chicago and pleaded to be given a chance to return to them. After his arrest and arraignment, wife No. 2 refused to prosecute him and stated that all she wanted was to secure an annulment of her marriage. We immediately telegraphed to you advising that unless you secure an indictment at once he will be discharged from custody. Subsequently the facts were explained to Magistrate Weil, who held Weinberg for the Grand Jury and fixed bail at $1,000, which Weinberg has so far been unable to furnish.

We will do all we can to have the man held, but it is likely that he may secure his release in view of the attitude of the present complainant, unless immediate action is taken by you.

9. Telegram, dated September 6, 1923, from National Desertion Bureau, to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Weinberg: Please advise date and place of first marriage. Bigamy charge[1] may not hold because absence first wife. Urge extradition abandonment.—National Desertion Bureau, Chicago:

10. Telegram, dated September 7, to National Desertion Bureau from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Weinberg: First marriage took place Stamboul, Russia, November seventeenth nineteen eleven. Mrs. Weinberg has documents. Wire

[1] [Bigamy under the New York Statute is a felony and is punishable by a term in a penitentiary or state prison for not more than five years (Birdseye, Cummings, and Gilbert's *Annotated Consolidated Laws of New York*, III, 3801).]

details *re* need of first wife's presence in New York City in order to prosecute. Will deposition do.—JEWISH WELFARE BUREAU, CHICAGO.

11. Letter, dated September 10, 1923, to counsel for the National Desertion Bureau, from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

In reply to your letter of September 5, and supplementing our telegraphic communications, we wish to state the following:

Mrs. Weinberg seems quite overwhelmed at the turn of events and cannot decide on the course to pursue. Mr. Weinberg never gave our client any trouble during the whole nine years of their married life. His conduct was always exemplary, and it is hard for Mrs. Weinberg to have any ill feelings toward him.

We, however, feel you have the better case for your courts and as per our telegram of September 5, please try to make every effort to influence the second wife to prosecute on a bigamy charge.

12. Letter, dated September 10, 1923, from counsel of the National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Permit me to acknowledge receipt of your night letter of September 7, relative to the case of Isaac and Martha Weinberg. The information contained therein was submitted to the District Attorney, who will present the case to the Grand Jury for an indictment on September 14. For the time being it will not be necessary to take depositions in view of the fact that Weinberg, upon an arraignment before the Magistrate, admitted the first marriage.

However, I am extremely doubtful as to whether wife No. 2 will go through with the prosecution. When we saw her last, she was endeavoring to raise bail for Weinberg's release. I therefore feel that, unless Weinberg will be extradited to Chicago for child abandonment, he is likely to extricate himself from his present trouble altogether.

13. Letter, dated September 11, 1923, from the Voluntary Defenders Committee of the Legal Aid Society, New York City, to the superintendent of the Family Welfare Agency, Chicago:

*Re* Isaac Weinberg

May we ask your kind co-operation in passing this request for information about the above-named man to the Jewish organization which is handling it? We have not the name here in this office and the Jewish organizations are of course closed today.

We have filed a notice of appearance for Weinberg, as his second wife, Marion Geiger, the complainant against him, came into our office and urged us to defend the man. She seems to feel very keenly that she had to make complaint against him on the eve of their religious marriage. She claims that they were married by a civil ceremony at City Hall, March 21, 1923.

She further states that the marriage was never consummated as they had been waiting to furnish an apartment and have the religious marriage. On August 31 this was to have occurred when on the night prior he was recognized from a picture published in the Jewish papers by the National Desertion Bureau and was arrested.

I have had a brief talk with the chief counsel for the Bureau, and he seems to think that the organization in Chicago is desirous of having the man punished here because of the higher penalty for bigamy in New York State.

We will be very glad to have an abstract of the record of the Jewish organization which has known Weinberg's legitimate wife and children. The man is in a very excited state of mind and has been put under observation because of his great depression. The prison physician feared for a time that he might commit suicide. He claims that he wants to go back to Chicago and support his family; that even though his wife was never satisfied with the amount he earned, he does not know why he should have run away from her as he did.

Marion Geiger states her one desire is that he return to his family. She is entirely illiterate but a self-respecting young woman who feels bitterly the humiliation to which she has been subjected. She still seems to be in love with him, however. (Indictment has been delayed because of lack of formal proof of the first marriage.) Should this be obtained, as the attorney is sure that it will be through the efforts of the Jewish organization in Chicago, the indictment will probably take place in the very near future.

We understand there may also be a charge against the defendant on account of abandonment of his minor children. We would like to know about this, and also if it is a felony in Illinois for a man to desert his wife. It is not in New York State. The abandonment of his minor children is.[1]

We would also be glad to have the names and ages of the children, as the defendant seems somewhat uncertain about them.

We are inclosing a stamped and directed envelope and would heartily appreciate your attention and courtesy.

14. Letter, dated September 12, 1923, from the Cook County Agent, Chicago, to the superintendent of the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Your letter of September 5, reporting for extradition the case of Isaac Weinberg, now located in New York City, wife and children living at 1639 Philadelphia Avenue.

Investigation discloses that Weinberg deserted family July 26, 1920, has not seen or communicated with them since. He was recently arrested

[1] [See below, pp. 891, 902, for text of the various statutes applicable in these desertion cases.]

in New York City, charged with bigamy, having married another woman six months ago.

In view of the above, we are of the opinion this is a matter for the State's Attorney's office to handle, and have, therefore, rejected the case for extradition at the expense of Cook County.

15. Letter, dated September 14, 1923, to counsel for National Desertion Bureau, from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We urge your most careful perusal of a letter addressed to the non-Jewish Charities of this city under date of September 11, by the Voluntary Defenders Committee of the Legal Aid Society, your city, copy of which is herewith inclosed.

We particularly call your attention to the following statement contained therein: "Indictment has been delayed because of lack of formal proof of the first marriage. Should this be obtained, as counsel is sure that it will be through the efforts of the Jewish organization in Chicago, the indictment will probably take place in the very near future."

May we also refer to your letter to us of September 10, evidently in reply to our telegram in which you state: "For the time being it will not be necessary for Mrs. Weinberg to journey here, nor would it be necessary to take depositions in view of the fact that Weinberg upon an arraignment before the magistrate admitted the first marriage."

We are somewhat worried as to the lack of proof of the first marriage pronounced by the Voluntary Defenders Committee of the Legal Aid Society, your city, and the definite proof of marriage as evidenced by your letter. We earnestly hope that the indictment will not fail because of such proof since it can of course be obtained.

The County Agent of Cook County, who has been approached in the matter of payment of extradition expenses as a last resort should your bigamy charge fall, rejected our application because of the man's crime of bigamy of which he now stands charged in New York City. Surely in view of the fact that both your organization and the Voluntary Defenders Committee of the Legal Aid Society, your city, are social service organizations, it will not be difficult for you to get together on the ethics in this case. We are referring the Voluntary Defenders Association to you for further information and advice on the case since their letter, as you note, calls for a statement of our history in the matter and also contains a suggestion for our clemency.

16. Letter, dated September 15, 1923, to the Voluntary Defenders Committee of the Legal Aid Society, New York City, from the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Your letter of September 11 sent to the Family Welfare Agency of Chicago was referred to us. We must express surprise that you are interested

in the defense of Mr. Weinberg, inasmuch as we have information from your city that Mr. Weinberg upon arraignment before a magistrate admitted the first marriage.

Since we have been in constant communication with the National Desertion Bureau of your city and they have complete knowledge of the case, we would refer you to them for further information.

17. Letter, dated September 15, 1923, to the Cook County Agent, Chicago, from the Jewish Welfare Bureau:

In reply to your letter of September 12, we wish to state that since the bigamy was committed in the state of New York the State's Attorney of Illinois has no jurisdiction over the case. Therefore, Mr. Weinberg cannot be prosecuted in Illinois on any other charge than wife abandonment.

In view of the above we are asking you to reconsider this case for extradition.

18. Telegram, dated September 17, 1923, from National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Please forward marriage certificate and other proof of marriage *re* Isaac and Martha Weinberg also your client's maiden name. Can she give name and address of marriage eye-witness living here?—National Desertion Bureau.

19. Letter, dated September 17, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau, New York City, to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

I am in receipt of your kind communication of the 14th inst., with inclosure of a copy of a letter from the Voluntary Defenders Committee, relative to the case of Isaac and Martha Weinberg. Permit me to advise you that on again taking up the matter with the Assistant District Attorney, in charge of Indictment Bureau, he informed me that it will not be necessary for Mrs. Weinberg to journey to New York at the present time; that he believes an indictment can be secured without her assistance on receipt of some documentary proof of Weinberg's marriage to your client. I therefore wired you today as follows: "Please forward marriage certificate and other proof of marriage *re* Isaac and Martha Weinberg also your client's maiden name. Can she give name and address of marriage witness living here?"

I also communicated with the office of the Voluntary Defenders Committee, but the director who is in charge of the case is away on her vacation. I will get in touch with that organization and will explain the situation to them. Should the Grand Jury refuse to indict on the evidence it will then be time for your client to come here.

I am extremely doubtful as to whether the second wife will go through with the prosecution. She seems quite infatuated with Weinberg; and,

although she speaks of a desire to secure an annulment of marriage, she is very solicitous about his welfare, and we are experiencing considerable trouble in endeavoring to convince her that her hope for marital freedom can best be realized by securing a conviction of bigamy against Weinberg. The case has been set down for Monday, September 24. So far Weinberg has been unable to obtain bail and is still in custody. I trust that by next Monday the information requested will be forthcoming.

20. Letter, dated September 17, 1923, from the Cook County Agent, Chicago, to the superintendent of the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Your letters September 5 and 15 and ours September 12 *re* extradition of Isaac Weinberg now in New York City. You do not state in your letter of the fifteenth whether anything definite has been done toward the prosecution of this man in New York City for bigamy. Is he being detained there for a hearing or has a sentence been imposed in his case. As soon as we get further particulars regarding this bigamy charge, we will reconsider case for extradition at the expense of Cook County.

21. Telegram, dated September 19, 1923, to National Desertion Bureau from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Isaac Weinberg: Sending marriage certificate under separate cover. Maiden name—Susnowitz. Eye-witnesses to wedding Mr. and Mrs. Abe Wizesarke, Twenty-four sixty three West Street, Chicago.—Jewish Welfare Bureau of Chicago.

22. Letter, dated September 19, 1923, to counsel for the National Desertion Bureau from the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We are inclosing the marriage certificate of Mrs. Weinberg as per your request of September 17. Her maiden name was Susnowitz. Eye-witnesses to the marriage ceremony are Mr. and Mrs. Abe Wizesarke, 2463 West Street, Chicago.

23. Letter, dated September 24, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

You will be interested to learn that we have succeeded in securing an indictment in the case of *People* vs. *Isaac Weinberg*. I submitted the marriage certificate and the other evidence to the Grand Jury. I also had a talk with director of the Voluntary Defenders Committee, and I advised her that the question of extradition to Chicago on the abandonment charge is held in abeyance owing to the refusal of your client to prosecute her husband. I submitted all available data covering the points of her inquiry of recent date.

I will thank you to advise us whether or not you recommend a prison sentence in this case. We await your further instructions.

24. Letter, dated September 27, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Referring further to the case of Isaac and Martha Weinberg, permit me to advise you that the defendant was arraigned for pleading this day on the charge of bigamy. He pleaded guilty and was remanded until October 5 for further sentence. I was instructed by the court authorities to submit a history of the case and also my recommendation in writing as to what action is to be taken. I will thank you to inform me at once whether or not you wish us to urge exemplary punishment or a suspended sentence. In the event of the latter, I am not at all sure as to whether Weinberg would carry out a promise to return to his family in Chicago. In view of the limited time at hand, may I ask that you kindly advise us by wire.

25. Telegram, dated September 29, 1923, to National Desertion Bureau from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Isaac Weinberg. Because of man's action prior to this desertion we would be inclined to favor suspended sentence. However, if he shows by his attitude that he would not return to his family then more drastic action should be taken.—JEWISH WELFARE BUREAU, CHICAGO.

26. Letter, dated September 29, 1923, to Cook County Agent, Chicago, from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

In reply to your letter of September 17, we beg to advise that in our correspondence with the National Desertion Bureau we have been urging that Mr. Weinberg be tried there for bigamy. On September 26 we received a letter from them, stating that Mr. Weinberg was indicted by the Grand Jury of New York on a bigamy charge. However, it is still a question as to whether or not Mrs. Weinberg No. 2 will prosecute. It is because of this uncertainty that we are asking you to reconsider extradition in this case. In the event that Mr. Weinberg should be released he could be apprehended and extradited to Chicago.

27. Letter, dated October 2, 1923, from Cook County Agent, Chicago, to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Your letter of September 29 *re* extradition of one Isaac Weinberg from New York City now under indictment in New York City for bigamy.

We note in your letter you state that it is still uncertain whether Mrs. Weinberg No. 2 will prosecute. I would advise, in the event that Mrs. Weinberg No. 2 goes ahead with the prosecution of the suit, that you see Mrs. Weinberg No. 1 relative to her going to New York City, as she will no doubt be subpoenaed by the courts there to assist in the conviction of her husband. Her presence will be necessary there to show a prior marriage, before this conviction can be sustained. If she is not interested in this

bigamy charge, the chances are her husband will be acquitted, and in that event he could be apprehended and brought back to Chicago.

28. Letter, dated October 4, 1923, from counsel for National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We this day sent you the following telegram with reference to the case of Isaac Weinberg:

"Weinberg case postponed Monday. If released on suspended sentence, will you defray his transportation to Chicago?"

29. Telegram, dated October 6, 1923, to National Desertion Bureau from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Will defray Isaac Weinberg's transportation. Can you get charity rate? —Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago.

30. Letter, dated October 8, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to the superintendent of the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

The case of *People* vs. *Isaac Weinberg* was disposed of today before the Court of General Sessions. I explained the case to the court and also advised it of your client's plea for mercy in her husband's behalf and desire that the latter be permitted to return to Chicago. Wife No. 2 also interceded for the prisoner, but the court felt that Weinberg's conduct deserves little mercy. In view of his neglect of his family for over three years and betrayal of the second wife, the court sentenced him to serve a term in state's prison of not less than one year and six months nor more than three years. Under the rules he will be eligible for parole in thirteen months.

The Bureau will keep in touch with Weinberg from time to time; and, if his intentions at the end of his term remain as they are now, we will grant him a railroad ticket at charity rates, at your expense.

31. Letter, dated October 10, 1923, from the Voluntary Defenders Committee of the Legal Aid Society, New York City, to the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We have to report to you the disposition in the case of Isaac Weinberg concerning whom you wrote to us on September 15. As you doubtless know, he was sent to the State Prison for from one and one-half to three years. The judge refused to consider returning him to Chicago.

Your letter in which you say "We must express surprise that you are interested in the defense of Mr. Weinberg" I think requires a little explanation of our duty in cases of this kind. It is usual, if not obligatory on the part of the court to see that a man is represented by a counsel at the time of his pleading even if he pleads guilty to the indictment found against him. In

this case we were asked to represent him by his second wife, the complainant, who came to our office and asked us to do what we could to see that he was sent back to his first wife and children. Our appearance for a client does not mean that we advocate him against right and justice. On the contrary we work hard to bring out all the facts in the case, submitting them to the court so that justice may be done to the community as well as to the man by ascertaining the truth. There seemed to have been doubt in the minds of persons in connection with the case that the man would have made good upon returning to Chicago, and this had its weight with the judge in giving the present sentence. He is always very severe in cases where matrimonial obligations have been violated.

We trust that you will call upon us if at any time you feel that we may be of service in a case in New York.

32. Letter, dated November 1, 1923, to counsel for the National Desertion Bureau from the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Our client, Mrs. Weinberg, is interested in knowing what Mr. Weinberg's address is as she would like to write to him. Will you please send it to us. Also we ask you to interview the man and question him as to why he left home. Mrs. Weinberg is very anxious for a reconciliation, and we hope that through their correspondence Mr. Weinberg will desire to return home upon his release.

33. Letter, dated November 1, 1923, to Cook County Agent, Chicago, from the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Mr. Weinberg was convicted in New York on the charge of bigamy for not less than one and one-half years nor more than three years. He will be eligible for parole in thirteen months.

We should like to know if you will extradite the man after he serves his term?

34. Letter, dated November 2, 1923, from Assistant County Agent, Chicago, to superintendent, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Your letter of November 1, *re* Isaac Weinberg who was convicted in New York on the charge of bigamy for not less than one and one-half years nor more than three, and who will be eligible for parole in thirteen months.

This case is approved for extradition, at the expense of Cook County.

35. Letter, dated November 7, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to the superintendent, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We are in receipt of yours of the 1st instant relative to the case of Isaac Weinberg. This man was sent to Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, New York.

We have written to the Jewish Chaplain who visits that institution to talk to Weinberg along the lines indicated in your letter, and we will advise you as soon as a reply is had.

36. Letter, dated November 17, 1923, to counsel for the National Desertion Bureau from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We are in receipt of yours of November 7, for which we thank you.

We have also received a letter from the Cook County Agent approving extradition at the expense of Cook County after Mr. Weinberg has served his sentence. We should like you to have this information so that you will be adequately equipped in dealing with Mr. Weinberg in attempting to help him adopt the best plan for the future in regard to his family.

37. Letter, dated November 22, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We are in receipt of yours of the 17th inst. relative to the case of Isaac Weinberg. I note that the authorities of Chicago have decided to extradite Weinberg on completion of his sentence. I would suggest that the necessary papers be forwarded by the police to the New York authorities so that Weinberg will be apprehended upon his release.

We have just made inquiry and ascertained that Weinberg is not at Sing Sing. In all probability he has been transferred to another State Prison. We will ascertain just where he is and advise you.

38. Letter, dated December 31, 1923, to counsel for the National Desertion Bureau from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We are in receipt of your letter of November 22 in which you inform us that Mr. Weinberg is not at Sing Sing. We should like to know if you have ascertained his whereabouts as Mrs. Weinberg is very anxious to have his address so that she may write him.

39. Letter, dated January 8, 1924, to counsel for the National Desertion Bureau from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

May we ask you to refer to your correspondence of November 22 regarding Isaac Weinberg. At that time you wrote you would advise us as to where the man is imprisoned. May we ask you kindly to send us that information as we are unable to have the necessary papers forwarded to the New York authorities until we know where the man is.

40. Letter, dated January 8, 1924, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to the superintendent, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We have just learned that Isaac Weinberg is now at Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, New York, known as No. C-50700. Your client may address him there.

41. Letter, dated January 10, 1924, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau, to the superintendent, Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We are in receipt of yours of the 8th inst. relative to the case of Isaac Weinberg. We sent you the information asked for on January 8. No doubt you have already received it.

*January 10, 1924.*—Mrs. Weinberg in office. Interviewed by supervisor and worker. In discussing her life with Mr. Weinberg, Mrs. Weinberg advised that she had never had any arguments with him about money or anything else; that he had always been a good considerate husband and a fine man. She was sure at the time that he deserted that there was no other woman in the case. Says that nothing he did previous to his desertion would have given her any idea that he was contemplating leaving her. He left July 27. The night before, he complained that he was not feeling well and went for a walk after dinner. There was a man rooming at the house at that time, and Mr. Weinberg slept with him. Roomer told Mrs. Weinberg that her husband was awake all night and that he was very restless. Mrs. Weinberg noticed that he acted rather disturbed, and his face looked different, as if he was thinking of something he did not want to talk about. They had no argument that night, and when Mr. Weinberg left the following morning, Mrs. Weinberg expected him to come home as usual. Mr. Weinberg had $110 in the bank and took all but $2.00. Of course, Mrs. Weinberg was very much amazed to hear of his marriage. Mrs. Weinberg had many chances to marry, as through *Landsleute* she had met different men, but when they heard she had children they would not consider marrying her. If Mr. Weinberg took care of the two younger children, Rachel would not stand in the way of her marrying. Mrs. Weinberg is willing for her husband to return as she wants her children to have a father, and realizes if she should marry again a stepfather would not give them the proper care and attention.

Mrs. Weinberg in speaking of her husband's life in Russia, said that he was a salesman at the time he was married to her. When they became engaged, however, he had a fruit store which he owned with a partner. Three months after they were married he had double pneumonia and was in the hospital for three months. Shortly after he recovered he went to Stamboul, Turkey, where he wanted to learn to make caps; Mrs. Weinberg wanted her husband to go to Paris, France, where she had a sister and a brother. He did not want to go

there and came to America instead. Wanted to learn to make children's coats, but made very little money in this trade. When family lived in Chicago Mr. Weinberg worked for the Chicago Electric Company for some time and earned $35 weekly. After the factory burned he went to work for the Safety Electric Company.

She said that ever since her husband had pneumonia he has had a weak heart. Dr. Albert Carnov, who has an office on Roosevelt Road, could verify her statement that they have always gotten along well together. In fact, her husband was always so considerate of her that he worried whenever she was sick, and at the time when she had influenza, consulted the doctor continually about her condition and worried that she was not going to get well. Previous to Joe's birth, he stayed home from work as he did not want his wife to do any work that would be harmful.

### 30. The Family of Mrs. Caroline Wolcott Bixby

*(A Deserted Wife Who Is the Mother of Nine Children under Twelve Years of Age)*

[This record presents the deserted wife whose husband's whereabouts are not discovered, whose maternal and domestic skill are at first doubtful, whose relatives present interesting "questions." The presence of the police and of the "Klan" and the lavish Christmas giving are rather theatrical features of the situation as is the number of children—nine under twelve years of age.]

*February 3, 1921.*—Truant officer of the Marshall School reported the family, as the man had sprained his ankle and was unable to work. She believed the family were in need.

[The Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium was registered March 15, 1919; the Visiting Nurse Association May 4, 1920; and the County Agent February 2, 1921.]

*February 7, 1921.*—Visited. The house, a seven-room second-floor front apartment, was very well furnished with rugs, pictures, a piano, and a sideboard filled with ornamental glassware. It was very untidy. There were newspapers and clothing scattered all about, and the dining-room table was covered with dirty dishes. Mrs. Bixby and the children were very untidy and dirty also. Mrs. Bixby is a young woman with attractive features and black eyes and hair. There are seven children: Leonard (born February 2, 1911), James (born January 12, 1912), Mabel (born February 7, 1913), Thomas

(born February 8, 1915) Robert (born September 5, 1917), Alexander (born November 10, 1918) Beulah (born May 1, 1920) all sturdy and attractive. Mr. Bixby (Allen) tore some of the ligaments in his ankle January 24 while at work. He is being treated by the company doctor. The doctor does not come to see him very regularly, and Mrs. Bixby does not believe he is securing the proper care. She called the doctor February 4, but he has not yet been there. Mr. Bixby attempted to go to work February 2, but he had to come home as he was not able to stand yet. The County Agent issued supplies at the request of the school. The milkman is leaving fresh milk for the children. Mrs. Bixby said that with this assistance she did not believe they would require anything further. The County Agent took up with Evans Brothers, Mr. Bixby's employer, the question of his compensation and was told that half-pay would be given him beginning at the end of six days' illness; they have received nothing as yet.

Mr. Bixby has two brothers in Chicago, but they both have large families and are unable to assist him.

*October 15, 1923.*—Sergeant O'Loughlin, Garfield Street Police Station, reported the Bixbys. They had sent an officer out to investigate, who reported that there were nine children under twelve, that Mrs. Bixby had no money. Mr. Bixby left on a trip three weeks ago and has not been heard from since. No first names.

Precinct list shows Allen Bixby at 1003 Fifth Street.

*Later.*—Called at Garfield Street Police Station[1] for further information. Sergeant O'Loughlin felt the family was in need of immediate assistance and urged that someone make a call at once.

[1] [The following extract from the Welfare Agency's statement of policy is of special interest in connection with this record.]

"*Deserting husbands.*—Every effort should be put forth to locate deserting husbands. The *Daily Bulletin* of the Department of Police, which goes to all police stations and to all police officers should be utilized.

"*Procedure.*—Send a picture of the deserting husband, together with a short description, as well as the circumstances of his disappearance, with name and address of persons to be notified, to Detective Headquarters. It is necessary to pay to have the cut made. After the advertisement has appeared, it would be well to obtain the cut in case occasion should arise for using it again. The *Bulletin* should be used in cases of unexplained disappearance.

"The *Demonstrators' Association*, to whose offices are delivered all unidentified dead from hospitals, morgues, and undertaking establishments is another possible source of information. The president of that association keeps a card index of all bodies delivered and has an agreement with the medical schools whereby the body will not be used for demonstration purposes until three weeks have elapsed."

They had published in the *Police Bulletin* the fact that Mr. Bixby had disappeared September 28. Personal description: blue eyes, curly hair, wore a cap, thirty years old. Was supposed to have gone on a visit to his mother in Richmond, Indiana. Letter from there revealed the fact that he had not gone there at all.

Mrs. Bixby had sent a note to the police station by the little boy, notifying them of Mr. Bixby's disappearance.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Bixby and nine children at home.[1] One of the boys had just come back with plenty of groceries for the evening. Mrs. Bixby said that the police officer had come in and said that surely she could not get along without help for nine children. She told him that she still had some money. They lived in the suburbs until six years ago, but Mr. Bixby always worked in Chicago. They moved from 4001 Richard Street to their present address because the rent was raised to $45 a month there.

Mr. Bixby never drinks to excess. He liked beer but never cared for whiskey. Only complaint Mrs. Bixby could make about him was that he went out in the evenings. Mrs. Bixby is ten years older than Mr. Bixby, but he always asked her to go with him. Of course she could not do this on account of the babies, and so he went alone.

The last year, however, he had stayed at home more. On Thursday evenings they generally had sort of a family party at one of the brothers' homes.

Mrs. Bixby fears that something has happened to him, although he had identification cards in his pocket. He had complained of a pain in his head a little while before he left.

Mrs. Bixby lost a child, Frances, between Mabel and Thomas. She has had Visiting Nurse when she was confined.

Mrs. Bixby, who was born in England, is one of ten children. She has four brothers and four sisters in or near Chicago and a sister in Rochester, New York. She belongs to the Episcopal church, while Mr. Bixby is a Methodist. He has four brothers and one sister in Chicago. His mother has remarried again and lives in Richmond, Indiana, and he has a brother in Indiana.

Mr. Bixby's brother Virgil has several children and they are expecting a new baby any time. Another brother Howard is living with Virgil. He is single but is not working. He lost his job, as he took too much time off. Mrs. Bixby's brother, Robert Wolcott, and

[1] [Lewis (born August 30, 1921) and Virgil (born November 8, 1922) have been added to the family since the visit in 1921.]

his wife had been down to see her and she expects her other sisters tomorrow. Nearly all of them are working.

Mrs. Bixby buys coal by the bag as she has no place to put a large amount. She says it costs about $18 a week for groceries. She gets two quarts of milk from the milkman from whom she has taken milk for years.

Mrs. Bixby seems very proud of her children and their progress in school. Leonard did not start to school until he was seven and he lost about a term because of frozen heels. He is now in VI A in Browning School. Leonard came in while visitor was there. He is a fat, chubby-faced boy, with auburn hair and brown eyes. He asked his mother's permission to go out and do an errand for the butcher. He came back with his money and put it in the bank. He was quite anxious to talk about his school work. He said his father said he ought to study arithmetic the hardest and like that, but he liked history best. He spoke with a great deal of pride of a set of Junior Classics which his mother got for them. James has lighter red hair, not nearly so sturdy looking as Leonard. He is very quiet in his manner. Mabel has auburn hair and very sparkly brown eyes. The younger children are not nearly so attractive in appearance as the three older ones. Robert, the mother says, is not much of a boy to stay at home; he always wants to be out playing with his friends. The children have all had the whooping cough; James has had scarlet fever and pneumonia and chicken pox. Mabel has also had chicken pox.

*October 27, 1923.*—Visited Mrs. Arthur Bixby. She is a young woman who has been married four years. She has one little boy about two years old; has lived in Chicago a little over a year and they are now living in two rear rooms of a larger apartment. She has known Mrs. Bixby just since her residence in Chicago; feels that she is a good mother to the children but made a mistake in not going out more with her husband, as he liked to go out a great deal and went without her when she didn't want to go. She says that neither she nor her husband has any idea where Mr. Bixby could be. She feels that her husband and an unmarried brother, Howard, are the only ones who could be expected to help Mrs. Bixby because the others have such large families. She promised to take up the matter with the brothers and try to get them to agree to some definite amount. She said she always felt sorry that the Bixby children did not have more and she felt that Mr. Bixby took his responsibility rather lightly. She mentioned the fact that he was always laughing and joking.

Howard Bixby and his fiancée came in while visitor was there. They have been over to Mrs. Bixby's. Reported that the latter wanted Mrs. Arthur Bixby to take Beulah to the Dispensary to see about her tonsils. Mr. Howard Bixby is still out of work.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Bixby. Although it was nearly 12:00, the morning work had not progressed very far. Mrs. Bixby was sitting before the fireplace rocking the baby. She said she had a large washing in the kitchen which she had started on Monday. It was still unfinished. She said that she was interrupted so many times. The kitchen and dining-room are so dark that it is necessary to burn the gas all day during the winter months. Mrs. Bixby says her gas bills amount to about $6.00.

She carries insurance for Mr. Bixby and herself and all the children in the Industrial and for the baby in the National American. It costs her $2.00 a week. She says that Mr. Bixby's mother also carries insurance for him.

*October 29, 1923.*—Visited the T. M. Evans Foundry and talked with Mr. Cutts, who is in charge, and with Mr. Edward Feldman, Mr. Bixby's foreman. The former reported that Mr. Bixby had worked there for a number of years; left September 21 because they refused to give him the raise which he asked. He was earning 82 cents an hour and working a fifty-hour week. Mr. Bixby asked for a dollar and when he was refused said that he had a place where he could get that. He gave a week's notice and took all his tools. He was a very good workman as far as his work went. Mr. Cutts doesn't believe he has left Chicago. He said he had heard somewhere that he was working at the General Electric, and that wherever he is he will be in evidence as this is his nature.

Mr. Feldman said that Mr. Bixby has said a number of times that when the children were old enough to help he was going to leave. He also announced that he was going to "pull out" this time. He boasted at the factory that he had $300 or $400. Mr. Feldman said that he was very concerned about his hair and that was the most outstanding thing about his appearance; it was carefully marcelled; he often wore a hair net to keep it in place. Both Mr. Feldman and Mr. Cutts spoke of it as being black, while Mrs. Bixby said it was dark auburn. Said he was always laughing and joking and that he had a number of ladies he liked. He often showed pictures of himself at the shop with some girl in his arms. He belonged to the Atlas Club on Washington Street near Fifty-eighth. Mr. Feldman took the

Agency's card and promised to notify the office immediately if he got any trace of Mr. Bixby. He seemed genuinely interested in locating him. He seemed to feel, however, that Howard would know where he was as they were very close.

Mr. Feldman had called at the house after some of Mr. Bixby's relatives were over there. He said he was not so concerned about the family's welfare after he saw how the children behaved. The thing that most particularly disturbed him was the boys walking on the piano. He also said the house was in great disorder.

*October 31, 1923.*—Visited. Mrs. Bixby still quite convinced that Mr. Bixby had no intention of deserting her and the children. She feels that if he had intended to go he would have taken his good overcoat which he had left behind and that he would not have left her the extra money but would have taken it with him.

Mrs. Bixby's brother Robert has been looking for Mr. Bixby's tools on Twelfth Street and has been unable to locate them. Mr. Bixby formerly belonged to the Atlas Club on Washington and Fifty-eighth. He liked very much to go to dances and Mrs. Bixby knew that he often went. She did not like to dance and never minded Mr. Bixby's having a good time.

While visitor was there a Mrs. Joseph Lewis came in with two coats for the children. She learned of Mrs. Bixby through the County Agent's office. Mrs. Lewis waited downstairs until visitor came out. She felt that Mrs. Bixby was not very appreciative of the coats. Mrs. Bixby had said that she had quite plenty of clothing that her sister brought her. She said if she couldn't use the things that Mrs. Lewis brought she would give them to her sister-in-law. Mrs. Lewis said she did not think she would be able to do anything for the family except give them some clothing.

*November 3, 1923.*—Visited T. M. Evans Foundry and with the permission of Mr. Roth, the head man there, talked to Miss Harris as to the whereabouts of Mr. Bixby. She said that he had telephoned to her asking her to go to a theater about a week before he left the firm, but she had not talked to him since then, although she thinks he has called up her home. She said that she saw Mr. Bixby across the street from the foundry about a week after he left and that he was taking the street car west. She did not speak to him and he was alone.

Miss Harris is an attractive-appearing young woman; she seemed quite frank and not the least embarrassed at being questioned. Visited soft drink parlor just across the street from T. M. Evans.

They have not seen Mr. Bixby for over a month. They did not know him by name but when given a personal description recognized him. He always came in with girls from the foundry. Someone had been in to see if he had left his tools there.

*Later.*—Visited two nearby saloons. Neither place knew Mr. Bixby. Both places said that not many of Evans' men came in there.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Bixby. She had just returned from the Court of Domestic Relations, where she had taken out a warrant. Talked to her about her husband's having deserted the family. She still feels that he would not have taken such a step, not because he thinks so much of her and the children, but because it would cut him off from his own family and he has always been very close to them, particularly to his brother Virgil.

Mr. Bixby was placed in an orphanage when his father died. He was then placed out on a farm. The people with whom he was placed were not very good to him, and Mrs. Bixby feels that this did not develop very much responsibility on his part. On the other hand his brother Virgil was placed with an unusually fine family, who gave him a very fine home. He has always been very good to his family. Another brother, Leonard, however, drinks and just recently beat his wife up so badly that the neighbors called the police. Howard has just recently started to work.

*Later.*—Called at Garfield Police Station. Talked with the officer. Asked that Welfare Agency be notified when the warrant was served.

*November 7, 1923.*—Visited about 12:00. There was no lunch prepared for the children, and the breakfast dishes were still on the table unwashed. One of the children had not been dressed at all that morning. House was in general state of disorder. Mrs. Bixby said that she had washed until 1:00 A.M. the night before. She does not have any regular days for doing certain things. Says that she can't with the babies. When she did housework for someone else she always had a regular day for doing everything. She does not seem to mind the disorder or dirt. She is very sweet with the children. They can play under the chair and one on each arm and it doesn't seem to bother her. They do obey, however, when she speaks to them. Mrs. Bixby said that someone had been out from T. M. Evans' main office, and she understood that they were going to look for Mr. Bixby.

*November 8, 1923.*—Visited T. M. Evans Foundry. Mr. Cutts said that they were not planning to do anything for the family as they did not feel in any way responsible for them. Their visitor went

out and reported that she did not blame Mr. Bixby for leaving because the house was in such disorder. Mr. Evans dictated a letter to the foundry asking that word be sent along to the men to keep a lookout for Mr. Bixby and notify him if they saw him. He also said if visitor thought he could be of any service later not to hesitate to ask him. Telephoned General Electric as Mr. Cutts had heard Mr. Bixby was working there. They were unable to locate him under his own name and the employment man did not remember taking on anyone of his description since September 14. They asked, however, that a sample of his handwriting be sent if possible.

*Later.*—Evening visit made on Mr. Virgil Bixby, brother of Mr. Bixby. Talked first to Mrs. Bixby as her husband was out. She says that her husband is quite upset over his brother's going and has hardly been the same since. He has little time to talk or play with the children, and he used to pay so much attention to them. Mrs. Bixby asked him the other evening if he thought that his brother had gone with some other woman, and he seemed very much upset over that idea. The Virgil Bixbys have six children, and Mrs. Virgil Bixby is only able to be around now after the birth of the last baby. She said that last winter Mr. Bixby came to their place on Tuesday evenings to play cards with his brother, and on Thursday evenings all the brothers and their families would gather at some one of the brothers'.

Mrs. Virgil Bixby was the oldest in her family. Her mother was deserted by her father, and they had a very difficult time. She does not think it wise for Mrs. Bixby to consider going down to Richmond, Indiana, as their means there for caring for children in the home is very inadequate. Mr. Bixby's mother is very much disturbed over his going away and has written his brother Virgil that she hopes the children will not be put in homes as her children were.

Mr. Bixby came in with some medicine for his wife. He said there was little additional information that he could give. He has no idea where his brother can be. Mrs. Bixby consulted him before taking out the warrant. He advised her to do that although he believes that if he could see his brother he could do more with him by talking with him than by having a warrant served. He is unable to do anything about the rent at the present time. He is working for a man who is having difficulty collecting his bills and for that reason has not been paid. He has also had extra expenses due to his wife's illness. He hopes to be able to help Mrs. Bixby out next month. His brother

Howard was not at home, but he has only recently started to work in a department store.

*November 9, 1923.*—Evening visit made to Mrs. Lucy Alling, sister of Mrs. Bixby. Mrs. Alling lives in a comfortable and attractive bungalow in one of the new additions in Bellevue Park. At the present time she has with her a younger brother, Thomas, who is somewhat of a wayfarer—works when he wishes and travels when he wishes. He pays his sister board but is in debt to her at the present time. He has only started to work. Mrs. Alling runs a laundry in her basement. She was put to a great deal of expense to buy equipment. She felt, however, when she wanted to buy a home that she would have to help pay for it. Her sister, Marion, stays with her and during the day looks after the house and is paid $5.00 a week. Mrs. Alling has one son about sixteen years old, who is in high school. She said she did not have one cent in the house that day. She wanted to help her sister and was going to. She has some groceries which her husband brought from the place where he works which he is going to take to her. At the start, Mrs. Alling said she thought her sister, Carrie, had made a worse "mess" of her life than anybody she knew. She said she never has taken things very hard, and she never had been very grateful for what the family has done for her. They disapproved of her marrying Mr. Bixby for two reasons: first, they felt that she was too old for him and, secondly, he never did hold a steady job. Mrs. Alling was much opposed to Mrs. Bixby having so many children. She feels that any man who thought a woman could have as many children as that would be quite likely to run away. Mr. Bixby has always liked to go out evenings, and Mrs. Bixby has never cared to. Years ago he used to drink a great deal, but Mrs. Alling does not think he has done so recently. She says that he has never been mean. She is going down to see Mrs. Bixby soon so she can find out more as to why he left.

She says that she has always been very close to Carrie, who lived with her before she was married. She said that she was too lazy to do anything but stay at home (Mrs. Bixby on the other hand has told visitor that she brought up Mrs. Alling's boy). Mrs. Alling says that she always worried more about her sister's family than her sister has done. She has no particular plan to suggest but said that she would do what she could for her sister. She speaks very quickly and impresses one as being very energetic. She looks a great deal like her sister Carrie.

*November 14, 1923.*—Visited Mr. Robert Wolcott. He is buying his own home, a bungalow, in a new addition of Fernwood. He is an electrician. He says that he is just about making his own expenses, but after a great deal of discussion he said that he would be willing to do as much as the rest agreed to do. The suggestion was that each one contribute $1.00 a week. There are sixteen relatives and this would amount to about half the budget. Last Monday he went down to see his sister and took her half a sack of potatoes and took Mabel home and bought her several dollars' worth of clothing.

Mr. Wolcott feels as his sister, Mrs. Alling, that Mrs. Bixby has made a mess of things. In the first place he did not approve of her marriage. He says Mrs. Bixby reports Mr. Bixby as being much better to the family than he ever really was. Last winter they were down to see them several times, but they never found him home once. The Bixbys seem to have gone down hill. They used to live in Fernwood in the same building as the Wolcotts, but as more children came the landlords objected and they have moved from poorer to poorer flats.

They feel that Mrs. Bixby is too lenient with the children. They spoke of one time just after the Bixbys had purchased a new dining-room set. The children tied stove pokers to their coat tails and went galloping around the house, pokers hitting everything as they went along. They do not think the children are bad children, but just careless about property. Mrs. Bixby has never been disturbed by their climbing over things. She is always very calm and never seems to appreciate what they do for her. They felt that she could take better care of the children than she does. Mr. Wolcott says he cannot understand how his sister can stand the house with its dirt and disorder. Before her marriage she was the most particular one in the family. They would be willing to take Mabel, but if the other children are to stay at home they think she had better stay too. They also spoke of the large family, and said they wished the opponents of birth control could come down and see that "mess" of children.

They thought possibly their sister Grace, who is in Rochester, New York, but whose street address they did not know (thought Mrs. Alling would be able to give that) was in a better position to help Mrs. Bixby than anyone else.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Anna Carey, another sister of Mrs. Bixby. She has four children; lives next door to her brother Robert. They are buying their place, which is a bungalow. Said she could not do

anything without her husband. Sent for him. He feels that Mrs. Bixby should be supported by the State. He says that he is paying something over $200 in taxes this year and that he could not do anything more. He said that he had always been asked to help some member of his wife's family and that he is just about through with it. Mrs. Carey has been down to see Mrs. Bixby since Mr. Bixby left. The Careys have had seven children, but three of them died.

*Summary.*—Visits to the home November 1, 7, 10, 17. Conditions were just the same. A policeman took the boys out and had their hair cut and he stops in now and then to see if Mrs. Bixby is getting along all right. Two plain-clothes men stopped to serve a warrant. A woman from First Reformed Church brought groceries. Mrs. Bixby does not know how she heard of her.

Mrs. Bixby confirmed the statement of her brother Robert regarding his assistance. She also said that her sister Lucy sent her a great many groceries on the fourth and felt that $8.00 would be sufficient for the coming week. She had Dr. Simonds, their family doctor, for the baby as she felt he has not been getting along as he should. She seems to enjoy visiting with the people who come. The children are all going to the First Reformed Church next Sunday. It seems that the woman who comes from there has some connection with a woman they knew in Richmond, Indiana. The landlord was very unreasonable about the rent. Mrs. Bixby offered the check, which the visitor took her, to the agent. He took it but brought it back saying that the landlord had already started suit. The check was offered to him within the limit stated in the "five days'" notice. Mr. Bixby's brothers, Virgil and Howard, came over on Saturday. They took the check to the agent and told him that he could not refuse to take it and that if he did they would witness in court that it was offered to him. The landlord said he would take it if they would pay $3.00 because he had already started court proceedings. The landlord called later, however, and accepted the check. Mrs. Bixby has a lease for a year. He served the "five days'" notice before he even called to collect the rent. Mrs. Bixby thinks this is because he knew Mr. Bixby had gone.

She is receiving half a ton of coal from the County.

*November 22, 1923.*—Visited. While visitor was there a man by the name of Mr. Shorey called to see if Mrs. Bixby needed anything. He said that he represented a secret society of Oak Wood, name of which he would not give. Nor would he give his own telephone number

or street number. He took the Agency's card and said that they would get in touch with office after they had decided what they could do. He also asked for the budget, which was given. This man asked if anyone else had been there from the secret society, said two men were supposed to have called during the day.

*November 27, 1923.*—Visited Browning School and talked with Miss Foster, the principal. Leonard is in VI A and has only "excellent" on his card. Miss Foster spoke very highly of him in every respect. She felt that the children were doing so well in school it was unnecessary to talk with the individual teachers because of the interruption of the class. James is in V B and had "excellent" or "good" in all subjects, except writing, which was "fair." Mabel is in the fourth grade. Her report card is satisfactory also. She has just had a new teacher. Thomas has given some trouble, and Miss Foster thought it advisable to consult his teacher. Talked with his teacher, Miss Quayle. She says that Thomas is bright enough, but she just has not been able to understand him, and that he is rather difficult to manage. He does not have any particular pal and plays around alone. He is in the third grade. Sometimes he gets his work and sometimes he does not. Talked with Miss Page, Robert's teacher. Robert has been regular in attendance up until yesterday. She understands he was hit by an automobile and that was the reason he was not in school. He has not been doing very well and Miss Page has just learned that he is near sighted—apparently cannot see the chart. He is in first grade.

The children in the Browning School have routine physical examination. Leonard was examined on September 19, 1923: weight and height normal; vision defective in both left and right eye; tonsils bad and treatment recommended. Mrs. Bixby has been notified.

Thomas was examined on September 25, 1923. He is in the third grade; started to school at the age of six. Only defect was bad teeth, and the nurse said that if Mrs. Bixby would sign a slip authorizing her to have it done, she would take him for dental work. None of the children in James's room was examined. Lucile was not examined this year. Robert was examined September, 1923. No defects noted; question mark after vision. [The names of nurse and doctor are entered on record.] The nurse said that the children ranked with the average in the school as to health.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Bixby reports that seven men in all from the secret society had been to see her. It seems that they have to check up on each other as well as on the person receiving the money.

Mrs. Bixby says she thinks they got her name from the children being taken to the barber shop by the policeman, because right after that a man who had been in the barber shop came over with a sealskin cap for one of the children and spoke of getting his society interested. Leonard asked what society he represented and was told it was a secret society. Leonard told him he just bet he was a Ku Klux Klan, and the man did not deny it.

Mrs. Bixby promised to have her sister-in-law, Mrs. Arthur Bixby, take Leonard and Robert to West Side Dispensary for eye examination, if visitor arranged with Dispensary; and she will be glad to have Leonard have his tonsils out. When asked how she felt about having so many people come in asking questions, Mrs. Bixby said it seemed awfully funny to her. She apparently takes it as a matter of course and seems grateful for people's interest.

*December: Summary.*—Visits made on December 1, 6, 12, 19, and 26. Mrs. Bixby was quarantined just before Christmas as Alexander was a diphtheria carrier. The sign was left on over a week, and Mrs. Bixby says that Dr. Simonds, her family physician, took the matter up with the Health Department. He said that if there was any necessity for such a sign they should have given all the children antitoxin and not left them there exposed to diphtheria.

*Summary: Health.*—Leonard was examined at the Elizabeth McCormick Nutrition Class and tonsillectomy was recommended. Mrs. Bixby was notified that the appointment was for January 4 at Zion Hospital Tonsils and Adenoids Clinic.

*Christmas.*—Family given to Milk Drivers' Union for clothing at Christmas. Children attended Lions Club Christmas Party.

Beulah and Mabel spent most of the holidays with Mrs. Bixby's brother in Fernwood. The two older boys went for a few days' visit. The six older children went to Lions Club Party and had a good time.

The Bixbys had a very bountiful Christmas. Mrs. Bixby said she did not know how many people came, only those who left cards. In all she had ten pieces of meat, which included a turkey and a chicken. The children received a magic lantern, automobile, toys, rocking horse, and much candy. Mrs. Bixby reports enough clothing for the children to last two years: underwear, stockings, waists, and dresses. In addition to this she received four pair of cotton blankets, twelve pillow cases, and a very nice wool dress and sweater for herself. The Milk Drivers' Union provided a very large Christmas dinner and canned goods. They were the only ones who registered with

the Christmas Clearing Bureau, up until three or four days before Christmas. The *Courier* sent turkey and other groceries. Mrs. Bixby's own people brought some clothing for the children; gave her $2.00 and some toys. The woman from the First Reformed Church brought some clothing, and the "Klan," so called, brought canned goods. On the visit just after Christmas Mrs. Bixby said she really did not need any money except to get her shoes half-soled and pay her insurance. Leonard took Robert down to the West Side Dispensary on the thirty-first. Instead of the prescription for glasses he brought home the dispensary records which he said were given him by the doctor with the instruction to get his glasses. [This was of course corrected.]

On one visit Mrs. Bixby showed visitor some candles which the children had given her for her birthday. Mrs. Bixby says that on the children's birthdays she always makes a cake and they have candles.

*January: Summary.*—Visited January 8, 15, 22. Leonard and Robert did not return to school because they did not have their glasses. The glasses were delivered to them on the twenty-second and they were instructed to return to the West Side Dispensary to see if the glasses were all right.

Mabel has not been feeling well, and her feet and hands are swollen. Mrs. Bixby took her to Dr. Simonds, whose diagnosis was rheumatism. James has been home with a sore throat, and the school doctor sent word to Mrs. Bixby that he needed to have his tonsils out. Mrs. Bixby would like arrangements made for that.

*January 30, 1924.*—Visited. Mrs. Bixby showed Leonard's card—he was double-promoted from VI A to VII A. His marks are as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| English | E | Reading | G |
| Spelling | G | Writing | G |
| Arithmetic | S | Geography | E |
| History | S | Music | E |
| Drawing | G | Physiology | G |
| Physical Training | S | Co-operation | G |
| Manual Training | G | $6\frac{1}{2}$ days absent | |

Mrs. Bixby said that Leonard's principal has told her that she would try to hurry him through so that he would have the opportunity of going to high school. Mrs. Bixby said that Leonard is very bitter about his father's going away. The little children would be glad to have him back, and she thinks James harbors no ill feelings as he is

very forgiving. Mrs. Bixby says that she does not think she would ever take him back, especially if he does not come of his own accord, as she could not trust him.

Mrs. Bixby always talks about her relatives and their families and their illnesses. She says that she never doctors her children herself—if they are sick and in need of anything she calls a doctor and she follows what the doctor says. Robert is the only one of the children who did not pass in school.

Mrs. Bixby has not seen her brother Thomas since her father died. Her brother-in-law, Mr. Carey, brought her a heating stove and put it up. He also brought her a sack of onions. He is an interior woodworker and does not have much work during the winter. The Bixbys have two beds, one in each bedroom, and a sanitary couch, which is almost worn out, in the dining-room. Mabel, Thomas, and Alexander sleep in the back bedroom; Leonard and Robert and James on the sanitary couch, and Beulah, Lewis, Virgil, and Mrs. Bixby in the front bedroom. The younger children go to bed about 8:30, but Leonard likes to stay up and read. The children have a magic lantern, which their father got them before he left. They also have a small victrola. Mrs. Bixby is in need of mattresses, another couch, a rug, and a crib for the baby and a washtub for bathing purposes. They cannot use the bathtub in the winter because the bathroom is cold and there is no hot water running. She says that the flat was supposed to be cleaned when the rent was raised last fall, and electric lights put in, but the landlord has not done anything about it, although he cleaned the other flats and put in electric lights.

*February 12, 1924.*—Visited. Mrs. Bixby was rather silent at first and seemed somewhat put out about something. The only thing she mentioned regarding the matter was that her brother and sister-in-law had invited her to a party which they were having on their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary. She said she did not believe she would go because they had not offered to send in and take her out in their car. She thought it would not have hurt them to have done that. It was afternoon, but Lewis was just getting his bath. Mabel was trying to straighten up the house and had a pile of dirt which she had swept up right in front of the door. James has started to take manual training and he showed with a great deal of pride a little alligator which he had made. He just brought home a box of paints which he purchased for 10 cents earned by running an errand for the butcher.

*Bad housing.*—The two front rooms are the only ones that have windows opening on the street. The living-room has two windows facing California Avenue, and the bedroom has one window on the same side. There is an Elevated Railroad station at California Avenue and it is very easy for people going up to the station to see in through the window. The dining-room has two windows which open on to a court. The court is about six feet in width. The dining-room is so dark that the light has to be kept burning in the middle of the day. The kitchen has a window opening on to a court, and it is necessary to have artificial light in the kitchen during the day. The rear bedroom has a window opening on to a porch. There is a toilet in the flat.

*February 13, 1924.*—Visited and talked with Mr. and Mrs. Black, the pastor of the First Reformed Church and his wife. The Bixbys were referred to them by the County Agent, who asked them to do all they could for them. Miss Blair, their deaconess, made the first call early in November. Mrs. Bixby has not told them of the Welfare Agency's help. They understood that Mr. Bixby's employer was paying the rent. They gave some clothing, about $4.00 worth of groceries about the first of November because Mrs. Bixby said she did not have money to buy hand soap, cocoa, or yeast. Mrs. Bixby said she would make bread if she had yeast. At Christmas time, they gave a couple of baskets; they had not planned to do so, but since the baskets were left at the church and they knew of no one else to give them to they took them over. They took a Christmas tree which had ten $1.00 bills on it. The church is not in a position to give anything regularly. Mr. and Mrs. Black, however, seemed convinced of the importance of organizing the proper amount of relief and promised to consult office when they could do anything. They understand that the Masons helped at Christmas time, but they do not know who has charge of that. They were told that in addition to clothing which was taken, the Masons gave $25. The Blacks gave Mrs. Bixby's name to the Milk Drivers' Union. They understand that Leonard, Mr. Bixby's brother, is a hard drinker and beats up his family quite frequently. This information has been obtained from neighbors.

Mrs. Black felt that Mrs. Bixby took very good care of her children. The Blacks thought possibly they might be able to get a small bed and a sanitary cot for the Bixbys, and they will ask.

*February 19, 1924.*—Telephoned Dr. Simonds' office. The doctor was out but Mrs. Simonds said that for several years he had attended

the Bixbys when they were ill. He has not been in for several weeks. He does not charge Mrs. Bixby anything for his calls. The doctor also attends the families of two of Mr. Bixby's brothers, and Mrs. Simonds feels that they are all very poor.

*February 20, 1924.*—Visited. Mrs. Bixby has two gas bills of $9.00 each. They cover December and January gas. Mrs. Bixby feels that she cannot expect the bills to be much lower during the winter months because she has to burn the gas in the kitchen and dining-room all day in order to see at all. She has one Jumbo burner. She has tried mantles, but because of the jar from above they are always broken.

*Later.*—Mrs. Chase, secretary of the Women's Auxilliary of the Milk Drivers' Union, telephoned that they would send milk. She asked whether it should be one or two quarts. Asked for two quarts.

*February 25, 1924.*—Called at Dr. Simonds' office. Although it was his office hour he did not come in. Mrs. Leonard Bixby, sister-in-law of Mrs. Bixby, answered the bell. She does cleaning for Mrs. Simonds. Appointment was made with her to talk over the Bixby budget on the twenty-sixth at her home.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Bixby is receiving two quarts of milk through the Women's Auxilliary of the Milk Drivers' Union. Virgil takes a whole quart as per doctor's orders.

Mabel and Thomas are having their dental work done under the direction of the school nurse. Mrs. Leonard Bixby is the sister-in-law who takes the children to the dispensaries. She has always helped Mrs. Bixby out in this way. Mrs. Bixby says that none of the children has ever been to the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

Mrs. Bixby showed a letter which she received with one of her Christmas baskets. The heading was the Ku Klux Klan. No address or other identifying material on the paper. Mrs. Bixby said she thought she had shown this before. Mrs. Bixby does not know the names of any of the Masonic people who came there at Christmas time. She said they asked a number of questions about her special needs, but they did not return as they promised and she has not heard from them since. She made no mention of the $25 which she was supposed to have received.

*February 26, 1924.*—Telephoned Cook County Agent, *re* securing a quart of milk on Dr. Simonds' statement. County Agent said that this would be sufficient and that he would send the milk to the Bixbys immediately. When he learned that Welfare Agency had been

sending some coal, he said that was not necessary—to cancel the last order, and he would send coal. He said they are not limited to a half-ton a month.

*Later.*—Evening visit made to the Leonard Bixbys. Both Mr. and Mrs. Bixby seemed very much interested in the Bixbys and said that they would help as much as they could. When they have been at Mrs. Bixbys, they have asked her if she had everything she needed and she said that she did. They do not have very much themselves. There are five children, all in school. Mr. Bixby is a machinist and also a union man. They live in a basement, and their furnishings are rather scant. Mrs. Bixby works out by the day several days a week. She has a very noticeable goiter. She gives the appearance of being very energetic and evidently the one in the family who makes things go.

Mr. Bixby had notified his union of his brother's disappearance, had searched for his tools, and followed any clues which any of the men have brought to him. He says that Mr. Bixby has always been of a roving disposition and that up until the time he was married it was nothing for him to jump a train and go out as far as Colorado for a short stay. As a matter of fact all the brothers prefer to ride the rods rather than pay their fare. They consider it a sort of lark. When Mr. Bixby left, he said nothing to any of his brothers about going; and it had been only three weeks since he had been at his mother's. Mr. Bixby did not feel at first that he had intentionally left his family, as he always seemed very fond of the children; but so much time has elapsed that he thinks there can be no doubt but that he has just skipped out. He always liked to go and he was always willing to take Mrs. Bixby but she never wanted to go.

Mr. Bixby gave the name and address of a friend of theirs in California (Innskeep), where they thought Mr. Bixby might have gone. Mr. Bixby wrote there not saying that Mr. Bixby left home. He asked his friend whether there was any work out there. He showed the letter which he received from this man. There was no mention of Mr. Bixby. Mr. Innskeep is with the Identification Bureau in a little town outside of Los Angeles, but lives in Los Angeles. Mr. Bixby spoke very highly of Mrs. Bixby. He feels that the family should be kept together. He talked with his brother Howard over the matter of helping them. Howard is earning only $20 a week at the present time. It was finally agreed that the Bixby brothers would pay $5.00 a month toward the rent, paying it directly to Mrs. Bixby, this to start with the April rent.

### 31. The Family of Stanislaus Dobiezewski

*(Who Leaves His Wife, Janina, and Three Dependent Children)*

*October 23, 1919.*—Mrs. Dobiezewski in office. She asks that we have her husband arrested or else sent to an insane asylum. She is sure he must be crazy. Last night he chased her out of the house, and, when she ran to her sister's, Mrs. Zwerchowski, he pursued her with a butcher knife and wanted to kill her.

Since marrying Mr. Dobiezewski she has found that he has a criminal record. He was in jail three years before he married her. She says that two years ago he was in the State Penitentiary. He has likewise been in the City Court, where he was placed on thirty days' probation. The cause of the present trouble is jealousy. In July he was out of work because of the Acme strike. He took in a boarder to help pay expenses. Now he accuses her of infidelity. There are three children, Janina (born May 8, 1916), Theresa (born July 7, 1917), and Rosalia (born May 6, 1919), and he claims that Rosalia is not his child. The boarder left one week ago. Her reasons for thinking him insane are his attempts to kill her and also his extraordinary sensuality. She has had to suffer a great deal from him in that manner.

*Later.*—Telephoned Dr. Morey, Acme Company. He called Mr. Dobiezewski to the office and got the man's version of the affair. According to Mr. Dobiezewski his wife has given him every reason to be jealous and to suspect her morality. Furthermore he denies her statement that he has tried to kill her.

Dr. Morey says the man seemed to him peaceable enough and quite reasonable. He scouts the idea that the man could possibly be insane. He is disposed to blame the woman for the present trouble. He will, however, give the man a good talking to. He asks that we send Mrs. Dobiezewski out to see him, and he will then have a conference with the two.

*Later.*—Told Mrs. Dobiezewski of Dr. Morey's wish to see her. She was evidently much opposed to going to the foundry. She seemed to feel that she would not get a fair hearing. She finally agreed to go. She promised to let us know in case further trouble arose.

*October 25, 1919.*—Visited. The family have lived for two years in a three-room, second-floor rear apartment, for which they pay $8.00. Mr. Dobiezewski was born in 1893 in Kovel, Poland. He immigrated fourteen years ago. He sailed from Bremen on the

"Kaiser Wilhelm," arriving New York November 20, 1907. She came from Grochow (her maiden name was Pyzyna) and she immigrated seven years ago. They were married in Peoria (verified) July 11, 1915, and came later in that year to Chicago. He has two brothers and a sister in the United States. She has a sister, Casimira (Cassie) Zwerchowski, in Chicago and a sister, Victoria Pesek, in Lansing, Michigan.

He took out his first papers January 12, 1918.

Mrs. Dobiezewski did not go to Dr. Morey. She says she could not as she could find no one with whom to leave the children. Mr. Dobiezewski has not attempted to strike her or be violent with her since his talk with Dr. Morey. She says he nags at her constantly, and she is sure he is trying to drive her away. Mrs. Dobiezewski has a furtive, rather unpleasant expression and her manner is quite surly. She does not inspire confidence. A neighbor who was present during the interview disclaimed any knowledge of the family trouble. She had too many affairs of her own to attend to, she said.

*December 5, 1919.*—Mrs. Dobiezewski in office asking advice. She wishes to bring her husband to court, but she fears to take action herself, as he has threatened to kill her if she has him arrested. She has a sensitive, tragic face. She seemed really frightened.

*February 23, 1920.*—Visited. Mr. Dobiezewski is not kind to Mrs. Dobiezewski. However, he does not treat her brutally any more. He pays the bills and is quite generous about that, but he does not give her much money to spend. She was preparing the noonday meal. There was an abundance of food. She does not wish the Welfare Agency to take any action against him, nor does she wish us to interview him. She thinks it would make matters worse. When asked why she had come to the office December 5 and requested a visit, said she didn't know; she had changed her mind. If things get very bad she will come again.

*July 26, 1920 (Monday).*—Mrs. Dobiezewski in office with bad-looking eye. Said her husband had come home drunk the night before and had beaten her. Called up Dr. Morey, Acme Company, who agreed to let us bring her over to him so that he might see what Mr. Dobiezewski had done to her.

*Later.*—Accompanied Mrs. Dobiezewski to Dr. Morey. Dr. Morey thinks that both Mr. and Mrs. Dobiezewski are to blame. Mr. Dobiezewski still thinks that she has the former roomer visiting her, when he goes to work. He has been coming to work very irregularly

with the same excuse, "his wife sick." He did not go to work today as he was not quite sobered up.

*Later.*—Visitor and Dr. Morey accompanied Mrs. Dobiezewski home. Dr. Morey had a good talk with Mr. Dobiezewski. Told him that if he is going to beat his wife he will be arrested. Mr. Dobiezewski has to report to work every Monday morning otherwise he is going to be laid off. Said that he was not feeling well today, will return to work in the morning.

*July 27, 1920.*—Mr. Dobiezewski, wife, and three children, all well dressed, in office. Said his superintendent told him to bring family over as he wanted to see them before man went to work again. Wanted interpreter to go along. As there was no interpreter this could not be done. Tried to telephone Dr. Morey but could not reach him. Told Mr. Dobiezewski he had better take his family and go along as he knew the way and there would be someone to speak Polish if his English gave out. Agreed and started out but came back and asked if office couldn't get a Yellow Cab to take them over as it was hard with three children to take them over in the car. As wife was carrying baby told him he could easily manage other two little children. Impressed interviewer as irritable and unreliable.

*December 30, 1920.*—Visitor learned from Stanley Zepalski (case) that his father was over at Mr. Dobiezewski's, drinking.

Visited. From the street, visitors could hear drunken men singing and playing an accordion. Mr. Dobiezewski, who was drunk, came downstairs and said he did not know Mr. Zepalski. A few minutes later Mr. Zepalski came reeling down wanting to know what was the matter.

*Later.*—Police found a still in the attic; as no one in the house claimed it, they could not prosecute. They said the still they found was worth about $40.

*February 26, 1923.*—Mrs. Dobiezewski, a slight, light-haired woman in office. Mr. Dobiezewski left home February 19 and has not yet returned. Mr. Dobiezewski was laid off (Acme Foundry) April, 1921, and for a year after that was unable to secure work because of the industrial depression. During this time Mrs. Dobiezewski worked some. Mr. Dobiezewski secured some odd jobs, and they had a little savings at home and they ran into debt about $200.

In June of 1922 Mr. Dobiezewski secured work as a molder in another foundry and worked there up until February 17, 1923, when he quit of his own accord in order to draw his pay, which was not due until February 21. Mrs. Dobiezewski called at the foundry February 20 and learned that he had not reported for work.

Mr. Dobiezewski has never deserted before, but for the last month he has repeatedly threatened to do so because he says that "she is never satisfied with anything he does." Sunday morning Mrs. Dobiezewski arose and went to early mass; and, when she had come home, she was getting breakfast ready for the family, when Mr. Dobiezewski got up and began to taunt her because she was pregnant, calling her vile names. They quarreled and Mr. Dobiezewski left, returning about 2:00, slightly intoxicated, for his dinner. Mrs. Dobiezewski was angry and told him that dinner was over and he could get it at the same place he got his breakfast. He went out again and did not return until late at night. She had gone to bed but he insisted that she get up and cook him some supper; she refused to do this and paid no attention to him although he tried his best to pick a quarrel. He told her not to call him Monday morning as he did not intend to go to work; and so, although she arose and prepared his breakfast and lunch as usual, she did not call him. When he got up, he demanded to know why she had not called him and she told him that he did not wish to be called. He said, "Oh, yes"; he put on his best clothes and left after trying to make her angry by walking all over the kitchen floor which she had just scrubbed.

Mr. Dobiezewski told the woman upstairs that he was sick of her nagging and was going to work in the mines. She asked him if he did not feel sorry to leave his children and he said "No, but he did feel sorry to leave his job as he had rather have one of his children die than lose his job."

Mr. Dobiezewski always drank heavily. He has been making moonshine. Once just after Welfare Agency visitor was there in December, 1920, Mrs. Dobiezewski was frightened and threw away his still and all his materials, but he bought some more. He never sold any moonshine that she knew of, but he used to have moonshine parties and invite all the men that he worked with to his home at night when they drank great quantities of it. Mrs. Dobiezewski became tired of this and threw the still away about a month ago, and since that time he has not made any.

*History.*—Mrs. Dobiezewski's sister, Mrs. Zwerchowski, came to the United States before Mrs. Dobiezewski and later sent her a ticket, and in September of 1911 she came to her sister, who lived in Peoria. She worked there for four years in a factory, living with her sister. One Saturday afternoon Mr. Dobiezewski, who had formerly boarded with Mrs. Zwerchowski but had come to Chicago prior to her coming from Europe, came back to visit. He liked her very much

and was so determined that she marry him that they were married the following Monday in church. Soon afterward they moved to Chicago. Mrs. Dobiezewski soon discovered that her husband was not at all what she would have him be. He drank, never supported her, and she learned from friends that the same week he married her he had escaped from the penitentiary to which he was sent because he had killed another man in a quarrel over a girl.

Mrs. Dobiezewski has been working, scrubbing floors in a building at nights, but was forced to quit as after Mr. Dobiezewski left she had no one to care for the children while she was away. She does not know the company she worked for as she was first taken by Mrs. Sladek (case) and later by Mrs. Norak. Mrs. Dobiezewski had $2.00 left when her husband went away and has since borrowed $3.00 from her sister Mrs. Zwerchowski. She cannot give her any more because she is a widow and works to support herself. Mrs. Dobiezewski has taken credit for the last two days in a grocery store at the same address where she lives. She still owes the grocer, Mr. Kegowicz, $12. She has no idea of her husband's whereabouts. He was not a member of the molders' union and belonged to no lodge. He joined a lodge two years ago but dropped it after a few months. She does not know the address of any of his people. She applied at the Court of Domestic Relations for a warrant, but they refused to issue it as she did not know his address.

*Later.*—Visited. The rooms are on the ground floor of a house back of some small stores. Entrance is through a narrow passageway between the buildings and then across an open yard back of the grocery store. There is a high fence across the back of the lot, but the level of the alley is higher than that of the yard.

The rooms were dark and very damp. Mrs. Dobiezewski was ironing in the kitchen and the four white-faced little children were playing in a dark bedroom opening from the kitchen. [Marya (born May 21, 1921) is the one born since the first visit in 1919.] The "parlor" was shut off.

Mrs. Dobiezewski was one of six children. One sister died in Poland, and the other is caring for her father, who is eighty-five years old. A brother is married and living also in Poland. She never attended school and cannot write, although she has learned to read a little through her own efforts.

Soon after they came to Chicago some friends of Mr. Dobiezewski's, Stephen and Joseph Lesniak (who are now living in Columbus,

Ohio) and Andrew and Karl Biecek (now in Lansing, Michigan), told her about about Mr. Dobiezewski's having been in prison.

Mrs. Dobiezewski had been referred by the Charitable Corporation to the Court of Domestic Relations and had been given $3.00. The visitor of the Corporation had called and left a card only, as Mrs. Dobiezewski was at Welfare Agency's office at the time.

Marya's face was badly broken out, so referred Mrs. Dobiezewski to West Side Dispensary.

*February 28, 1923.*—Dr. Morey of Acme Company telephones that Mr. Dobiezewski was laid off April, 1921, because of the industrial depression. His work was never very satisfactory. He earned about 47 cents an hour. Dr. Morey knows nothing further about the man.

*Later.*—Mrs. Dobiezewski in office with name of her husband's employer. She did not go to West Side Dispensary with Marya because she had no one to take care of the other children. Later she said she went to Charitable Corporation and was given $3.00 cash and a card to the County Agent. She was told by neighbors that her husband was seen in the neighborhood visiting David Madzinski, Cottage Grove and Morgan streets. She wants to have her husband arrested.

*March 7, 1923.*—Called at National Foundry Company and talked with B. P. Lewis, timekeeper. Mr. Dobiezewski worked there until just three weeks ago, when he drew his pay and left, saying he was going to Lansing, Michigan, to his wife's sister as he had had a family quarrel. He was a good workman; the timekeeper remembered him very well and said that he thought he would be back after his job. He knew that he drank, but he had not been out because of this. He earned $40 a week, was not a union man as they run an open shop. Will let visitor know if he learns of his whereabouts.

*March 10, 1923.*—Visited. Mrs. Dobiezewski has a very bad cold and has been in bed for the last few days. She is better now, however, and refuses to see a doctor or nurse. She took Marya to West Side Dispensary and was given some salve for her face. She was very angry, however, because several doctors had examined Marya's face and said she never intended to go there again.

Mr. Dobiezewski has not been at home nor has he been heard from. When asked directly how long she had known he was in Lansing, she answered "Since last night" and showed a letter which she had received from her sister, Mrs. Pesek, saying that Mr. Dobiezewski had gone to Lansing because he drank too much when he was in Chicago. He

is planning to send for her and the children. The letter did not give Mrs. Pesek's address and was not clear as to whether Mr. Dobiezewski was staying with Mrs. Pesek or not. Mrs. Zwerchowski is going to write her sister tonight and ask her for more particulars.

*March 13, 1923.*—Mrs. Zwerchowski in office by request. She is a nice-looking Polish woman and very pleasant; she speaks no English. She is anxious to learn English, but thinks she is too old. She has been a widow for the last nine years. She has five children. The daughter is married and the oldest son, Wladyslaus, works at the Efficiency Chair Company where he makes $21 a week. There are three children at home—a fourteen-year-old boy attends St. Casimir's School, and the two younger children the Parker School. Mrs. Zwerchowski has supported herself and her children for the last six years by cleaning locomotives in the roundhouse of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad. She earns $3.00 a day but must work every day including Sundays and holidays.

Mrs. Zwerchowski confirmed Mrs. Dobiezewski's story of her earlier life and her marriage; also the fact that Mr. Dobiezewski had always been a heavy drinker and had never properly supported his family, although he had never deserted before. After prohibition, Mr. Dobiezewski spent his evenings going from one house to another where moonshine was being made. Soon his friends became tired of giving him a drink so they started to charge him for it. When Mrs. Dobiezewski protested against his spending all his money for drink, he insisted upon making it himself. Just after the Welfare Agency found a still there December 30, 1920, he destroyed the still, but later purchased another one which Mrs. Dobiezewski now has put away.

He has always earned good money but never had anything saved because of his drinking habits. When he went away, Mrs. Dobiezewski had $2.00. Mrs. Zwerchowski herself has helped her sister some and does not believe that Mr. Dobiezewski is sending her any money. She has not yet written to Mrs. Pesek because she is afraid if she gets a letter Mr. Dobiezewski will leave Lansing.

She does not believe that there is any particular connection between Mr. Dobiezewski and Mrs. Pesek. He boarded with her before he was married, but before that, she had not known him at all. Mrs. Zwerchowski also has heard that Mr. Dobiezewski spent three years in jail and was married soon after his release, but she does not know what jail he was in or why as he never talks about it. He has always

told Mrs. Dobiezewski, however, that rather than go back, he would kill himself. Whenever he would drink and she would threaten to to have him arrested, he would lock himself in his bedroom and cry and plead with her, promising to do better.

*March 14, 1923.*—Mrs. Dobiezewski in office. She did not bring her sister's address from Lansing as she does not care to have visitor write there, because she is sure Mr. Dobiezewski would leave. She expects that he will send for her as soon as he gets his first pay and everything will be well again. Mrs. Dobiezewski understands that Welfare Agency can have nothing further to do with the family if she does not wish them to communicate with Lansing.

*March 15, 1923.*—District Committee advised that Welfare Agency do nothing further; but the County Agent will write Lansing and try to locate family there.

*March 17, 1923.*—Health Department Pre-Natal nurse in office. The County Agent reported Mrs. Dobiezewski to her for confinement; so she will care for her.

*March 24, 1923.*—County Agent telephoned that his investigator saw the landlady, Mrs. Lulinski (next door east), who reported that the family owed her $15, but had promised to pay it as Mrs. Dobiezewski was expecting money from her husband. He had worked steadily until two days before he left and Mrs. Dobiezewski worked nights until then. The landlady was sure they had money saved. Both Mr. and Mrs. Dobiezewski drank, and they made moonshine.

The investigator also saw Mrs. Dobiezewski, who at first denied receiving mail but later acknowledged that she received $50 and had $40 on hand and was expecting more from her husband as he had secured steady work and had rented a house next door to her sister in Lansing and intended sending for her after Easter (April 1).

## SECTION VI

## THE UNMARRIED MOTHER AND THE CHILD BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK

### 32. Dorothea

*(The Unmarried "Widow" of Gustavus Lange)*

[The Lange home is a two-story gray frame cottage in about the middle of the block. The street runs north and south. In front of the house there is a neat yard with nice turf and growing lilies. Vacant lots (north and south of the house) in which sweet clover grows profusely give the home a rural touch. One feels there is plenty of room and sufficient fresh air in the neighborhood as most of the two- or three-story buildings in the block are separated by small gardens or yards and set back a little from the street. A public school is just one block south on the other side of the street and a block farther in the same direction a boulevard with trees and grass plots adds considerably to the attractiveness of the neighborhood. There are no churches in the immediate vicinity.]

*October 3, 1919 (Friday).*—Mrs. Lange in office with note from Juvenile Court.[1] Mr. Lange died at home on August 21, 1919, of tuberculosis. He was sick from February, 1919, on. For fifteen years he worked for the American Electric Company, earning $16 a week. About four years ago he gave up this work and went into business for himself, selling wreaths to florists, at which he made from $16 to $18 a week. Dr. Grosvener took care of him. He has examined children and says they are all right. Mrs. Lange received $582 insurance from the Metropolitan Insurance Company. Funeral expenses were $200.95. Undertaker was Pierce, 2440 Adams Street.

[1] [Mrs. Lange, who proves never to have been married, is referred by someone on the death of Mr. Lange to the Mothers' Aid Department of the Juvenile Court. The Mothers' Pension Law in Illinois at that time applied only to "wives . . . ." and "widows . . . ," and one of the essential bases for a grant is verification of the marriage. The needless humiliation of Mrs. Lange illustrates the importance of a minimum of investigation by a private agency or by any adviser before sending an applicant to a public agency. Obvious bases of ineligibility should certainly be eliminated.]

Mrs. Lange has $150 left and says she can manage very well with this for the time being.[1]

*February 20, 1920.*—Mrs. Lange came again to the office with card from Mrs. Ellery, probation officer.[2] They had been unable to verify several marriage dates. Mrs. Lange admitted that she had not been married, although Mr. Lange had lived with her steadily and taken good care of the family. Mrs. Lange said they did not marry because her family objected on account of religion (he was Catholic and she Lutheran). Mr. Lange's relatives had always treated her well. Mrs. Lange was too upset to interview to good advantage.

*Later.*—The names and addresses of Mr. Lange's sister, Mrs. Kaufman, and mother, and of a brother-in-law and nephew of Mrs. Lange were secured from Juvenile Court record. In addition, the record mentioned that Mr. Lange sold his teaming business when he became ill, and the money was used during his illness. Officer saw the baptismal certificate of Mr. Lange, which was signed by Rev. Wohlkert; Margaret's (born November 10, 1907) and Elizabeth's (born August 21, 1909) certificates signed by Rev. J. E. Miller. Marian's (born October 5, 1911) was also signed by him and Harry's (born March 2, 1914) by Ernest Steiner. The four children all attend the public school. Officer saw the citizenship papers of Mrs. Lange's father. She visited Pierce, undertaker, where she verified Mr. Lange's death and the funeral expenses of $200. Mrs. Lange showed receipts for

[1] [In this interview in the office, facts are obtained about Mr. Lange's sickness and death, the names of his former employers, of his late occupation, his earnings, the name of the doctor, the funeral cost, and Mrs. Lange's present resources. She has $150, which will carry her for some time, and nothing is done. The idea is that later she will be able to obtain a pension and if she then needs help the Agency will aid.]

[2] [The question may be raised as to whether a common law marriage could not be alleged: but (1) there was no intent, and (2) common law marriages had been outlawed. In 1909, it was enacted that "all marriages commonly known as 'common law marriages' hereafter entered into shall be and the same are hereby declared null and void unless after the contracting and entering into of any such common law marriage a license to marry be first obtained by such parties who have entered into such common law marriage and a marriage be solemnized as provided by this Act in the same manner as is provided for persons who have obtained a license to be joined in marriage and are about to be joined in any such marriage. And any children born to parties who have entered into such common law marriage shall be and are deemed legitimate upon the parents having obtained a license to marry and are married in the manner provided in this Act" (*Laws of Illinois*, 1909, p. 276, an act entitled, "An Act to amend section four of an Act entitled 'An Act to revise the law in relation to marriages'").]

coal and wood amounting to $33.85. These seem to have been the only receipts she had. The principal of the school stated that the children attended regularly and were always clean and neat. Mrs. Kaufman, Mr. Lange's sister, was visited. She owns a small bakery and supports her mother, who is eighty-two years old. Court estimated the budget to be $96.93.

*March 8, 1920.*—Visited. The cottage is frame and very draughty.[1] It is a rather superior neighborhood, however. The house was in order, but neither the rooms nor Mrs. Lange's clothing were very clean. Mr. Lange's people were devout Catholics, and Mrs. Lange's were strongly biased Protestants, who, however, did not attend church much. Both families disapproved of Mrs. and Mrs. Lange's attachment for each other. Mr. Lange rented and furnished a flat; and after they could come to no agreement about the marriage, they told their respective families that they had been married in a Protestant church and went and lived together. So far as they know their families have always believed there was a marriage ceremony. Mrs. Lange thinks only the Welfare Agency knows that there was none. Within a year, about fifteen years before, Mrs. Lange's mother and brother died. Later her sister, Mrs. Fred Remmert, died, leaving a baby, Reginald, who is now fourteen. His father has remarried and has three other children. Mrs. Lange has no other relatives.

The couple at first lived from month to month, Mr. Lange always thinking that she would become a Catholic and marry him. They do not seem to have considered marriage in court. He ruled the house with a strong hand. Finally, nothing more was said about marriage until he swore falsely in his exemption papers. That worried them both. He no longer expected she would change her religion, and they were afraid of publicity if they were married in court. In referring to her falsehoods to the Juvenile Court, etc., Mrs. Lange repeated often, "that was wrong, wasn't it?"

Mrs. Lange spoke of her husband as being faithful to her, a good provider, and satisfied with his home. He drank some and did not have a happy disposition. He was severe with the children and permitted her no pleasures. He had gone to St. Anthony's School as a boy and attended that church regularly all his life. He believed

[1] [Mrs. Lange's only relative is a nephew, the son of a deceased sister whose husband has married again. The interview now reveals the tragedy of decent illegitimacy.]

moving pictures and most sorts of amusements were wicked. Except for his relatives, the family visited nowhere together. When asked if she had been happy, Mrs. Lange replied that there had never been anything to be happy about because she worked so hard. She was afraid to take the initiative in pleasure-seeking, or in planning for the family, because she felt the stigma of not having been married. Mr. Lange always assumed the attitude that he had done as much as he could and that the shame of the situation was hers. Mrs. Lange feels great satisfaction that she has the baptismal certificates of the children in a Lutheran church. Mr. Lange could not prevent her doing this, and his family and parish did not know about it. She did not object to his own allegiance to the church and called a priest before he died and had him buried from St. Anthony's.

Before marriage Mrs. Lange did basting on vests. She would be willing to do this now. She works Wednesdays for Mrs. Kaufman, earning $3.00. Mrs. Kaufman also gives her as much bakery goods as she needs. As the street-car connections are poor, Margaret goes for these only about twice a week. The family has Sunday dinner at the Kaufman home on alternate Sundays, and Margaret usually spends Saturdays there. When Mrs. Lange works, she takes Harry with her; and the older children take their lunch to school, although the teachers object. Mrs. Lange has no acquaintances in the neighborhood. After he left the Electric Company, Mr. Lange used his team to collect the frames of floral designs at the cemetery and sell them downtown. He had always been in good health until he had influenza and pneumonia in December, 1918. This ran directly into tuberculosis. A Health Department nurse had Mrs. Lange and the children go to Dr. Grosvener, who examined them all and gave a statement for the nurse that they were not infected.

*March 18, 1920.*[1]—Visited school. Margaret is in the high fifth grade. Her attendance was perfect the first half of the year, conduct excellent, and all her grades either good or excellent. The school doctor found nothing wrong with her health. Elizabeth is also in high fifth. Her attendance has been good, her scholarship even better than Margaret's. The only physical findings were defective

[1] [The investigator follows a standard plan. The school, Mr. Lange's relatives (some nice things come out about Margaret and Elizabeth, who are evidently very nice girls), previous addresses, the doctor, further diagnosis at school, a friend of Mrs. Lange's who cautions the visitor about tuberculosis in Mrs. Lange's family. This means that the food must be adequate and the housing safe.]

teeth, which the school nurse is having attended to. Marian is in high second grade. Her scholarship and attendance have been good, and there are no physical findings.

*March 20, 1920.*—Visited Mrs. Kaufman. They own a three-story brick building. There are two apartments above, and the family lives in small, dark rooms back of the bakery on the first floor. Mr. Kaufman does all the baking for the shop. His wife says she is not strong and is not able to attend to the store so they are trying to sell it. If they do this, Mr. Kaufman will work for some baker. The only child living is an eleven-year-old girl. Mrs. Kaufman cares for her mother, who is very old and entirely blind. She confirmed Mrs. Lange's statement as to what she had done for the Lange family. She is thoughtful about anticipating small wants but has no idea of putting in a definite or considerable amount of money. If they sell the store she cannot continue employing Mrs. Lange.

Mrs. Kaufman made no comment about the impossibility of finding a marriage record. She apparently realized that the couple were not married. She spoke of Mrs. Lange as a very good mother, and she has a lively interest in the children. Margaret felt her father's illness deeply and was very mature in her attitude of helpfulness. Elizabeth has received small amounts for doing the marketing for a neighbor. Nothing will induce her to neglect the exact time she is supposed to perform the duty. Mr. Lange's one interest was in the children, and Mrs. Kaufman showed photographs on which he had written remarks about the children. He had never been ill until he had influenza.

*March 21, 1920.*—Visited previous neighborhood and talked to Mr. Carr, landlord, and Mrs. Weitzer, a neighbor. The family was quiet; the children were especially well behaved. Mrs. Lange almost never left the house, her husband doing all the shopping and spending his spare time with the children. They moved because sleeping accommodations were inadequate.

*March 28, 1920.*—Talked with Mrs. Allen, landlady. She does not know the family intimately; but they have been model tenants, and for this reason she is not raising the rent.

*April 7, 1920.*—Telephoned Dr. Grosvener. When he examined the family after Mr. Lange's death, they were all run down, but there were no tuberculosis findings. Besides tuberculosis, Mr. Lange had several paralytic strokes, which were probably the result also of influenza.

*April 13, 1920.*—Telephoned Juvenile Court. Their record shows they verified the funeral bill with Pierce, $200.95. He made but one copy of the death certificate, and therefore they wrote no other insurance company than the Metropolitan. She was paid $509 September 2, and $73 September 13. She had a fuel bill receipt for $32.85, and had lived on the $348.

*April 30, 1920.*—Mrs. Lange has had sixteen teeth extracted and is waiting until plates can be made. She is having great difficulty to find rooms. The people who have bought the place were obliged to store their furniture in her basement, and are most urgent that she move.

*May 6, 1920.*—Student nurse arranged special examination of the children by the school doctor.

*May 10, 1920.*—Visited Mrs. Henry Remmert, a friend of Mrs. Lange's located through city directory. Her husband, who died last January, was brother to Fred Remmert, whose first wife was Mrs. Lange's sister. The second Mrs. Fred Remmert and Mrs. Henry Remmert are sisters. Mrs. Henry Remmert has four grown children, who are keeping up the home. They appear kind and most friendly toward Mrs. Lange, but the home indicated that they could not give much, if anything. They have tried to help in finding rooms. Mrs. Remmert says Mrs. Lange always worked very hard for the family, and with this and losing two children, she had very little happiness, and did not go out at all. Mrs. Remmert does not wish to be quoted as giving the information but thought we should know that Mrs. Lange's mother, brother, and sister died of tuberculosis, so they fear it for her.

*June 25, 1920.*—Visited. The three older children had just been promoted to higher grades in school, and Mrs. Lange showed a great deal of pride in their progress. Elizabeth is earning 25 cents daily, running errands for a neighbor.

Mr. Fred Remmert has tried to help in finding a flat for the Langes and is apparently interested in them. His first wife was Mrs. Lange's sister. After her death he married again, and his brother Henry married the sister of the second wife.

*June 29, 1920.*—Mrs. Lange and children sent to camp for two weeks, examined by Dr. Packard, Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

*August 31, 1920.*—Weekly visits were made during the month. Mrs. Lange and Margaret had eyes examined at West Side Dispensary. Mrs. Lange's were all right. Margaret's glasses were not changed, but she was given treatment for her eyes.

Mrs. Kaufman helps her with food and clothing for the children. At present they are well supplied.

*September 30, 1920.*—Home was visited during month. Mrs. Lange is anxious that her children should have the attention they need, and she is careful about fresh air and good food and co-operates in sending them to Dispensary. She is having plate made at Chicago Dental Clinic.

Mrs. Kaufman has sold her bakery shop. Mrs. Lange still works one day for her, but they miss the bread and cake they used to get.

*October 11, 1920.*—Visited American Electric Company. Mr. Lange had worked for this company as a transportation harness cleaner from August 15, 1907, to May 1, 1913, when he resigned. This company has no funds for relief of former employees, only those working for company at time of their illness or death.

*October 29, 1920.*—Weekly visit made. Mr. Lange worked for American Electric Company irregularly from 1892 until 1916. Mr. Lange's brother, Joe, was a foreman for the American Electric Company, and Mr. Lange worked under him. He and his brother would disagree, and Mr. Lange would leave only to return soon. Mrs. Lange has his ten-year service pin dated 1902. The brother had worked for the company twenty-three years when he died. Mrs. Lange is washing one day a week for Mrs. Kaufman and earns $1.50. Mrs. Kaufman has not given children any clothing lately, but Mrs. Lange has fifteen yards of red serge that Mrs. Kaufman gave her last winter for dresses for the girls. Elizabeth gets dinner and 50 cents a week from a neighbor for whom she runs errands. Harry and Elizabeth both had two teeth extracted at Chicago Dispensary.

*November 10, 1920.*—Visited Mrs. Letman. She has known Mrs. Lange since she was twelve years old and is very fond of her. Before Mrs. Lange was married, she had friends and went out a great deal. Mr. Lange seemed to think that a woman's place is at home so she gave up her friends and devoted herself to the home. Mr. Lange was a good father and provided well for the family. Mrs. Lange has no relatives, and Mr. Lange a mother and sister. Mrs. Letman married a cousin of Mrs. Lange's brother-in-law. She realizes that Mrs. Lange has a struggle and tries to help her. While visitor was there, she was baking a cake for Margaret's birthday. Her daughter tries to keep Mrs. Lange supplied with clothes for herself.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Kaufman. They have sold their bakery shop, and Mr. Kaufman is without a job; therefore they have not

been able to help as they had planned. Mrs. Kaufman is doing the cleaning herself. She will give $1.00 a week and will send it directly to Mrs. Lange. She kept repeating that she was sure Mrs. Lange was getting on all right as she had dreamed so. Mrs. Lange, Sr., is very feeble, blind, and deaf.

*November 23, 1920.*—Name given Kelvin Park Gym Group through Mrs. Enright for Thanksgiving Dinner.

*December 4, 1920.*—Letter written to Mrs. Schneider of the Sorosis Woman's Club:

Confirming our conversation the other day, may I ask that you take up with the Sorosis Woman's Club the question of helping us in caring for the Lange family. Mr. Lange died about a year ago, leaving four children, thirteen, eleven, nine, and six years—all, as you see, under fourteen. Through a combination of circumstances, Mrs. Lange is not eligible for a Mothers' Pension; but she does take excellent care of her children, and we feel should be aided in maintaining a home for them.

We have been paying the family's rent, $16 a month, supplying two quarts of milk daily, which with the discount allowed to us amounts to about $9.00 a month, and giving in addition $6.00 to $10 weekly, depending on Mrs. Lange's own earnings.

When Mrs. Lange came to us she was very much run down, and it has been necessary since to have all of her teeth removed and plates made for her. We hope that this will lead to better health and possibly enable her to do more work than she is now undertaking. We have been caring for the Lange family now for about nine months and have expended in all more than $400. Inasmuch as we have a great many families similarly in need, we feel very much dependent on help such as your group of friends can give.

Would your Philanthropic Committee undertake to pay the rent of $16 a month, or, if not, could they help with the milk? It may be that individual members would be willing to contribute toward a fund which might help us in our provision for the family.

The care of needy families in Chicago is a tremendous task, and only by all of us working together can we accomplish it in anything like an adequate fashion.[1]

*December 7, 1920.*—Visited Mrs. Lucharschi, Elizabeth's employer and a previous neighbor of the family. She has known the family for

[1] [This family presents the problem of the long-time allowance while the children are growing toward working-age. The court estimated the budget at $97. The Welfare Society put in $60 out of $97, leaving about $9.00 a week to be raised from other sources. This constituted a heavy drain on the resources and made it necessary to resort diligently to the special appeal. The record contained many letters similar to this to possible contributors sent out at fairly short intervals.]

years. They were good neighbors. Mr. Lange was a devoted father, and Mrs. Lange is an exceptional woman. Elizabeth is devoted to Mrs. Lucharschi's daughter, Mathilde, and takes wonderful care of her. Mrs. Lucharschi gives Elizabeth her lunch, and after school Elizabeth does shopping and plays with Mathilde until time to go home. She has found Elizabeth to be trustworthy in every way. She pays her $3.00 a week and is planning to give her $5.00 for Christmas. Mrs. Lucharschi is an intelligent woman and is very much interested in the family.

*December 24, 1920.*—Mrs. G. B. Evans took family for Christmas. School gave Christmas tree.

*January 13, 1921.*—Weekly visits have been made. Special study has been given to family's diet. Mrs. Lange would like morning work. She has been doing small washings. Family was well cared for Christmas time. Besides food, the children received many useful things. The children attend Edenwood Baptist Church Sunday School. Mrs. Kaufman is giving $1.00 weekly and visits family oftener; she also invites the Langes for Sunday dinners. Mrs. Lange finds Mrs. Kaufman variable and queer since she had a nervous breakdown sometime ago. Elizabeth is still running errands for Mrs. Lucharschi, but she is no longer caring for Mathilde. She is very generous with her earnings. She keeps herself and Margaret supplied in material for sewing at school. Margaret is very quiet, stays in the house, and seems to have very little ambition. Mrs. Lange will take the children to the Nutrition Class at College Settlement.

*February 10, 1921.*—Miss Pope, Nutrition Class, College Settlement, reports that all the children were weighed and measured and were found to be normal. Mrs. Lange seemed to have a good idea of food values, and the children were not considered for Nutrition Class.

*March 24, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Lange says she is very contented.[1] She is working a day and a half a week and thinks she is capable of more. She has just completed a coat for which she expects to receive $3.00. Both she and the children are well. Elizabeth goes to store for a family after school and earns 25 cents and a meal.

[1] [All the children are in good shape. Mrs. Lange has learned how to feed them. She is happy, too, and working. Margaret will be fourteen in October but will not complete sixth grade until June 22, when she may lawfully go to work. A scholarship from the Vocational Guidance Bureau may enable her to continue in school a little longer.]

### 33. Anna Donetrovitch

*(A Croatian Unmarried "Widow," with Four Children, Whose Marriage Gives to the Children a Kind and Careful Stepfather)*

*April 8, 1915.*—Gabriel Donetrovitch asked card to Northwestern Railroad. He has been out of work nine months. Worked last for National Ice Company as laborer for one year at $2.00 a day. Have received county rations for past two months. Borrowed from friends for living expenses.

*March 1, 1917.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch,[1] a Croatian immigrant woman, came to office with two youngest children, Margaret (born June 20, 1915) and Martha (born November 10, 1916), and a neighbor. She had been directed here by Neighborhood House. She is a strong, healthy-appearing woman, and the children were warmly and neatly dressed. She said Mr. Donetrovitch had deserted her five weeks ago. Ever since their marriage he has been a heavy drinker and so has never supported his family properly. He came to this country eight years ago, and she came two years later. He worked in Gary, and they lived there two years after she came. They then moved to the neighborhood in which they now live. For the past two years, Mr. Donetrovitch has been earning $20 to $23 a week working in factories. (Mrs. Donetrovitch does not know the names of the firms.) In order to support the family, Mrs. Donetrovitch has been obliged to keep roomers. Their home is a rear first-floor apartment, for which they pay $6.00 rent. Mr. Donetrovitch's brother, Mike, roomed with them until two weeks ago, when he secured employment in Whiting, where he is still living. Mrs. Donetrovitch's brother, Jacob Karavelova, was with the family until a week ago, when he left for parts unknown. He had been obliged to give the greater part of his earnings to Mrs. Donetrovitch and wanted to get away so as not to have to support her longer. Mrs. Donetrovitch is planning to move to a two-room flat

[1 This record divides itself into several episodes. The first of these dates from March 1, 1917 to May 10, 1917. During these ten weeks, there is a brief contact due to Mr. Donetrovitch's "desertion," when he goes off to Akron, Ohio, where he finds employment without taking the trouble to tell Mrs. Donetrovitch where he is, but without concealing his whereabouts from his brother, who gives her his address. She is referred to the Welfare Agency for aid, and receives from them food and some friendly visiting. However, the Infant Welfare, the Health Department, the County Agent, and the County Hospital are all concerned with the family. And while there is some talk of prosecuting him for desertion, this seems to be the plan, and no investigation is made with this in mind. The fact of marriage is not verified. On his returning to his home and his job, the record closes for the time.]

at 2142 Mississippi Street. She has not deposited any money, but the landlord will let her move in.

Mrs. Donetrovitch had Mr. Donetrovitch's address, which she got from his brother in Whiting. It is some place in Ohio. She wants to have him arrested and brought back to Chicago. She will take the address tomorrow to the Court of Domestic Relations. She received county supplies two days ago. Yesterday a man from downtown whom she did not know left $2.00 at her home. She has no plans for the future beyond having Mr. Donetrovitch arrested and sent to the Bridewell. Besides the two children with her, there are two others, August (born in July, 1910) and Hadja (born July 10, 1914). One former address was obtained.

[The Legal Aid Society was registered on the case (October 24, 1914) as well as the Infant Welfare Society (July 16, 1914) and the Neighborhood House (1914). The County Agent registered March 2, 1917.]

*March 9, 1917.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch has not paid rent in new quarters, a three-room first-floor apartment, for which they pay $5.50, and the landlord is pressing. Rooms are not particularly good; kitchen is narrow and dark; other two are light. Mrs. Donetrovitch has done nothing about swearing out a warrant for Mr. Donetrovitch. She, herself, did not secure the address; but a friend of Mr. Donetrovitch, James Shadfeld, received a letter, which he said he turned over to Neighborhood House. Mrs. Donetrovitch would take Mr. Donetrovitch back to live with her if he would promise to support her properly. His brother Michael's wife came to see Mrs. Donetrovitch while visitor was there. She left her husband a year ago because he would not work and abused her terribly, and she is now suing for a divorce. She has no children and has been supporting herself by working in a factory. Has been out of work for two days. Mrs. Donetrovitch had nothing but county rations. Gave her $1.75 grocery order and two 25-cent meat orders.

*March 16, 1917.*—Visited Neighborhood House. Family is not known at Settlement very intimately. Worker called at the home one evening before Mr. Donetrovitch's desertion. The house was filthy dirty, and there were three or four men drinking and playing cards with Mr. Donetrovitch. A Mr. Shadfeld received a letter from Mr. Donetrovitch. He signed his name as David Domelovitch, and gave his address as Akron Rubber Works, Akron, Ohio.

*March 17, 1917.*—Telephoned Legal Aid. Family had case against Julius Schmidt. They bought a $600 lot and paid $30 on it,

and Mr. Donetrovitch intended to continue to pay $10 each time, but did not get the job he expected to, so was unable to pay. He asked to have his money refunded but Schmidt refused.

Visited previous address, 2156 Logan Street. Landlord said that Mr. Donetrovitch was not working while there and the family was not a clean one. They still owe $9.00 for one and a half months' rent. Could give no more information as he was not well acquainted with the family.

*Later.*—Visited 2576 Johnson Street. There family owes $14.50 for rent. Landlord claims Mr. Donetrovitch never worked and that Mrs. Donetrovitch's brother always paid rent (that is as long as the brother worked). Family were nice and quiet and Mrs. Donetrovitch a good woman. Never saw Mr. Donetrovitch intoxicated.

*March 22, 1917.*—Telephoned Charitable Corporation, which registered today. Visitor said that they gave $3.00 on March 1 and $2.00 on March 18. Cannot promise regular assistance.

*March 23, 1917.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch got the letter from Neighborhood House but has not yet gone to the court with it. The grocer did not cash the $1.75 grocery order given Mrs. Donetrovitch on March 9, but accepted the meat orders. Mrs. Donetrovitch returned the grocery order, and there was nothing wrong with it. Did not know that she could have come to the office to make the complaint. Neighbors have assisted to some extent, so she has managed to get along.

Landlord is pressing for rent, and Mrs. Donetrovitch asks that we pay it. She used up the $2.00 given by the Charitable Corporation for food. Dr. Bassett, a health inspector, called yesterday, and advised Mrs. Donetrovitch to take Margaret and the baby to the County Hospital. She took the children today, but only Margaret was accepted. Doctor gave them a statement saying that Margaret has intestinal trouble and needs attention. Mrs. Donetrovitch is very much depressed because of the child's illness. Gave her a card to the Court of Domestic Relations, and she will go down on March 26. Gave her two grocery orders and a 25-cent meat order.

*April 2, 1917.*—Visited. Mr. Donetrovitch came home March 25. He has been in Akron, Ohio. Brought home $20, but does not know if he had more as he did not give her any money. He paid two months' rent and one milk bill, and bought clothes for one of the children. Mr. Donetrovitch goes to the grocer himself when Mrs. Donetrovitch has no time. Today before leaving he brought home

meat and things for supper. Mrs. Donetrovitch thinks he probably got work, as he has not yet returned, and does not want to go to Court of Domestic Relations. Believes Mr. Donetrovitch will be better. Received county rations, March 28.

*April 19, 1917.*—Mrs. Thompson (volunteer) visited. Mr. Donetrovitch is working steadily. Children have slight colds.

*May 10, 1917.*—Mrs. Thompson (volunteer) visited County Hospital (Social Service Department). Unable to find record of children.

*Later.*—Social worker of County Hospital telephoned that she will try to find children's record and report to Welfare Agency.

*October 23, 1917.*—Mrs. Sara Donetrovitch, 2540 Logan Street, who lived with Michael for a year, told visitor that Mr. Donetrovitch and Mrs. Donetrovitch are not married.

*April 22, 1918.*[1]—Infant Welfare nurse (Miss Gaines) reports that Mr. Donetrovitch has deserted, and Mrs. Donetrovitch is in need. Mrs. Donetrovitch has been coming regularly to Infant Welfare Clinics, and follows instructions well. [There is now a new baby, Gabriel, born January 1, 1918.]

*April 23, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch says Mr. Donetrovitch did not desert; that he is in the County Hospital. She told the following story: About two weeks ago he and Jim Illova, a friend, went to a christening party. Both Mr. Donetrovitch and Mr. Illova are Croatian. There was an Austrian-German there, who started an argument about the war. This led to a fight, in which the German stabbed Mr. Donetrovitch and Mr. Illova. Both are in the County Hospital. The German escaped but was captured. He is being held until Mr. Donetrovitch and Mr. Illova are well, when the case will be heard. Mrs. Donetrovitch says she had only $2.00 on hand. Mr. Donetrovitch worked for the Electric Company, but

[1] [April 22, 1918, to May 14, 1918. A second episode opens on this date when the Infant Welfare Society reports that Mr. Donetrovitch has deserted and that Mrs. Donetrovitch, whose last child is now almost five months old, is in need. She says that Mrs. Donetrovitch has been coming to the Infant Welfare Society and that she follows instructions well.

On inquiry, however, it is learned that Mr. Donetrovitch had been wounded in a fight at a christening party! The fight was about the war. Two men were stabbed, but no trial was ever had, as both men were said by the sergeants of police to have been drunk. On Mr. Donetrovitch's discharge from the hospital, and return to work, the Agency again loses sight of the family.]

just one week before the accident he left there and secured work at a tar factory. Thinks he had a little pay coming. Does not know name nor address. Did not know his check number nor the department. Promised to get this. Did not know number of ward nor room at the hospital. Said he was on the fourth floor. Mrs. Donetrovitch's brother, Jacob, is in Pennsylvania [address obtained]; Mr. Donetrovitch's brother, Mike, is in the army. Thinks he is in Europe. He was divorced from his wife. She has since remarried and is now in Rockford. Does not know name nor address. Have no other relatives.

Mr. Kirschoff, the grocer, at 1540 West Street, has been giving credit; but she owes him $14.92, and he informed her that he would not give any more. Said the bill is high as it is. Said she is weak—hasn't had a good meal. Gives the children most of the food. Gave her 40-cent meat and $1.25 grocery order.

*Later.*—Visited Mr. Kirschoff. He said he felt sorry for Mrs. Donetrovitch but could not give any more credit. Said he lost so much money in this way that he is very careful now. Said he thinks Mrs. Donetrovitch ought to be getting help from the "city."

*April 25, 1918.*—Letter written social worker at hospital about Mr. Donetrovitch asking diagnosis and prognosis.

*Later.*—Visited police station. Sergeant looked through books and found record of Gabriel Donetrovitch and John Godfried's being arrested by Officer Hatfield and Sergeant Lyons. Later both were discharged, one being sent to the Cook County Hospital. Record read that Mr. Donetrovitch received a cut in the head and not in the heart as Mrs. Donetrovitch had said. Desk sergeant said there would be no trial, as both men were intoxicated.

*April 27, 1918.*—Letter received from hospital social worker saying that Mr. Donetrovitch had been discharged on the twenty-fifth able to work.

*May 14, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch says Mr. Donetrovitch is back at work at the tar factory. Does not know name or address. Returned last Saturday. Will be paid next Saturday. Does not know how much he will be paid. Did not know anything about the trial, etc. Said Mr. Donetrovitch could tell us about that. Mrs. Donetrovitch did not seem to be willing to give information. Said they were having a hard time managing. Grocer refused credit. Are borrowing money until Mr. Donetrovitch gets paid.

*June 15, 1918.*[1]—Miss Gaines, Infant Welfare nurse, telephoned to say that Mrs. Donetrovitch says she is having a difficult time to manage on present income. Mr. Donetrovitch works only a few days a week. Tells Mrs. Donetrovitch he has to attend court on account of trouble he was recently in.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch speaks a dialect very difficult to understand. Says that Mr. Donetrovitch has been having to attend court very frequently, and, when he gets there, he is told that case will come up another day. He started to work yesterday at the Electric Company. Thinks at $3.00 a day. Before this he worked at the tar factory. Mrs. Donetrovitch does not know either check number or foreman's name, and did not know what court it is he has to go to. They are having a very hard time, as they cannot get any credit in the neighborhood, and Mr. Donetrovitch loses so much time when he has to appear at court that his earnings are very small, and they are trying to pay back some of their old debts. Mrs. Donetrovitch says if it wasn't for neighbors helping out they wouldn't have anything to eat. Mr. Donetrovitch borrowed 75 cents yesterday from some friend which he gave Mrs. Donetrovitch. She bought 25 cents' worth of potatoes, which is the only thing she has in the house to eat at present. Is saving the 50 cents for milk for baby. Is sure Mr. Donetrovitch is willing to work and will work if he is not called to court too often. Was told to appear June 24. She went to the County Agent, but he refused to give her supplies. Visitor left note asking that Mr. Donetrovitch put down his check number, name of the foreman, department, and also name of court at which he is to appear. Mrs. Donetrovitch does not know when Mr. Donetrovitch will be paid. Left $1.00 grocery order and 50-cent meat order.

*June 26, 1918.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch said Mr. Donetrovitch is not working at the Electric Company. Went back to the tar factory; at least that is what he told her. She still does not know name nor his check number. Was in court Monday and Tuesday, and the case was continued until July 25. There will be a jury trial.

[1] [June 15 to June 26, 1918. Again the Infant Welfare nurse asks help. Mr. Donetrovitch is spending a great deal of time in courts trying to send the man who stabbed him to the House of Correction, although he has offered to pay damages. He is working very irregularly and the family is having a hard time, but Mrs. Donetrovitch refuses to go into an institution to give him time to catch up, and after two visits the Agency ceases to visit.]

Mr. Donetrovitch has some lawyer; Mrs. Donetrovitch does not know his name (city lawyer). Said that Mr. Donetrovitch is not suing for money, but wished Mr. Godfried, who stabbed him, to be put in prison.

A brother of this Mr. Godfried offered to settle outside of court by paying a certain amount of money, but Mr. Donetrovitch refused to take it. Mr. Donetrovitch received some pay last week while at the Electric Company. Showed visitor envelope with name and number 617 on it, amount $8.38. Does not know whether this was paid him at the Electric Company or not. He does not tell Mrs. Donetrovitch anything. Says when he is working he never gives her very much money. Pays the rent and bills at the different stores and gives her about 20 or 30 cents a day. Mrs. Donetrovitch said she would not prosecute Mr. Donetrovitch as she thinks he is doing his best; that he is willing to work but has to lose quite a bit on account of the trial at court. He paid the rent last week, $5.50, and also paid back a debt of $5.00 to a friend. Does not know how much money he has on hand. Left 30 cents this morning. Mrs. Donetrovitch was cooking a pot of bean soup and had potatoes and cottage cheese.

Mrs. Donetrovitch said that when Mr. Donetrovitch first brought suit against Mr. Godfried he hired a Mr. Beltman, a lawyer of Evanston, but he wanted to be paid in advance and would not wait for payment until after the trial. Visitor suggested that Mrs. Donetrovitch go to a home for a few weeks until after the trial and give Mr. Donetrovitch a chance to earn some money before family came home so that they could start all over. She refused. Said that she will have to make the best of it as she has been doing.

*July 4, 1918.*—Head Resident of Neighborhood House reported that Martha died a day or two ago of influenza. Hadja is very sick.

*August 9, 1919.*—Visitor from County Agent's office telephoned that Mr. Donetrovitch was killed in Centralia, Indiana. The authorities are returning the family here. Will send household goods by truck. County Agent asked where they can be stored. Told her of relative, Mr. Michael Donetrovitch, and suggested asking Neighborhood House if they had room for them. Suggested a better arrangement would be to have furniture held until Mrs. Donetrovitch finds rooms and then have them sent direct to her.

*September 18, 1919.*[1]—Miss Gaines, Infant Welfare nurse, telephoned. Mrs. Donetrovitch and children are in need of assistance. Mr. Donetrovitch was killed in May, 1919.

*September 9, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch was standing out on the sidewalk, looking forlornly down the street. She is a large, dark woman with a big coil of reddish-brown hair. She is slow of speech and movement. The rooms are small, dark, and poorly furnished. The family have been occupying these rooms since August 14, at which time they moved in from Centralia. Mr. Donetrovitch was killed by a train while crossing the railway tracks. Mrs. Donetrovitch says he had not been drinking. Some friends had asked him in a saloon, but he had refused, saying he had to buy some groceries for the family and was then going home. He had just received his pay ($56), which was in his pocket. They have received nothing from the railroad company, as the accident was said to be the fault of Mr. Donetrovitch. He was on the wrong side of the tracks where there was no watchman. He had some insurance with the Industrial Insurance Company. Mrs. Donetrovitch thinks the amount was $300. [The name of the agent was obtained.] But after the undertaker deducted what was due him, she received only $120. Mrs. Donetrovitch says they had a $50 Liberty Bond, but she has searched in vain for it. Showed visitor window card and a certificate which said that Mr. Donetrovitch had subscribed for one, signed O. K. Zeller, solicitor. After Mr. Donetrovitch's death the foreman brought Mrs. Donetrovitch $40, which she thinks was back pay for her husband. A woman from the city has called and written to Centralia and learned that Mrs. Donetrovitch can expect nothing from the railway company. She received county supplies August 19, but has nothing to live on now. Left relief $5.00 grocery order, and

[1] [September 8, 1919 to January 23, 1923. This is the long period of care. The family had moved to Centralia, Indiana; Mr. Donetrovitch had been killed on the railroad tracks under conditions that prevented his family from claiming damages; the family had been returned to Chicago where they had legal residence. No reference is made to Mothers' Pension or to her unmarried state, but the Welfare Agency takes up the burden of her support, chiefly out of special funds. During this period, every effort is made to develop better standards of housekeeping and of child care. Health agencies, the visiting housekeeper, friendly visiting, summer outings, are all resorted to. Finally recourse is had to the Juvenile Psychiatric Bureau. However, in spite of mental diagnosis of inadequate mentality, a way out is found through the offer of marriage and marriage to a young Serbian man, who takes Mrs. Donetrovitch with her four children.]

75-cent meat order and $1.00 cash for coal. Mrs. Donetrovitch has tried to find work. The Omega Nursery will take the children Monday, when she will try again for work.

*September 24, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch asks food and fuel. Asked her how she managed last week. Said she received county supplies and was living on these. She is anxious about the rent. Left grocery order for $4.00, $1.00 meat order, and $1.00 cash, also left $1.50 for coal and wood. She is anxious that nursery take children so she can go to work.

*September 28, 1919.*—Miss Gaines, Infant Welfare nurse, telephoned. Mrs. Donetrovitch has not been able to get children into nursery as it is full. Asked that Miss Gaines telephone to us that she needs fuel and rent. Baby is well, although Mrs. Donetrovitch cannot understand directions given by nurse. Seems dull, but it may be because she does not understand Bohemian interpreter.

*October 6, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch says that about three weeks ago she was told at the Omega Day Nursery to have the children examined by a doctor and to bring them in. She asked the Infant Welfare doctor, but he said he could not. She went to the settlement, but they had no doctor either. She has no money for a private doctor. Gave her a card to the West Side Free Dispensary. Needs coal, wood, and food.

Told her we would let her know when Omega Day Nursery has an open place again, and she will have children examined in the meantime.

*October 23, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch has been trying to get along on county supplies. Said she needed coal very badly. The Infant Welfare Society gave her one small pail full, which is now exhausted. The children are well, but August seems to have some nose or throat affection. Mrs. Donetrovitch will take him to the West Side Free Dispensary tomorrow morning and will herself go to the dental clinic, as she has been suffering with neuralgia and toothache. She is quite worried about the rent, which has not been paid since August 14.

*November 7, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch says she is out of coal and food. The house was cold, and the children were bundled up in their coats. She has had several teeth extracted and told the following story in connection with it. The nurse at the Infant Welfare Station gave her 50 cents and referred her to the Dental Clinic. She went with a woman to act as interpreter. After pulling

her teeth, the dentist told her she owed him $1.50. She protested she had no money, but after he cross-questioned her she acknowledged that she had 50 cents. He insisted that she give it to him, and asked the interpreter for the dollar also.

*November 13, 1919.*—Telephoned secretary, Extraction Department of Dental Clinic. Mrs. Donetrovitch had eight teeth extracted and has two more that must come out. They will refund Mrs. Donetrovitch's $1.50, if we send her to the clinic with a note.

[*November 26, 1919.*—Thanksgiving basket was given by Neighborhood House and another by a neighboring evangelical church.]

*December 1, 1919.*—Met Mrs. Donetrovitch at the Omega Day Nursery. The children were examined, and the three younger ones admitted for nursery care. Room will be found for August within a week or ten days.

*December 5, 1919.*—Moved Mrs. Donetrovitch to her new address.

*December 6, 1919.*—Visited the former address of Mrs. Mike Donetrovitch, who had moved away over four months ago, however.

*Later.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch says that Mrs. Mike Donetrovitch has remarried very well financially. Mrs. Donetrovitch does not know her former sister-in-law's new name or address.

*December 24, 1919.*—Christmas basket given by Neighborhood House.

*February 16, 1920.*—Head Resident of Neighborhood House telephones that doctor says Gabriel has bad case of eczema. Diet should consist of milk and eggs and a little dry toast. No cereals are allowed.

*Later.*—Visited previous address. [This was the address at which the family were living when the Agency first knew them.] Mrs. Donetrovitch lived there two and a half years ago. Mr. Donetrovitch worked very irregularly. Mrs. Donetrovitch is a very good mother.

*Later.*—Several attempts were made to locate Mrs. Donetrovitch's brother, Jacob Karavelova, but with no success.

*February 19, 1920.*—Telephoned the undertaker. He refused to look up the bill or send it, although he said he remembered it was either $121 or $125. He also remembered signing an Industrial Policy.

[During this period, the record shows letters written to the Centralia Charities, asking an investigation of the family's experiences there, to which only very tardy and inadequate replies were received; to the railroad, the lodge, the insurance companies, the national organizations from which he might have received a benefit, to an employer from whom he had undertaken to buy a Liberty Bond

($50), and to several generous persons from whom special contributions were solicited for the maintenance of this family—apparently a widow and four orphan children, the oldest a boy of ten.

It is learned that in Centralia she was thought to be a good mother, that there was no claim against the company, as he was a trespasser at the time of his death, that he had never paid on the bond, that the balance ($120) from his life insurance ($300)—after paying for his funeral—was paid to the widow.]

*April 21, 1920.*—Visited, with visiting housekeeper. Put in order all the drawers and closets, also the kitchen closet. Mrs. Donetrovitch promised to keep things in better order. She has to wash twice a week now, but feels she can manage better when the children have a few more clothes. Gave a donation of sheets and pillow cases, knives, forks, spoons, and plates.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. Boone, a contributor, who will supply much of the clothing and some of the household needs.

*May 25, 1920.*—Telephoned Mrs. Boone several times during the past month. She called on Mrs. Donetrovitch May 24, 1920, and gave her the following articles: one large rug, three dresser scarfs, two bedspreads, sheets and pillow cases, sewing materials, a cretonne bag, two suits for August, four extra pairs of woolen trousers, three pairs of light-weight trousers, twelve waists, one dress for Mrs. Donetrovitch, one waist (new), one night gown (which Mrs. Donetrovitch did not know the use of), several articles for the baby, plates, forks, knives, spoons, soap, two pairs of drawers, two chemises, and two sateen petticoats.

Mrs. John Bowman, of Grand Boulevard, will pay for two quarts of milk a day for Mrs. Donetrovitch until September 1.

*June 9, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch was hanging up clothes. They looked clean. Her house was tidy, and the children were clean.

*June 22, 1920.*—Visited. Gabriel's ear looked infected and was in bad condition. There was pus around it, and Mrs. Donetrovitch said that the Settlement visitor sent someone with her a couple of weeks ago to County Hospital, where the child's ear was attended to. He was there two days. She finds it hard to prevent him from scratching the ear and to keep it clean.

She would like to have her teeth fixed. She asked that we send interpreter to the clinic with her. She does not wish to go on summer outing.

*June 24, 1920.*—Visiting Nurse telephoned; at our request she had visited. Gabriel's ear is in fairly good shape. She thinks the trouble is only surface trouble. She has given Mrs. Donetrovitch directions for the care of it. She will urge Mrs. Donetrovitch to accept summer outing.

*July 30, 1920.*—During this month Mrs. Donetrovitch was taken to the Dental Clinic, a number of teeth were extracted, and her teeth were given a thorough cleaning. She objected strenuously, and urged that her father never cleaned his teeth in all his life and had good teeth until the time he died at a ripe old age.

She was also taken to Dr. Shoup for examination. She needs surgical treatment. He showed her some physical exercises which should be taken daily. These help to some extent, but there is no real remedy except an operation.

*July 31, 1920.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch, August, Gabriel, and Margaret were examined by Dr. Freeman of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium and sent for another two weeks' outing.

*August 15, 1920.*—When Mrs. Donetrovitch and the family were sent on summer outing July 31, it was found that Hadja could not get a doctor's certificate. Dr. Freeman of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium refused to sign slip because of "running nose," so Mrs. Donetrovitch left her behind in our care. At our request, Mrs. Varek (case) took care of Hadja for a week and gave her excellent attention. She found the child quite neglected. The child complained that her mother refused her milk, though she is very fond of it, etc. At the end of the week (August 6), Hadja was again examined by Dr. Freeman for summer outing and was sent to Raynard, Illinois, for two weeks by herself, her physical condition having meanwhile improved.

Mrs. Donetrovitch and the other children had an enjoyable outing. Gabriel was a great favorite at the camp. The people could not remember Mrs. Donetrovitch's name but called her "Mrs. Gabriel." He and the other children look as though they have benefited considerably.

Mrs. Donetrovitch has been visited twice since her return from the country, and both times there has been evidence that she made unusual efforts to clean up her house and her children. Once she was very much provoked at August because visitor caught him with

a dirty face. She says she has much trouble getting him to wash himself, but that he likes to brush his teeth.

Mrs. Donetrovitch is very much interested in her own personal appearance, perhaps due to her new clothes. She has acquired at least two strings of beads, one green and one pink. She has looked very neat and attractive the last times we have seen her.

*September 28, 1920.*—During September Mrs. Donetrovitch was visited regularly. She occasionally gave signs of being interested in her housekeeping, but usually the rooms were in disorder. She is attending English class at the Settlement and can read and understand English better than she can speak it.

*October 10, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. King, a volunteer, had been to see the family the day before and brought a supply of warm underwear, coats, and clothing for the children that her children had outgrown. Mrs. Donetrovitch said her brother, Jacob Karavelova, expected to return to the Old Country soon and buy a farm, and he would take Mrs. Donetrovitch's daughter Rosa, who was left in the Old Country, to work on his farm. This greatly disturbed Mrs. Donetrovitch as she wants the Welfare Agency to bring Rosa to the United States as she is old enough to work and could help support the children.

[*November 23, 1920.*—A Thanksgiving basket was given by an evangelical church of the neighborhood.]

*December 28, 1920.*—Mrs. Reynolds, of Raynard, sent Mrs. Donetrovitch a large box containing three pairs of new woolen blankets, two new dresses for Hadja, and a new apron for Mrs. Donetrovitch, besides a large quantity of clothing and shoes her children had outgrown; toys, candy, apples, and oranges, besides $2.50 in money for something extra for Hadja.

Mrs. Donetrovitch was very much dissatisfied with her Christmas this year, as she only received "two chickens in the four Christmas baskets sent in, when last year she received six chickens."

*January 19, 1921.*—Visited. Hadja and August ill and complained of very sore throats. Telephoned county doctor.

*February 10, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch had the house very clean and orderly. Gave grocery order for most of her allowance to ascertain what food she buys for the children.

*March 2, 1921.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch after suffering several months with toothache, finally had her front teeth extracted at Municipal Tuberculosis Dispensary.

*April 2, 1921.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch visited regularly. On March 30 visitor found Hadja at home from school, so she was taken to school. Her teacher said she often played truant. During March there was a substitute teacher and Hadja never came. She does poorly in school, perhaps because she cannot see. The school nurse had her examined for glasses, and she was given medicine to put in her eyes. Mrs. Donetrovitch would not allow the medicine to be put in, consequently the child is without glasses. Hadja is very stubborn. She would not tell visitor the room she was in—when safely inside she cried and said she was late so she stayed at home.

*April 22, 1921.*—Visited and learned that Hadja had not been home all night. Mrs. Donetrovitch had not worried about her, because she thought we had her taken to a downtown school. Even when she learned we had not done so, she was very little worried. Visitor had to insist on her getting on her things and going out to inquire for Hadja through the neighborhood. The school was visited —no one had seen the child. The police and hospital were notified, and the story was given to newspapers.[1]

*April 27, 1921.*—The visiting housekeeper undertook to try to teach Mrs. Donetrovitch how to cook and to care for her house. New dishes, tablecloth, and pans were bought for Mrs. Donetrovitch, who had broken all she had ever had, so that she was using one large pan which she placed in the center of the table, and the children and she ate out of it.

*April 28, 1921.*—Visiting housekeeper and visitor cleaned Mrs. Donetrovitch's pantry and showed her how to make oatmeal.

*May 5, 1921.*—Visiting housekeeper and visitor cleaned Mrs. Donetrovitch's dresser drawers and trunk, also showed her how to make the beds.

*May 10, 1921.*—Visited. The house was clean. Mrs. Donetrovitch said that she had made macaroni and tomatoes for the children and that they liked it so well that she will have to make double the recipe. Showed her how to make fried carrots.

*Later.*—Took Mrs. Donetrovitch and the children to the Nutrition Clinic and learned that the children are all overweight, but they are under height. The doctor advised Wassermann tests for the children and said that they should all have their tonsils removed.

[1] [Hadja had gone home with a schoolmate with whom she spent the night. The child's father telephoned that he had six of his own and could not keep her. She had come there because she did not like school.]

*May 12, 1921–May 19, 1921.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch was visited regularly. She is trying to take better care of her house. She puts clean paper on the pantry shelf every week, and she is very proud of her bed with the bolster on it. She said the pillows stay clean so much longer.

*May 19, 1921–July 25, 1921.*—On May 31, 1921, Miss McCabe, Visiting Nurse, took Mrs. Donetrovitch to the Dental Clinic. She needs more extractions. Mrs. Donetrovitch has a neighbor in the same building who was making Margaret a dress. She is very friendly and patches all her clothing for her.

*June 6, 1921.*—Mrs. Jim Illova was found visiting Mrs. Donetrovitch. At first she refused to give her name and address and said she was no relation of Mrs. Donetrovich, but that the children called her aunt.

Mrs. Donetrovitch said that she never married Mr. Donetrovitch but that they just lived together. They started living together when he was seventeen and she was twenty. Mr. Donetrovitch lived with his father and two sisters, and Mrs. Donetrovitch went to work for Mr. Donetrovitch's father. Two years later Mr. Donetrovitch came to the United States and Mrs. Donetrovitch followed him. She has had seven children.

*June 15, 1921–July 18, 1921.*—The family was sent for a two weeks' outing, but June 20 they returned because Gabriel had a cold. On July 18 Hadja and Margaret were sent to the family of Mrs. Hartzel, for a two weeks' outing in Freeport, Illinois. August was sent to another family in the same city. Dr. Thomas, Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, examined them.

The school nurse got Hadja glasses, but she lost them in the park.

*August 5, 1921.*—Visited. Margaret and August were very much disappointed that they had to come home. Mrs. Hartzel gave Margaret and Hadja three new dresses and two aprons each and muslin underwear which she made herself with "lots of lace," Mrs. Donetrovitch said.

*August 8, 1921.*—Hadja and Margaret were sent to Sterling, Illinois, for two weeks' outing. They were examined by Dr. Freeman of Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

*September 10, 1921 (Saturday).*—Visited and found Mrs. Donetrovitch in bed. She said she had been sick since Tuesday, but she did not telephone us because she thought she would soon be better.

County doctor's report: Mrs. Donetrovitch had an abscess on her tonsils.

*September 14, 1921.*—Visiting Nurse reported that Mrs. Donetrovitch was very much better, but that they would like her to go to the West Side Free Dispensary and have her tonsils removed. Mrs. Donetrovitch said that she would do this. The Visiting Nurse will take her to the Dispensary and arrange for the operation.

*October 1, 1921.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch is not taking Gabriel to the Dispensary. The Visiting Nurse is responsible for her attending the Dispensary regularly.

Mrs. Donetrovitch showed visitors dresses she had received "from the woman out in the country." Margaret and Hadja each received two. They were hand made and were pink with blue trimming. Mrs. Donetrovitch boiled them when she washed, and now they are faded. Last week Gabriel ran away from home, and a policeman picked him up and took him to the police station. A neighboring grocer, who happened to be at the station, recognized him and took him home.

*October 20, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch was making pies for the children's lunch. She whitewashed her living-rooms. Her home was clean and in order. Mrs. Donetrovitch stated that her brother Jacob was married three months ago. He married a widow much older than himself. She has two grown-up children in Europe and is working in a sausage factory and has lots of money. Jacob makes good money—working every day. Mrs. Donetrovitch stated that usually he gives her a dollar or two every week, but never more. She said she would have to starve with the children if she had to manage on the money the Welfare Agency gave her.[1] Her brother would be willing to pay her rent for her, and he could do more, but his wife would be against this. Jacob is trying rather hard to get Mrs. Donetrovitch's daughter, Rosa, here, but he is afraid that they will not be able to as she does not know how to read or write.

*November 4, 1921.*—Mr. Jacob Karavelova and Mrs. Donetrovitch in office by appointment. Mr. Karavelova is a tall, clean-looking

[1] [The budget worked out some months before this time was as follows: rent $6.00; food $39.56, of which $4.36 came from the County Agent in the form of rations; light $1.50; recreation $1.00; education $1.00; health $1.25; incidentals $2.25; furnishings $2.75; and clothing "as needed," making a total of $50.95 besides clothing and county rations. The rent and milk bills were paid direct. The remainder was given the family in weekly cash allowances of $2.50 and weekly

man. His own plan for Mrs. Donetrovitch and her children was that Mrs. Donetrovitch should place the children in an orphan asylum, and then she could work.

Both he and his wife have been married before. He has two children in Europe, and his wife has two children in Europe. He is anxious to return to Poland; he would talk at great length about how much better conditions were here than in Europe, but he would always end by saying "I'm going back—maybe in the spring."

He works in an electric works as a laborer. His check number is 113 and he earns $30 a week. His wife does not work because she is sick.

*November 22, 1921.*—August, Hadja, and Margaret were examined at the Juvenile Psychiatric Bureau.[1] Mrs. Donetrovitch was given nine yards of School Children's Aid material for clothing for August, Hadja, and Margaret.

*December 5, 1921—December 28, 1921.*—On December 5, 1921, visitor took August, Hadja, and Margaret to the Zion Dispensary, where they were examined and appointments made for the removal of their tonsils.

*December 10, 1921.*—Called and found that August had disappeared from home early in the morning after telling his mother that he did not intend to have his tonsils removed. Mrs. Donetrovitch said that he was afraid because the other children had told him that he might die under the operation.

*December 15, 1921.*—Hadja and Margaret had their tonsils and adenoids removed at the Zion Hospital. They came home December 12, 1921, and the Visiting Nurse went in to see them the same day, as they were quite sick from the operation. Margaret told visitor that she thought they would all get well because a man is going to pray for them. He prayed for her mother when she was sick. She

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grocery orders of $6.00. The clothing gifts varied from month to month. In November, 1921, for example, $100.42 was expended on the family. Of this amount $28.08 was for clothing. Of this total, $100.42, $33.50 came from the general funds of this agency, while $66.92 came as the response to special appeals.]

[1] [August was found to have an intelligence quotient of 72 and was classified as "borderline" feeble-minded. Hadja's intelligence quotient was found to be 92, and her intelligence therefore "adequate," while Margaret was found to be "dull," with an intelligence quota of 89.6. No one of the children seemed to present a behavior problem. Mrs. Donetrovitch had been diagnosed the previous July 14 as "below borderline," with an intelligence quota of 53, but without indicating any need of institutional care.]

said she did not know his name, but that he lived in the rear of the same building in which they live.

*December 19, 1921.*—Visited. Found the children much better. The Visiting Nurse has explained to Mrs. Donetrovitch what she should feed them. Mrs. Donetrovitch received a letter from the Illinois Central Railroad which said she was to receive an eighty-five-pound package from Mrs. Sloan, of Urbana.

[A number of entries about Christmas gifts of one kind or another are omitted here.]

*January 6, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch and the children very dirty. The house in great disorder. Clothing and food strewn all over the floor and in the hallway. Mrs. Donetrovitch had all the neighborhood children in the kitchen. She had just finished eating some duck, which she said she got in one of her Christmas baskets.

*January 9, 1922.*—Visited to pay the rent and found the rooms very disorderly and dirty. Mrs. Donetrovitch was frying veal which she had left over from one of her Christmas baskets.

*January 14, 1922.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch and children were in the office to go to the Nutrition Clinic. August did not come, because he said it was too cold and he didn't want to go out doors.

*March 1, 1922—April 1, 1922.*—Visitor called. Pension paid regularly, and Mrs. Donetrovitch attends a cooking class regularly. When visited on March 4 the house was in the usual state of disorder. Mrs. Donetrovitch had just settled a fight between August and Hadja. She said that when the children fight, she hates to hit them, and so in order to make them stop, she strikes an attitude like Elmo, the Lincoln who is the hero of a serial movie that is being shown in the neighborhood. The children start laughing at her and so forget their fight.

*March 11, 1922.*—The children attended Nutrition Clinic. When visitor came to take them to the clinic, Mrs. Donetrovitch showed visitor a picture of Mr. Donetrovitch. Hadja is not wearing her glasses, and Mrs. Donetrovitch says that she cannot make her wear them if she does not want to do so.

*April 1, 1922—May 20, 1922.*—Pension paid regularly, and Mrs. Donetrovitch attends cooking class regularly. On April 15, Hadja was given a pair of skates.

*May 13, 1922.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch and the children were in office to go to Nutrition Clinic.

*May 17, 1922.*—Visited. The house was clean. Margaret was sitting on the floor in her underwear. She said that she did not go to

school, as she got up late, but Mrs. Donetrovitch said that she kept her home as she had a cough. Margaret refused to dress and go to school. She ran into the front room and locked the door and crawled under the bed. Gabriel got in through the window and opened the door. After a lot of screaming and struggling, Margaret was taken to school. She is still in first grade—does not know how to read, although the other children are through with the book (first reader). She has been out twenty half-days in April and six in May. She comes to school late and very dirty.

*Later.*—School report of Hadja. Met Hadja's teacher who said that Hadja has been coming to school regularly and is very seldom late. She is doing very well in school. She should be wearing her glasses, as the school nurse got her another pair.

The teacher was very much surprised to see Mrs. Donetrovitch bring in a bundle of clothes (it was Bundle Day). Hadja was very proud, as hers was the biggest. Mrs. Donetrovitch stated that the children outgrew this clothing and she knew there were plenty of poor children.

*May 19, 1922.*—Called and found that August had already gone to school, although told to stay at home.

*Later.*—Called at the school. August started to cry and refused to go to the hospital to have his tonsils removed. After getting him on the street car he wanted to jump off, and at the hospital he screamed and yelled. He would not take a bath, and later, attempted to run away in his pajamas. Mrs. Donetrovitch cannot control him, and she does not discipline him, as she thinks that he will outgrow it.

*May 20, 1922.*—Called for August at the Zion Hospital. His tonsils were removed May 19. He was not at all sick and was able to go home on the street car.

Mrs. Donetrovitch and the children were waiting on the street for him to come home; they were all very clean. The house was clean, beds were made, and clean bedding on them. The floors were scrubbed and everything in order. Mrs. Donetrovitch was cooking oatmeal in the double boiler and had everything prepared for August.

*Later.*—Telephoned Visiting Nurse Association.

*May 24, 1922.*—Neighborhood House telephoned that Mrs. Donetrovitch has no fuel. She started to do her laundry but is unable to finish it.

*Later.*—Visited at 7:00 P.M. No one was at home; all doors were opened; fire was burning full blast and there was plenty of wood

and coal behind stove. Neighbors said that Mrs. Donetrovitch and children had gone to the home of her brother Jacob.

*May 26, 1922.*—Met Mrs. Donetrovitch at cooking class. She went to see her brother with all the children. August got wood from the lumber yard, and neighbors gave her fuel.

*May 26, 1922–June 28, 1922.*—Pension paid regularly. Mrs. Donetrovitch attending cooking class. June 15, 1922, she and the children went to the cooking class picnic at Lincoln Park.

*July 5, 1922.*—Hadja and Margaret were sent to Freeport, Illinois, for summer outing. They were the guests of the same family with whom they spent the summer of 1921. Dr. H. H. Freeman, Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary, examined them.

*July 6, 1922.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch and August and Gabriel were sent to Summer Camp for a two weeks' outing. Dr. H. H. Freeman, Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary, examined them.

*August 9, 1922.*—August and Gabriel were sent to Harvey, Illinois, for two weeks' outing. Dr. B. T. Fox examined them.

*August 10, 1922–September 1, 1922.*—On August 10 Mrs. Donetrovitch's landlady came to the office for her rent. She asked us to tell Mrs. Donetrovitch to keep her house cleaner, as it was disgracefully dirty.

*August 16, 1922.*—Hadja and Margaret came home from the country. The house was dirty and in great disorder. There were papers and boxes all over the kitchen floor. Mrs. Donetrovitch said that she got the paper from a rag shop where she has been working ever since the boys were sent to the country. Her fingers were all cut up and sore, and she was very glad when visitor told her to stop working.

*August 24, 1922.*—Met Gabriel and August at the Michigan Central Station and took them home. Both of the children had a fine time in the country. As soon as Gabriel saw visitor he asked where she was going to take him and when told he was going to be taken home, he said very emphatically, "I don't want to go home, I want to go back to the country."

*August 26, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch has not returned to work. She said that she worked from August 16 till August 22 and was not paid. She expects to get her money August 29. She does not know how much she will get, but she knows another woman who works there and she is getting $12 a week.

*September 1, 1922–September 28, 1922.*—On September 6, Mrs. Donetrovitch came to the office to ask for her rent. She said

that last Saturday (September 2) she stopped working and drew her pay of $14. She rather shamefacedly said that it was all gone and that she had spent it for meat, ice-cream, sausage, a 75-cent apron, a $2.50 pair of shoes for herself, and that she sent the remaining $7.00 to her daughter Rosa.

She said that we could scold her if we wanted to, but she just had to send Rosa some money, because the girl is having a very hard time in Europe and she has been writing her for money. She said that Rosa is fourteen years old, but she doesn't know how to read or write because where she is raised in the country there is no school. Mrs. Donetrovitch's mother died and up until a few months ago, Rosa was living with Mrs. Donetrovitch's stepsister. She, too, has died, and now Rosa is with another stepsister.

Gabriel is going afternoons to kindergarten and he likes it very much—in fact he wants to go all day.

*October 3, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch was washing clothes. The house was very much in disorder and dirty. Hadja and Margaret and Gabriel were playing on the porch with other children from the neighborhood.

*October 7, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch was washing and ironing clothes. She usually does this work on Saturday. Her house was dirty and very much in disorder. The table was full of crumbs and dirty dishes. When visitor comes, Mrs. Donetrovitch usually starts to pick up things and clear off the table.

*November 4, 1922.*—Visited previous address. [The same one at which the Agency learned to know the family.] The landlady stated that the Donetrovitch family lived there about six years ago. She remembers the family well, as they had one child by the name of Martha, who was sickly and died in that house. There were rumors that Mr. and Mrs. Donetrovitch were never married, but she does not know if this was true. Mr. Donetrovitch was a very heavy drinker and a very irregular worker.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch and children were sitting around the kitchen table, which was dirty and had bread and a quarter pound of butter on it. The children were putting the butter on the bread with a teaspoon.

Mrs. Donetrovitch has been sick all week with a cold. She is feeling better at present. She did not come to the office for her pension last week, as she went to the grocer to whom the Agency gives her grocery orders and he gave her groceries worth $6.00 without the ticket.

Hadja showed the clothes she received from Mrs. Sloan, in whose home she had once had a summer outing. She was very proud of them and said that Mrs. Sloan told her that she will take her home with her and that she never will return home. Hadja inquired if she could stay there until she was a big girl and if she could go there before vacation starts. Mrs. Sloan purchased the following for Hadja: red-serge middy blouse, blue pleated skirt, two suits winter underwear, pair brown shoes and stockings, blue woolen sweater, and a blue tam to match.

Hadja does not wear these things to school every day, but only wears them on Sunday and when she goes to Sunday school.

*November 16, 1922.*—Read County Agent's Record M-835:

March 1, 1917, Mrs. Donetrovitch applied for rations. Mr. Donetrovitch deserted to Akron, Ohio, shortly after Martha was born. Mrs. Donetrovitch took out warrant for his arrest. Mrs. Donetrovitch's brother helped with rent and food until a week ago. He went to another city and whereabouts are unknown. Mr. Donetrovitch returned March 27, 1917, from Ohio with $20. Neighbors report Mr. Donetrovitch no good; he drinks. On June 19, 1919, Mr. Donetrovitch was killed at Centralia, Indiana. Was insured in Industrial Life Insurance Company for $300. The family conditions unchanged. They are receiving rations regularly. Only relatives: Jacob Karavelova, brother of Mrs. Donetrovitch.

*November 18, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch was getting ready to go to grocery store. The house was cold and children were in their underwear and barefooted. Mrs. Donetrovitch stated that she received County Agent coal, but will not make a fire until later when she gets all her groceries; she will then bathe the children and dress them.

*Social History.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch was raised on a farm. Her parents were farmers and owned just a few acres of land. They had no live stock. The neighbor farmers would come and mow their land for them and in return they would go to work on other farms. They owned their own house; but, when Mrs. Donetrovitch was sixteen years old, lightning struck it, and it burned down. They never were able to build a new one, so they lived in the stable, but altered it a little.

Mrs. Donetrovitch started to school when she was seven years old and stopped going when she was thirteen years old, as people made fun of her as she was very tall for her age. She later attended school Thursdays and Sundays for two years and got as far as sixth grade.

Mrs. Donetrovitch always worked on her father's farm and helped with the housework. She knew Mr. Donetrovitch only two months, when she went to live with him in his father's home. Mr. Donetrovitch was traveling with a contractor who was building railroad tracks. He was a laborer. Mrs. Donetrovitch was going for water one day when she met him. He asked her who she was and later told her about himself, where he lived, that his father had a beautiful farm and needed help, and that she would be happier there. Mrs. Donetrovitch consented to go. It was only two hours' ride from Mrs. Donetrovitch's farm to Mr. Donetrovitch's.

Mrs. Donetrovitch lived with Mr. Donetrovitch's parents only two months and later came back to her home, as she had to work too hard. Mr. Donetrovitch was on the road during this time and returned after eight months. One year later Rosa was born in her parents' home, and August two years later. Mr. and Mrs. Donetrovitch's parents, sisters, and neighbors thought it was terrible that she had illegitimate children, and everybody said they never would have expected anything like that of her, as she was so very religious. Mr. Donetrovitch wanted to marry her, but the relatives were against it as she was three years older than Mr. Donetrovitch, and he was only seventeen years at that time. Mr. Donetrovitch was never fond of any other woman that Mrs. Donetrovitch knows of. He was very good to her. He always drank heavily, although he was very young, but he never gambled.

Her father remarried. She had two stepsisters and one brother, Jacob. He came to America a few years after she came and married a year ago a widow who has two grown-up daughters in Europe. Mrs. Donetrovitch's sisters married when they were very young and did not have any illegitimate children.

Mrs. Donetrovitch's father and stepmother died during the war. The oldest stepsister died in the spring of 1922. There are one sister and brother-in-law and two nieces in Europe. Mrs. Donetrovitch's relatives attended the Serbian Orthodox church regularly in Europe, and as Mrs. Donetrovitch would never miss a mass on Sunday, her sisters always said that she would be a saint some day.

She is attending the Roman Catholic church at present, as she cannot find her way to the Serbian Orthodox church. The neighbors tell her that it is all the same.

Her mother was not severe with her, but was very good to her, and Mrs. Donetrovitch did as she wished. She put her hand over

her heart and said that she has a pain in her heart when she thinks of her mother, as she was so very good to her. Mr. Donetrovitch came to America to his brother two years before Mrs. Donetrovitch. He later sent a shipcard for Mrs. Donetrovitch. During this time Mrs. Donetrovitch lived with her parents and worked on their farm. She brought August with her and left Rosa with her mother. When her mother died, Rosa went to live with Mrs. Donetrovitch's step-sister and when she died, she went to live with the other step-sister and she is still with her.

Mr. Donetrovitch was very fond of his children but never would "kiss them." He always promised to marry Mrs. Donetrovitch on the next pay day when he would have money, but he always was too drunk on pay days so they were never married.

Mrs. Donetrovitch stated that Mr. Donetrovitch was very handsome and that she loved him very much, and that is why she gave up her life for him and now is suffering with the children. She cried and said that if he would only be alive and see his children at present, he would do the right thing and stop drinking as he was a good man and could do anything if he gave up drinking.

*December 2, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch was in bed. She had two sweaters and a shawl on her head and covered herself with blankets. She would not talk at first, but later said that she was very sick. The house was dirty and in great disorder.

*December 8, 1922.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch had a crowd of people in her kitchen. Mr. James Illova, who lives in rear of Mrs. Donetrovitch and who is a widower and has eight children, was visiting. His son James, who is eighteen years old, was there also with a concertina. A neighbor and her two children and Mrs. Donetrovitch's brother's roomer were also there. James was playing the concertina, and, when visitor entered, the music ceased and James and his father and the roomer left. Mrs. Donetrovitch said that she did not know her brother's roomer's name, that he came to see how Mrs. Donetrovitch was getting along while her brother was preparing supper as his wife works.

Mrs. Donetrovitch was not making any attempt to prepare any supper for the children. The table was full of dirty dishes and two bottles half filled with milk. She had sausage wrapped up in paper and that was the only food in sight.

*December 9, 1922.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch has gotten her new teeth which makes her look much younger.

She did not attend Nutrition Clinic, as she did not receive the postal card in time.

*December 16, 1922.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch was in the office. She said that her new teeth fit her very well. The children in the neighborhood make fun of her and say that she does not look like herself.

*December 20, 1922.*—Visited. The children were dressing the Christmas tree. They were not getting it ready for Christmas but just wanted to know how it would look all fixed up.

August is taking manual training at school. He has made very many interesting articles: horse, chairs, tables, a taxi, and dollars out of cigar boxes. August has no place to keep these articles so he puts them on the stove so the younger children don't break them.

Mrs. Sloan sent the children a box for Christmas. Margaret and Hadja received flannel bloomers, stockings, two pairs each; August, stockings; Gabriel, stockings and mouth organ.

[Christmas remembrances are omitted.]

*January 6, 1923.*—Visited. The house was clean and the children were getting their bath. Mrs. Donetrovitch was baking cakes, as she is going to celebrate the Serbian Christmas tomorrow. She saved some of the canned goods from our Christmas. She received a nice big basket and toys from Brookfield M.E. Church. Hadja received a walking doll, Margaret a character doll, August and Gabriel received blocks etc.

Mrs. Sloan sent two boxes by mail consisting of sausages, ham, and clothing for the children. She had a basket from County Agent, also.

*January 13, 1923.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch took all the children to a Settlement party. She refused carfare to ride back home insisting that the children would rather walk down the street and look at the window displays.

*January 22, 1923.*—Visited during the afternoon. The children did not go to school, except August. Mr. Michael Surowzowa was visiting. He brought Mrs. Donetrovitch and the children from Hammond, Indiana, where she has been visiting since Sunday, at the home of a former neighbor, whom Mrs. Donetrovitch had not seen since they moved to Hammond two years ago. Mr. Surowzowa left at the visitor's request, while Mrs. Donetrovitch ran after him, telling him to wait at her brother's until he came home from work.

Mrs. Donetrovitch got very nervous and stated that Mr. Surowzowa had very good intentions. They expected to be married January

25, 1923. She has known him since before her husband's death, but has not seen him since Gabriel was baptized. At that time Mrs. Donetrovitch "looked at Mr. Surowzowa but never thought that she would marry him."

The friend in Hammond has been inviting Mrs. Donetrovitch to her home for over a year. They have been trying to marry Mrs. Donetrovitch to Mr. Surowzowa, who boards with this friend. Mrs. Donetrovitch never went to Hammond as she did not know her way there. The friend's husband called for her and the children Sunday morning, however, and accompanied them to Hammond.

Mrs. Donetrovitch had then no intention of marrying Mr. Surowzowa, and he did not mention marriage until late at night when everybody was gone to bed. Mrs. Donetrovitch said that he did not ask her the question direct, but "ran and ran around the bush" and asked her to marry him. He said that he knows that she has not had anything to do with men since her husband's death, and knows that she is a good woman.

*January 23, 1923.*[1]—Visited with visiting housekeeper. Mrs. Donetrovitch and the children returned from the store where Mrs. Donetrovitch was buying her trousseau. Margaret and Gabriel were sitting at the table devouring candy. Mrs. Donetrovitch was as happy as a little child. She did not wait to take off her hat and coat, but immediately began unwrapping her parcels to show the visitors the dress and coat she had purchased to be married in.

Mr. Surowzowa returned last night after visitor left and called to her from outside because, as Margaret said, "he was scared" of the visitors. He gave Mrs. Donetrovitch $20 to be used for clothing.

During the interview Mr. Joe Radowicz came in. When he opened the door, Mrs. Donetrovitch announced, smiling and with a wave of her hand, "He wants to marry me, too." Mr. Radowicz was apparently very unhappy because he had learned from Gabriel last night that Mrs. Donetrovitch was going to marry Mr. Surowzowa. He told how he had come from Joliet last October and boarded first with Jacob Karavelova and later secured his own rooms so that he

[1] [January 23, 1923, to the present time. The stepfather is helping the mother with her children, furnishing the house, and keeping her up to a decent and competent standard, the Welfare Agency still sends the children on country outings, and Mrs. Donetrovitch is very grateful and friendly.

The Welfare Agency spent from the general fund $721.87 and from special funds $1,161.48, in addition to special gifts in kind—clothing, fuel, milk, ice, country holiday, besides all the services given and secured.]

could court Mrs. Donetrovitch. Never before, until tonight, had she told him that she would not marry him. When Gabriel told him that he was going to have a new papa, it "cut his heart like a knife." Mrs. Donetrovitch, who was industriously sewing buttons on her new coat, quite gayly informed him that she did not intend to marry him, that he had a wife and children in Europe who loved him but for whom he did not care. Mr. Radowicz admitted that this was so, but he does not consider her his wife, because she ran away with another man and had a child by him which she strangled to death. She stood trial for this, but apparently was never convicted. Mr. Radowicz asked that Mrs. Donetrovitch postpone her wedding until she received an answer to a letter which he had written to Europe asking for news of his wife. He is sure that she is dead, as he has not heard from her for seven years. He has asked that the answer be mailed to Mrs. Donetrovitch at her own home.

Mr. Radowicz has left his work today and is leaving tomorrow for Ohio, as he does not care to stay in Chicago after Mrs. Donetrovitch's marriage. He promised to give her as a wedding gift what furniture he has in his rooms. Mr. Radowicz became very sarcastic about Mr. Surowzowa, making fun because Mrs. Donetrovitch was sewing the coat she had just purchased, and of which she was very proud. He is also sure that Mr. Surowzowa will not be able to support the family on his wages. Mrs. Donetrovitch, however, was not worried in the least.

Mr. Surowzowa is earning $20 a week, and this seems a large sum to Mrs. Donetrovitch. She was undaunted in her determination to marry him even after visitor explained how much it costs to support her family, and that $20 a week was really not enough. Mr. Surowzowa has never been married. Mrs. Donetrovitch is sure that she would not have been married, if she had not had her new false teeth. Mr. Surowzowa looked into Mrs. Donetrovitch's eyes, swore, shook hands with her, and promised that he would support the children, so she is not afraid to marry him.

Mrs. Donetrovitch appreciates everything the Welfare Agency has done for her and realizes that if she marries Mr. Surowzowa he will have to be responsible for the family, and she is running a risk of starting her troubles all over again. However, "she likes him," so it settles everything.

*January 24, 1923.*—Visited Frank Twoig, Hammond, Indiana. He has been a friend to Mr. Surowzowa for a long time. Mr. Surow-

zowa has never been married; he works steadily and is a very good man. Mr. Twoig is going to quit his work tomorrow and accompany Mr. Surowzowa to the city to act as a witness for the marriage ceremony. Mr. Twoig is sure that Mr. Surowzowa will be able to support Mrs. Donetrovitch and all the children.

*Later.*—Visited Mrs. Pavlik, who lives in a small house out in the country. She has known Mrs. Donetrovitch for a long time, as they are country people and they were formerly neighbors. Mrs. Donetrovitch and Mr. Surowzowa have not seen each other since Gabriel was baptized. Mrs. Pavlik, her husband, and Mr. Surowzowa talked it over thoroughly Sunday, and Mr. Surowzowa is very anxious to marry Mrs. Donetrovitch. Mrs. Pavlik has a number of children of her own, and Mr. Surowzowa is very fond of them. She thinks that he appreciates just what it is to have small children and the amount of money it costs to keep up a family, but he wants to marry Mrs. Donetrovitch. He works regularly. He worked five years for one employer and is in good health. He does not drink and has a bank account.

Mr. Surowzowa will probably live in Mrs. Donetrovitch's rooms until spring. Then either Mr. Twoig or Mr. Pavlik will sell him one of their lots, as there are none for sale near him, and they will help him build a little house like their own so the family can move out to Hammond.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Donetrovitch was making curtains. Mr. Surowzowa called this afternoon after work and went to Hammond at 8:00 P.M. He went to buy shoes and a hat for Mrs. Donetrovitch. He gave her $10. He is coming back tomorrow with Mr. Twoig and go to court to be married.

Mrs. Donetrovitch and the house were filthy and dirty. The children were in bed with their clothes on. The beds were dirty—no sheets or pillow cases. Mrs. Donetrovitch had not washed the bedding for weeks as she has no boiler. Visitor insisted that Mrs. Donetrovitch clean up the house, and stayed until the house was cleaned and the windows washed and clean curtains were hung up. About 11:00 Mrs. Donetrovitch took out a whole pork loin which she had roasting in the oven for tomorrow's wedding celebration.

Mrs. Donetrovitch has not been living with Mr. Surowzowa. She said that she was "pure as a lily." Mrs. Donetrovitch asked that visitor show her how to put up her hair on crimpers so that she would have it curly for the wedding.

Mr. Radowicz, true to his promise, gave Mrs. Donetrovitch a bed and mattress, but when Mr. Surowzowa called he told her to throw both out in the alley as they were old and dirty. He did not think that Mrs. Donetrovitch was opening a second-hand store.

*January 25, 1923.*—Visited. Mr. Surowzowa and Mr. Twoig came from Hammond at 8:30 A.M. Mrs. Donetrovitch was all dressed, and they went to court to be married.

Mrs. Donetrovitch got up at 6:00 to prepare the stuffed cabbage. She also made sauerkraut and baked some cakes.

*January 29, 1923.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch and Gabriel in office. Mrs. Donetrovitch was dressed in her wedding outfit. She came in to thank the visitor for whatever had been done for her. She was very happy and contented. Mr. Surowzowa is very kind to her and the children. He is very strict with the children, and she is very glad of this, as she cannot control them herself. He is very particular about the house and intends to buy a dresser and wardrobe cabinet and a bed for August so the house can be kept cleaner and in order.

Mrs. Donetrovitch asked visitors to come to call on her some Sunday to see Mr. Surowzowa. She said he was very comical—made her laugh so her jaws ached. She did not have her wedding band as she left it in the dresser drawer; she was afraid of wearing it out.

*March 15, 1923.*—Mrs. King, friendly visitor, telephoned for a report. She was interested in present developments, but wishes to transfer her interest to another family so gave her one.

*August 1, 1923.*—Visited to get Mrs. Donetrovitch's consent to send the children to the country. Mrs. Donetrovitch was very much pleased to know that the Welfare Agency had not forgotten about her children. The children were very happy when they heard the word "country" and said they were very anxious to go.

Mrs. Donetrovitch looks very well, and her personal appearance is entirely different from what it has been. Mrs. Donetrovitch said she looks so well, because she has no worries, and is very happy. Her husband is very good to her and the children. She did not know what happiness was until she married Mr. Surowzowa. The children are very fond of him and treat him like their own father.

Mrs. Donetrovitch's home was in much better order and much cleaner than it previously had been. She has a new ice box, and a linoleum rug on the kitchen floor. The bed clothes were nice and clean and the beds looked most inviting.

Mrs. Donetrovitch was cooking green peppers stuffed with rice, and hamburger, of which she was very proud, as it looked very appetizing.

August and Gabriel were the guests of one family. Hadja was the guest of another, and Margaret of a third family for two weeks. They were examined by Dr. Freeman, Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

*August 21, 1923.*—Mrs. Donetrovitch in office to call for her children, who were to come home from the country today.

Later the children came in happy and contented. They all began talking at one time, and telling their mother about the new dresses, suits, and hats they received, and about the good times they had.

Hadja looked exceptionally well. Her cheeks were full and rosy, and she was dressed very prettily in a new black taffeta dress, and a large black straw hat. She also got a few more new dresses which she had packed up.

Margaret also got some new clothes, but she did not look as well as Hadja. Gabriel seemed happy, and kept on telling his mother about the new suit he got. August felt blue because he was not given anything, and stood quietly in the corner without saying a word.

The children said they enjoyed the country very much, and want to go back again next year.

### 34. The Case of Marya Lenol

(*Whose Two-Months-Old Child, Born out of Wedlock, Dies*)

*April 28, 1920.*—Mrs. Wojcik brought Miss Lenol, an unmarried mother, to the office for advice. Miss Lenol is rather an attractive girl of nineteen. She was very well dressed and has the appearance of being somewhat subnormal. In telling her story, she became confused and referred frequently to Mrs. Wojcik. She was born in Chicago of Polish parents, July 20, 1900. She attended St. Gabriel's School until she was thirteen (fourth grade), when she claims to have gone to work. About eighteen months ago she met Ignatius Ropel, twenty-two years old, and they planned to be married. After she became pregnant, he refused to marry her. Her father is dead, and her mother has married again and has two daughters, one eleven and one six years old, by the second marriage. A seventeen-year-old

sister, who works at the National Can Company, is living with her mother and stepfather.[1]

Miss Lenol and her baby, Anna (born March 17, 1920), are living with a widowed sister, Mrs. Kolecki, who has two children, a boy of four and a baby girl of nine months. Mr. Kolecki was killed in May, 1919, by an accident in the steel mill where he worked. Ignatius Ropel has a sister and a sister-in-law in Chicago. Dr. Labuy attended Miss Lenol at the time of her confinement. Her family did not know of her condition until the baby was born and feel the disgrace so that they plan to move into another neighborhood. She expects when the baby is a little older to go back to work. A week ago she received a letter from Mr. Jacobs, Ignatius Ropel's attorney, advising her to call and make a settlement; $200 was offered her, which she refused. She consulted the social worker at the Court of Domestic Relations, who sent her to Mrs. Wojcik. Mrs. Wojcik brought her to the office.[2]

*Later.*—Mrs. Wojcik telephoned warrant has been issued for Ignatius Ropel.

*April 30, 1920.*—Mrs. Wojcik reports State's Attorney is handling case. Mr. Ropel has asked for jury trial.

*May 4, 1920.*—Telephoned Court of Domestic Relations. Case will be postponed until May 12. Promised to look up girl's work record and see the doctor.

*May 6, 1920.*—Following letter written to manager National Can Company by the district superintendent:

We should be grateful for the work record of Marya Lenol, who worked for you as forker under No. 1432 until about two months ago. Since that time Miss Lenol has been ill.

[1] [This brief record illustrates two points: (1) the limitation of the duty laid upon the putative father of a child born out of wedlock to the obligation to pay the amount ordered in behalf of the child, so that the child's death removes all liability on the part of the father; (2) the fact that the existence of a statutory remedy or of a public provision such as that under the Bastardy Act (p. 896), is likely to have two effects on the case worker: (*a*) to render her work definite by fixing conditions under which advantage may be taken of the provision, (*b*) to tempt her to be satisfied with rendering the specific service necessary to make the provision available. Both influences are observable in the definite competence of the visitor's service in this case, as in that to Mrs. Kolecki, Marya's sister, p. 754, and to Paul Macho, p. 739.]

[2] [In this record of the interview in the office a number of facts are brought out: (*a*) the names are obtained of Marya's employer, (*b*) of her doctor, (*c*) of her relatives; (*d*) the fact that she had been to the court, and (*e*) the fact that the alleged father had admitted his responsibility by offering to settle although inadequately.]

*Later.*—Visited. Marya is not well and does nothing but cry. While Dr. Alfred Labuy attended her for confinement, she has recently been going to Dr. Staniszewski, who reports that the baby has bronchitis and that Marya is just generally run down. The baby was baptized April 19, 1920, in St. Gabriel's Church under the father's name, Father Czesznak acting as godfather and Mattie Zopalski, a friend of Marya's [who lives on another floor in the same house with Marya], as her godmother. Ignatius constantly promised to marry Marya and finally set the date on St. Joseph's Day, which happens to be the very day on which the baby was born. She had intercourse with him from June, 1919, until December, 1919. He knew she was pregnant. Shortly after Christmas he quit work. He had been employed in a butcher's store. After the baby was born, he completely changed around; not only said he would never marry Marya, but he accused her of having relations with other men and said he was not the baby's father. The only other man whom Marya ever went with steadily was Jacob Novak. She emphatically stated that she had never had relations with this man or with any other man except Ignatius.

*May 7, 1920.*—Mrs. Ziemski, who lives underneath Mrs. Kolecki, can testify that Ignatius frequently visited Marya up until a month or two ago. Mrs. Wojcik testifies that Mrs. Ziemski and Marya worked together as mangle girls in the Sunlight Laundry on Indiana Avenue under a Mr. Ainsworth in 1917, and Mr. Ainsworth will give them both the highest recommendation.

*Later.*—Hattie Morowski, sister of Ignatius Ropel, was herself pregnant before her marriage. The Ropels forced her husband to marry her. She has urged Ignatius to marry Marya because of her own experience.

*May 8, 1920.*—Letter received from employment manager of the National Can Company:

> Miss Marya Lenol entered the employ of the National Can Company, Inc., August 8, 1918, leaving February 18, 1920. During her entire service with this company, the conduct of Miss Lenol has been very good and her attendance has been exceptionally good also. She never mixed with the employees. We are sorry to hear of her present misfortune.

*Later.*—The baby is very ill.

*Later.*—At request of Welfare Agency, Miss Bradley, Infant Welfare nurse, came at once; and at her advice baby was brought to Infant Welfare Station to see doctor during the afternoon.

*Later.*—Dr. Labuy reports that when he last saw Marya about a month ago she was in good physical condition. So far as reputation goes he had the impression that Marya was a "high flyer." Her sister told the doctor she had many beaux. While visitor was there he got Father Mroz on the telephone. Father Mroz reported that Ignatius Ropel "was the one Marya favors for the baby's father," but Father Mroz had not interviewed the young fellow because he "wondered whether in reality he was the guilty party as he was a very desirable young man."

*Later.*—Visited Jacob Novak. He went with Marya about nine months ago but "not seriously." He visited her a number of times at her sister's home, and she had several other callers. When he knew that she was pregnant, he stopped going to see her. He knows the father.

*May 10 and 11, 1920.*—Called at Ignatius Ropel's home. Both evenings he was out in spite of the fact that visitor had called at his home each afternoon to let his mother know that visitor would call. The family rather gave the impression that Ignatius was very headstrong and did exactly as he pleased.

*Later.*—Father Klusick says that Ignatius Ropel is the father of Marya's child; that he is a "skunk." That he would like to talk to him, but that Ignatius was not the kind that would come near the parish house.

*May 15, 1920.*—Mattie Zopalski says that although she was Marya's baby's godmother, she is not an especial friend. She is Ignatius Ropel's sister-in-law. He lived with her for two years. She says that Marya is a nice girl as far as she knows and that Ignatius is a nice boy "but you know how boys are. Marya was not the first, and she was not the last."

*May 18, 1920.*—Took Marya to psychiatrist at West Side Dispensary, who gave Marya a very thorough mental and physical examination, and reported as follows:

Mental Examination: Chronological Age, 19 years, 7 months; Mental Age, 10 years, 8 months; Intelligence Quotient, 67; Mental Status, High-grade Moron.

Language is a handicap to her as they speak Polish at home and she went to a Polish school. Most of the twelve-year-old tests were beyond her, though in some of them her judgment was good. Her memory is very good, but she is easily deceived by questions designed to do so.

She will do simple work well but she must be watched carefully to keep her from sex delinquency.

Medical examination: Anemia; Wassermann—negative; Recommendations: She should eat brown bread, green and other vegetables, cooked and uncooked eggs, a little meat and fruit, and she should take an iron tonic, which we will gladly prescribe.

*May 20, 1920.*—After twice being postponed by Mr. Jacobs, the lawyer for the defense, Marya's case was heard in the Court of Domestic Relations. Although the case was very hotly fought, the jury returned a verdict in favor of Marya. Dr. Gray, to whom the Infant Welfare doctor referred Marya, reports that Marya's baby has a congenital leakage of the heart. "She may live to be eighty-five, and she may die at any time." At present she seems much better.

*May 27, 1920.*—Mrs. Wojcik telephoned that the baby died at eleven o'clock, May 26, with only an hour or two's warning. They had Dr. Gray, but it was the baby's heart that gave out. The social worker at the Court of Domestic Relations will see that Marya's bills at confinement and the baby's funeral bill are brought into court for payment by Ignatius Ropel. Otherwise, he will be free.

*May 29, 1920.*—Social worker, Court of Domestic Relations, telephoned that this morning Mr. Jacobs entered a plea for a new trial on the Ropel case. The judge refused to grant this on the ground that the baby was dead. A great argument ensued which will be continued June 2, at which time social worker would very much like to have the itemized bills.

*June 2, 1920.*—Bills for confinement and funeral delivered to social worker, Court of Domestic Relations.

*June 7, 1920.*—Marya returned to work June 7[1] at National Can Company. She was given the position of inspector with which she is very pleased as the job allows her to sit most of the day next to an open doorway where she gets an abundance of fresh air. She reports her foreman is very kind to her, and she is very happy to be back at work.

Marya's confinement bill and bill for the baby's funeral (total amount of these bills was $78.50) were presented in court June 19. A settlement of $80 was made with the understanding that Ignatius Ropel would drop the appeal for the new trial.

*July 10, 1920.*—Marya continues to work at the National Can Company. She is feeling well and seems to have a new grip on life. She still lives with her sister.

[1] [On June 14 Mrs. Kolecki comes to the visitor and asks help in getting compensation for her husband's death (see p. 754). The two records leave a sense of competent use of the public machinery.]

*January 13, 1921.*—Mrs. Wojcik, friend of Marya's, reports that Marya has been working at the Can Factory and has been making between $35 and $40 a week at this work. She looks well and is conducting herself in a quiet, orderly way and is really very happy. She feels that the Welfare Agency are deserving of her life-long gratitude in getting her out of trouble.

*January 21, 1921.*—The following letter written by visitor to Marya:

> One of our visitors saw Mrs. Wojcik[1] the other day and reported back to me how well you were doing. In spite of the fact that we never went on our party which we planned this summer, I have thought of you often and hoped that everything was going well. Some day soon when I am not quite so busy, I want you and Mrs. Wojcik to come down to my house for tea.

### 35. The Problem of Hattie Wolenski

(*An Immigrant Unmarried Mother*)

*September 25, 1917.*—Miss Francis, a Public Health nurse, telephoned. A young Polish girl was reported to them yesterday. She had just had an illegitimate baby born; had not even the assistance of neighbors at the time. She was found later, and a midwife was called but will not continue her service as the girl will not pay her. A nurse attended her this morning and will go in this afternoon with clothing for the baby. They know nothing whatever about the case but believe that the College Settlement intends reporting it to the Welfare Agency for relief. There seemed to be no resources or personal connections.

*Later.*—Telephoned Miss Graves, worker at College Settlement. Neighbors reported the case to them, but the Settlement has not followed it or made any plan.

*Later.*—Telephoned Miss Francis, asking that nurse supply girl with food for today, and visitor will call in the morning.

*Later.*—Visited. Girl sitting up, eating her lunch. Says that the father of the child has been going with her for three years, and he wished to marry her long ago, but she thought she was too young. She never had any girlhood and did not wish to be married for some time. He several times tried to become intimate with her, but she

[1] [See below, p. 758, for record of visit to Mrs. Kolecki's home in which reference is made to Marya.]

repulsed him and had him thrown out of the house. He would remain away two weeks and then come again. Finally last Christmas, when she was ill, he came to the house and used force. He told her if she should have a child, she need not worry as he would take care of her. She has seen nothing of him for six months and claims she does not remember his name; thought it was Stephen Waldek. She had not told him that she was pregnant as she herself did not know it until five months ago. She had worked until two months before her confinement at a restaurant as dishwasher; at her last place earned $9.00 a week. She has no relatives here, and when she learned her condition she cut off from all her friends as she was so ashamed. Lived on the money she had saved, but it is all gone. She lives in two very nicely furnished rooms; the furniture is all paid up, otherwise she would have had some money in the bank. Rooms are immaculate. She cannot read nor write but looks like a bright girl. The baby is a fine large boy. Girl began to feel sick September 21, and the baby was not born until the next day noon. She had no doctor nor other care and thought she would die; neighbor heard the child cry Sunday and when she saw girl immediately called midwife. Girl had not associated with any of the neighbors and prayed that she might die. The neighbor called the landlady and a man next door, who acted as godparents, and baby was immediately christened Walter at Holy Name Church.

Girl, who is twenty-three years old, came to the United States five years ago from Galicia; came directly to Chicago to a cousin of hers, who has since returned to Europe. Her father died when she was two years old and left practically nothing; there were five children in the family, and the girl had to go to work at the age of eleven as a domestic. Earned very little and had to give most of it to her mother. The latter is still living, but she has not heard from home for a long time; knows that one brother is in the war.

She said that the nurse called today and told her they would take her to the hospital as she needed doctor's care. Refused to accept any money from visitor, as nurse gave her 50 cents yesterday, and she did not need it. Asked girl if she did not wish any of her friends to know about her illness. Gave name of Mrs. Michael Zabrinski, who lives somewhere on the South Side, she did not know where. This friend had not seen girl since May and does not know about her trouble.

[Addresses at which girl had formerly lived were ascertained.] Girl said she believes Mr. Waldek is living in the neighborhood; is

not willing to prosecute him but said that if he were willing to marry her she would do so but would not use force.

*Later.*—Talked with neighbor, Mrs. Nesek. She said that they know nothing about Hattie; she stayed by herself, and they never saw any man visiting her. They tried to get her to tell her story, but she refused to say anything. [Legal Aid was registered on the case.]

*September 28, 1917.*—Telephoned Legal Aid. Hattie had a claim for wages against the Magnificent Restaurant, 2168 Madison Street, for $9.00. So far they have not collected money.

*October 1, 1917.*—Visited landlady at previous address. She said that Hattie lived there for over a year and that she never saw her except when she came to pay the rent. However, people named Molenowski, now living at 2732 Landis Street, had mentioned several times that they saw men callers. They might be able to give more information.

*Later.*—Called on Mrs. Kawalski, a midwife, who formerly lived in the same house with Hattie. She was not at home; daughter said they know nothing about her. Hattie once told someone they knew that she had a sister here. Mrs. Kawalski called on Hattie just before she went to the hospital.

*Later.*—Visited landlady, Mrs. Pyterek; she is godmother to the baby. She knows nothing about Hattie but said that she saw a man call on her twice during the six months she has been living here. Tried to learn from her who was the father of the child, but she would not tell.

*October 3, 1917.*—Telephoned social service worker, County Hospital. She knew the case but as Hattie was quite sick she could not talk with her. The patient is to go home tomorrow; all the social worker learned was the name of the man, which was the same as that given visitor. She thought if visitor and she both went to see Hattie after she goes home, more information could be secured. Made appointment with her for October 5.

*October 5, 1917.*—Visited with county social worker. Hattie could not give any further information regarding father of child. Said that about a year ago he mentioned that he had a milk depot at the corner of Harrison and Racine. Questioned her regarding man who had called on her; said he was merely a friend who came to see her for a few minutes. Said she has had absolutely no other men callers. Said as soon as she feels stronger she will see Mrs. Zabrinski

and bring visitor address. She has not received the wages due her from Magnificent Restaurant, as it failed. Gave $1.00.

*October 6, 1917.*—Tried to locate milk depot at Harrison and Racine; learned that there had never been a milk depot there. Inquired at saloon on corner, saloon-keeper said he had seen a milk wagon with name of Stephen Waldek on it; will be on the look-out for it and learn address.

*October 8, 1917.*—Visited Holy Name Church. Could not locate a Stephen Waldek, but there was a Walter Waldek. They did not keep addresses of single men. Walter Waldek has kept up his dues, and the priest said that his record was good; did not think he was the man visitor was trying to locate. Asked that visitor send Hattie to him.

*October 17, 1917.*—County social worker in office saying that she had sent another girl with an illegitimate child to Hattie to live with her. She thought one of them could go to work by day and the other secure night work and in that way take care of the children.

*Later.*—Visited. Hattie said no one had come to see her. She would be glad to take in this girl and is certain they could make satisfactory arrangements about working. She has been out every day looking for Stephen Waldek but so far has found no trace of him. Gave $1.50.

*October 18, 1917.*—Tried to locate Stephen Waldek in city directory but was unable to find anyone by that name.

*October 19, 1917.*—Telephoned County Agent explaining circumstances. They will investigate and if necessary grant supplies.

*October 24, 1917.*—Visited Mrs. Michael Zabrinski, who worked in the same restaurant with Hattie Wolenski; has known her only about two years and is unable to give any facts of her early history. She states that Hattie was a good girl, always repulsing advances made her by strange men with whom she came in contact. To Mrs. Zabrinski's knowledge this is her first illegitimate child. She does not think Hattie a young girl, however, and gives her age as about twenty-eight.

Mrs. Zabrinski says that Hattie cared a great deal for Stephen Waldek and would have married him at any time but that he postponed the marriage from day to day, with excuses of various kinds. Mrs. Zabrinski met him only once but knew him by hearsay to be indolent and a heavy drinker. She had no recollection of any remarks ever made by Hattie with regard to Stephen and never knew his address.

Mrs. Zabrinski knows of no relatives of Hattie's except a sister (or sister-in-law) whose name and exact address she cannot give, who lives on the South Side. She says that Hattie asked her and several other friends if she might live with them but as all were living under very crowded conditions, they were not able to accommodate her.

*October 26, 1917.*—Visited. Hattie stated that her sister-in-law went back to the Old Country before the war began. She was unable to get any clues regarding Stephen's whereabouts. Received supplies October 23. Has coal enough for two days more. Gave $2.00 for food.

*November 2, 1917.*—Visited. Rooms cold as Hattie is out of fuel. Said she rememembers now that Stephen's name is different from the one she gave to investigator. When he first started to go with her he told her his name was Stephen Wojic; afterward he said it was Waldek. Gave $2.00 and 50 cents for fuel. Hattie is anxious to learn to write her name, so visitor gave her a writing-lesson.

*November 14, 1917.*—Gave $2.00 for food.

*December 11, 1917.*—College Settlement reports that they will give Christmas basket.

*December 13, 1917.*—Visited. Infant Welfare nurse there. Hattie said that she had found out through an old friend that Stephen's name is not Waldek but Gutowski and that he has a milk depot somewhere near Adams and Robey. Welfare Agency is not helping, and Hattie seems more anxious to find man; she has heard that he is married. She is afraid to go there herself as she thinks he may disappear.

*December 20, 1917.*—Landlady in office asking rent which is three months in arrears. Told her Welfare Agency is not responsible for same.

*February 4, 1918.*—Infant Welfare nurse telephones that Hattie is at their office saying she wishes to move; plans to live with another girl; wished to know whether Welfare Agency would pay rent and moving expenses. Told her Welfare Agency could not undertake to do this. She thinks Hattie may be feeble-minded. Told her that if she would let Agency know Hattie's new address we would have her examined.

*November 17, 1919.*—Miss Hunt of the College Settlement reports Miss Wolenski at Settlement; is pregnant, and Stephen Gutowski, father of Walter, is responsible.

Miss Hunt has taken her to Court of Domestic Relations, but Mr. Gutowski cannot be located.

*November 18, 1919.*—Visited. Miss Wolenski had the doors locked and made no response to knock. Could see Walter sleeping on a chair but could see nothing of Miss Wolenski, although visitor was sure she was at home as both storm doors were hooked on the inside. Talked with tenant who lives upstairs. Miss Wolenski has been living here about a month, and tenant stated that a man who claims to be her husband rented the rooms and paid a deposit on them. Tenant said that man had been there only once since then, and she thought this rather suspicious.

Miss Wolenski does not go out much, and tenant thought that she slept a great deal during the day. Although numbers of people have called, Miss Wolenski has not answered the door, and the landlord has called several times for the rent without getting an answer. Tenant knows nothing of Miss Wolenski because she cannot speak Polish to her. Stated that she was very filthy in appearance, and that she often left the baby at home by himself while she went out.

*November 29, 1919.*—After making a number of visits without being able to locate Miss Wolenski at home, learned that the family had moved the day previous. Tenant upstairs stated that a man had come who was supposed to be her husband, and they had made hurried arrangements for moving, although it was raining heavily that evening.

*Later.*—After securing address from mover, visited Miss Wolenski, who at first paid no attention to knock.

She was very frank in talking about her contact with Stephen Gutowski. After the birth of Walter she went to work at a bakery at the corner of Washington and Green streets, leaving the child in a nursery. She also worked at a bakery at Randolph and California streets. Later on, when the baby was about a year old, she started working nights and left him sleeping in her room. She had not seen Stephen Gutowski up until the time she began working at night. Then he came to visit her and stayed with the child while she worked. She thinks that he was working as a presser at the time in a tailor-shop somewhere on Jackson Street. Recently she moved, but she denied that Stephen Gutowski made any arrangements for her moving. Stated that she had been working in a restaurant near by and that she came here to be near her work. She told very frankly about going to College Settlement to make complaint and of going to Court of

Domestic Relations to take out warrant, but it was almost impossible to get any information in regard to the details of her past life. Miss Wolenski was unable to grasp what visitor said without a great deal of explanation. Her speech was very incoherent and disjointed, and she does not even speak a correct Polish. Was quite willing to have arrangements made for care during confinement, if something could be done about placing Walter.

The house was extremely dirty, and the baby was half-dressed. Miss Wolenski had been washing and seemed to have only the barest necessities in clothing. However, there was plenty of coal and food in the house.

Miss Wolenski herself was extremely filthy and untidy in appearance.

*December 6, 1919.*—Miss Wolenski in office asking advice, as she claims she has $13, a week's salary, coming to her. She has tried to collect this amount, but proprietor refused to give her the money, claiming he has already paid her. Miss Wolenski has not seen Stephen Gutowski once since she moved to present address. Has no idea where he lives, and is under the impression that he is a married man, but is not sure of this. He urged her to move because he claimed it was nearer to his place of employment, although he was not living with her. However, she claims he came very frequently to spend the evening with her. After she moved, he told her that she could support herself with home tailoring. She does not know where he lives but thinks it is in a suburb. He was at one time in the milk business. She knows a man by the name of Spacek, who is also in the milk business. Stephen Gutowski also has a stepbrother, but she does not know his name or where he lives. Miss Wolenski was very neatly dressed in a dark coat, and an attractive purple hat and gray shoes.

*December 8, 1919.*—Located milk depot of Ignatius Spacek. Mr. Spacek has known Mr. Gutowski for several years. He saw him last about a year ago. Mr. Gutowski had a milk depot at one time, but sold this about two years ago, and has since worked as a presser. Mr. Spacek does not know where he is working. Mr. Gutowski owes him considerable money, which he has never been able to collect. Mr. Gutowski is a married man, and has one child living, two having died last year. He has had much trouble with his wife, and there have been times when they have not lived together. Then Mr. Gutowski lived with "his girl," as Mr. Spacek expressed it, and

this has caused much friction between Mr. Gutowski and his wife. Mr. Spacek seemed to think this was not at all unusual. While talking to visitor, he made a statement he guessed she had come because Stephen Gutowski was in trouble about his wife and girl. Directed visitor to Mr. Gutowski's half-brother.

*Later.*—Learned that Stephen Gutowski, who is now working in a tailor-shop, is living in a suburb with his family. Visitor felt it unwise to secure any more information at this time. Mr. Morowsky, half-brother of Stephen Gutowski, is quite a young man, rather short and stockily built. He and his wife appear to be of the peasant type.

*Later.*—Visited previous address. Miss Wolenski lived here about eight months. She claimed to be a widow, her husband having died during the influenza epidemic. She worked somewhere on Rhodes Avenue, but neighbors did not know where. She took her baby to the nursery every day. Had a man coming to see her quite frequently, whom she claimed to be her brother. Neighbors did not know whether he stayed with her or not. No one seems to have talked with her much, but knew where she moved. They had supposed that brother moved family.

*Later.*—Visited neighborhood of addresses given by Miss Wolenski as previous work places but could find neither bakeries nor lunchrooms where she had worked.

*Later.*—Telephoned Court of Domestic Relations address of Stephen Gutowski.

*December 9, 1919.*—Telephoned Miss Jones of the Lake View Day Nursery. Miss Wolenski brought her baby to nursery from February 20, 1918, to October 19, 1918, with the exception of August, when the baby was ill. Upon visits to the home made by visitor from the nursery, conditions were found to be good, although the mother lived in basement rooms. Everything was clean and appeared to be well kept, and the baby was always well dressed and clean when brought to nursery. Miss Wolenski worked at Racine and Center avenues.

*Later.*—The following letter written the psychiatrist:

Hattie Wolenski was first referred to us September 25, 1917, upon the birth of her baby, Walter. She told our visitor at that time that she had gone with the father of the child for three years; and although he wished to marry her, she had refused to consent to this as she felt she was too young.

Miss Wolenski is supposed to have come to America about seven years ago from Galicia. She has worked in restaurants as a dishwasher since her arrival here, and tells us she worked as a domestic in Europe ever since she was eleven years old.

At that time we were unable to locate Stephen Gutowski, the father of the child, because she herself was so vague about his name, place of employment, and residence. She was established in her own rooms and, by placing the baby in a nursery during the day, was able to maintain herself and the child.

November 17 of this year she was again referred to us for assistance by the College Settlement, where she had gone for advice as she was pregnant, and Stephen Gutowski, the father of her first child, was responsible for her condition. We learned upon visiting that Miss Wolenski had been working in restaurants and that Stephen Gutowski frequently spent the evening with her, although he is a married man with children. Neighbors at previous addresses tell us that she claimed to be a widow, saying that her husband had died in the influenza epidemic. She seems to have had little contact with her neighbors.

We feel that Miss Wolenski needs to be examined mentally. She apparently knows very little about Stephen Gutowski, his place of employment, occupation, etc., and is very vague as to where she herself has worked and lived, stating that when she leaves an address she forgets the number immediately. Her home is in an extremely filthy and disorderly condition, and she and the baby are usually dirty and untidy. She does not talk coherently, and it was very hard for her to grasp what visitor said without a great deal of explanation. She has been very frank in talking about her connection with Stephen Gutowski, and the details of her life, but it has been almost impossible to get any detailed account of this.

*December 31, 1919.*—Visits have been made during the month. Case against Stephen Gutowski came up in court December 21 and was continued until February 20 after birth of child. He is reported to have left his wife and is living with his cousin, who is reported to have offered to make a payment to Miss Wolenski of $200, which she refused. Mr. Gutowski has come to see Miss Wolenski on several occasions since the case was in court, but she refuses to have anything to do with him. (Miss Wolenski states that both her father and mother are dead, her father having died when she was about two years old, and when eight years of age she was forced to go out and work in the fields. As near as visitor could learn, she has never had any real home.) The family were given a basket from the Christmas fund.

*January 2, 1920.*—The following report of Hattie's examination received from psychiatrist:

We wish to report the results of our examination of Hattie Wolenski. She has a mental age of nine years, one month. We would consider her a defective delinquent. It is a very difficult thing to dispose of this type of

patient, as there are now no institutions in this state especially designed for these patients. Sometimes a sojourn at the Bridewell has a result, but only temporary.

Since she is a foreigner, we wonder if it would not be well to return her to Europe, as she shows a mental condition which would prevent an immigrant from entering this country. Probably if you would get in touch with an official of the Immigrant Commission, he could give you some advice.

*February 16, 1920.*—On January 16, 1920, accompanied Miss Wolenski to West Side Dispensary for examination, which indicated that the baby might be born about February 5. Arrangements were made for her to get in touch with doctor at time of confinement. However, the baby (Elizabeth) was born January 31, during the night, and she did not call neighbors or doctor to care for her. Arrangements were made for her to go to the hospital, where she remained until February 9, 1920, and Walter was placed in the Children's Refuge. When dismissed from the hospital she was in good physical condition.

*February 20, 1920.*—Stephen Gutowski in court. He was ordered to pay $1,100 for the support of baby, paying $200 the first year and $100 each remaining year, Hattie to remain under the supervision of the Welfare Agency. Mr. Gutowski was imprisoned for six months for non-payment.

[*February 24, 1920.*—See record of Stephen Gutowski, p. 558.]

*March 5, 1920.*—Visited Mrs. Morowsky, sister-in-law of Stephen Gutowski. She does not know Hattie; stated that her husband had tried to settle in court with Hattie for $200 so that the thing could be straightened up. Mr. Morowsky knew of Mr. Gutowski's relations with Hattie previous to Walter's birth, and he endeavored to persuade him to keep away from her.

*Later.*—Miss Jameson of the Visiting Nurse Association reported Hattie Wolenski ill. Called county doctor who later reported that she was bothered with chronic appendicitis. She refused to go to the hospital for care. She had received a letter from Stephen Gutowski asking her to use her influence to have him released from jail, but she seems to have lost interest in him.

*April 15, 1920.*—Visited Mr. Gutowski in the County Jail. He denies that he is the father of either Walter or Elizabeth and reiterated that Hattie had other men coming to see her, among whom was Ignatius Spacek. He met Hattie through her brother-in-law, who was working in a tailor-shop with him. This brother-in-law and Hattie's sister have both died. He stated quite emphatically that

Hattie knew from the very beginning that he was a married man, and he also stated that the reason that he had gone to see her after Walter's birth was because he was sorry for the baby as she left him alone a great deal. He does not want to have anything more to do with Hattie. (For other information, see Gutowski record.) Visitor felt that Mr. Gutowski was unreliable in his statements.

*April 30, 1920.*—Sent Miss Wolenski a kitchen table and two chairs from donation. Also a bundle of baby clothing from stock.

*May 5, 1920.*—Letter received from Psychopathic Laboratory stating that "there is absolutely no room at State School for the Feeble-minded for any female cases, even of the most urgent type." According to order of priority Hattie would be in Class II. She will be put high on the second list and every attempt will be made to cut down the time of waiting, if Welfare Agency will take the steps to have her committed.

*May 13, 1920.*—Letter written county official:

May we ask that an application be filed for the commitment to the State School for the Feeble-minded for Hattie Wolenski, who has been diagnosed as defective.

I have a letter from the Psychopathic Laboratory, dated January 2, 1920, which states, "She has a mental age of nine years one month. We would consider her a defective delinquent," also a second letter dated May 3, 1920, from which I quote, "If you will take steps to have her committed, she will be put high on second list and every attempt will be made to cut down the time of waiting as much as possible."

Hattie Wolenski has given birth to two illegitmate children, and from our experience with her these past five months we feel that she is quite unequal to providing for herself and should be given custodial care rather than such supervision as we are able to provide in her home.

*July 31, 1920.*—July 1, Hattie Wolenski and children sent for two weeks' outing; Dr. Wojcik signed medical slips.

Bought clothing to the amount of $15.24. Hattie, upon her return from outing, helped with cleaning office.

*August 29, 1920.*—Elizabeth had a rash on her face and body. She also seems to be feeling badly. Reported her to Visiting Nurse, who stated that rash was due to improper feeding. Miss Wolenski has seen nothing of Mr. Gutowski, and visitor feels that she would not admit him to the house without an unusual amount of persuasion on his part.

*September 28, 1920.*—Hattie is taking Elizabeth to Infant Welfare regularly. She seems to take good care of the children and keeps

them and herself clean and neat; she also attempts to keep her home attractive. She painted her kitchen stove delft blue and is quite proud of its appearance. She is open to suggestion and usually willing to fall in with any plans made for her.

*October 30, 1920.*—Gave Hattie two pairs of stockings for Walter from donation.

*November 29, 1920.*—Hattie is very much alarmed because she has had someone knock at her door several evenings the week previous, and she is afraid that Mr. Gutowski is attempting to bother her again. She is very anxious to move from her present quarters, because she wants to have nothing to do with him. She retires very early in order not to have a light in the house in the evening, so that if he does come, he will have no opportunity to talk to her. Gave clothing for children from donation.

*December 3, 1920.*—Visited Infant Welfare. Elizabeth was registered January 21, 1920, weight on October 8, 1920, 16.5 pounds; weight November 12, 1920, 18.6 pounds. Hattie comes regularly to the clinic. Children are kept too near stove, and the house is poorly ventilated. However, the baby is gaining rapidly.

*December 10, 1920.*—Hattie moved to new rooms which are very light and cozy. She has very little furniture with which to furnish her new place. Also is in need of new curtains.

*December 13, 1920.*—Hattie in office, stating that baby Elizabeth was sick.

*December 14, 1920.*—Talked to Dr. Graves, who states that the baby has gastric trouble, due to improper feeding. Suggests that Hattie be given instructions as to how to prepare food.

*December 24, 1920.*—Lane High School took family for Christmas. Gave toys and basket. Hattie also received basket from North Shore Settlement.

Gave Hattie coat from donation. She attended Christmas party at College Settlement.

*January 31, 1921.*—Elizabeth seems to have recovered from her stomach trouble. Hattie goes regularly every two weeks to the Infant Welfare Station. She is planning to do some cleaning, starting about February 1. She is also taking in a small washing. She has heard nothing of Stephen Gutowski.

*February 18, 1921.*—Telephoned County Clerk. Will place Hattie's name on the list for the State School for the Feeble-minded. She will probably be sent in six or seven weeks.

*March 3, 1921.*—Landlady telephoned 4:45 P.M. Hattie had everything on wagon and was moving to 7141 Crawford Street. She owes rent. Left rooms very dirty. No men around.

*March 15, 1921.*—Hattie is working, leaving children with old woman in neighborhood. Neighbor does not know just where. She has two rooms in rear part of building.

### 36. Maggie Kreisberg and Her Child David

(*Born of a Bigamous Marriage*)

*April 24, 1922.*—Mrs. Maggie Kreisberg in interviewer's office, stating that her husband left her penniless a week ago. That she is his second wife and that Mr. Kreisberg has left a child of a previous marriage with her. She is expecting to be confined any day. She stated that her husband left her without a cent in the home and that she is forced to move out of her flat at 2705 Alexander Street and is at present staying with her mother at 2703 Alexander Street. Her husband left her checks which had been forged and hence came back to her.

*April 26, 1922.*—Called at 2703 Alexander Street, where Mrs. Blumenthal, mother of Mrs. Kreisberg, lives. Found Mrs. Kreisberg in bed. She had given birth to a baby boy on April 24. She gave the following information: After an acquaintance of about four months she was married to Mr. Kreisberg on June 17, 1921, in Chicago. Mattie, aged thirteen, Mr. Kreisberg's child of his first marriage, had been boarded out. She came to stay with them immediately after her marriage. Mr. Kreisberg worked as furrier at Abramson's at 2756 Alexander Street, made good money, averaging between $75 and $100 a week. Although he never gave too much money in the home, he always gave sufficient to make ends meet. He was kind-hearted and good to her and the child; and, although he came home late evenings, sometimes as late as two and three o'clock in the morning, he was home every night. On the whole their married life was fairly happy. Then about three months ago work became slack, and Mr. Kreisberg was laid off. He then went into business for himself, establishing a furrier shop on Alexander Street near Lincoln Avenue. He did fairly well in that business at first and then began losing money on it. Mr. Kreisberg began looking around for work in other places but was unable to secure employment in Chicago. Then, on April 15, he left her a $10 check and told her that he was

leaving for Jacksonville, Illinois, where he had been promised employment. He stated that if this was unsatisfactory he would come back to Chicago; but if satisfactory he would send for her to go there as soon as he settled down. Since the fifteenth nothing has been heard from him. The $10 check he left she gave to the gas company for gas bill to be paid, and a few days later the check was returned to her as it had been forged. A few days after that, while they were still in their own flat at 2705 Alexander Street, the agent from the furniture company came, asking for payment. Mrs. Kreisberg was astounded at this. They had furnished a beautiful home and had everything that was necessary in any self-respecting family, and Mr. Kreisberg had informed her that he had furnished all this himself and had paid cash for everything at the time they were bought and that there was nothing else connected with it. She informed the agent that Mr. Kreisberg had left the city; and immediately the next day a wagon came from the furniture company, and they moved everything from the home until nothing was left, excepting a few cooking utensils and the four bare walls. By this time their rent was due, and Mr. Kreisberg had paid the landlord with a check just before leaving, although it was two days ahead of time for payment. On the same day that the furniture company had taken away the furniture the landlord came in with the returned forged check. This check too served no purpose, and the landlord gave them notice to move. Mrs. Kreisberg, who was expecting confinement any day, was at a loss as to what she should do; the furniture gone, eviction notice on hand, and no cash with which she could meet the various expenses. Having no other alternative, she moved in with her mother, who is residing at 2703 Alexander Street. However, her mother too is very poor. She has been in this country only eight months. Her husband had died about three years ago upon his return from the army in Europe. The only working member in the family is Mrs. Kreisberg's sister, a young girl of eighteen, who is supporting Mrs. Blumenthal and seven other children, Mrs. Kreisberg, her infant, and Mattie, the child of Mr. Kreisberg's previous marriage. Another girl of twenty, Mrs. Kreisberg's sister, is at present out of employment, and there is the additional expense of carfare and lunches while searching for work. Then Mrs. Kreisberg decided to report the state of affairs to the Welfare Bureau. This was on the morning of April 24, 1922. In the evening the infant was born at the home of her mother. There was no doctor or nurse who could care for her, and a kindly

neighbor finally succeeded in bringing in Dr. Loeb for Mrs. Kreisberg. The physician, who had been originally asked for his services, could not be reached.

Mrs. Kreisberg was born in Austria twenty-six years ago. She came to America in 1914. Before her marriage she had worked in a bindery, making fairly good wages, and she then decided to send for her mother and the children. They arrived eight months ago. Then the two older girls, next to Mrs. Kreisberg, also went to work, and they managed to get along well with the income. She met Mr. Kreisberg about four months before they were married. During their courtship he seemed to be a perfect gentleman, was extravagant in his expenditures, took a cab for the least little journey or trip, brought presents constantly; in short, he cut a very admirable figure. Then there was the fact that Mrs. Kreisberg and her parents knew the Kreisbergs while still in Europe. Both their families come from the same part of Austria. Mr. Kreisberg's father was known to be a very fine person, as also his brothers. They are a prosperous family, and Mr. Kreisberg while in America had sent enormous sums of money to his people in Europe. Mr. Kreisberg has now been in America for the past fifteen or sixteen years. The first nine years he lived in New York and was married there. His wife died. The child of this marriage is Mattie. He then married again; and in the second marriage domestic difficulty arose, and the two people were divorced. Ben, the son of this last marriage, is now in an orphan home in the city of New York. A certain Mrs. Ellias, living at 1416 Independence Boulevard, Mrs. Kreisberg stated, would be able to give worker more information regarding this matter. After they were married, that is, Maggie and Mr. Kreisberg, rumors came to Mrs. Kreisberg that her husband had had any number of marriages, that he had quite a number of children from each marriage, has mistresses in the various parts of the city, and so on and so on. However, she was able to prove none of these things, but suspicions arose. She then recalled how, when they were married on June 17, 1921, Mr. Kreisberg had gone under the name of Ewell Crossburg; when she had brought this fact to Mr. Kreisberg's attention, he stated that the pronounciation and the spelling of his name are two different things and there is nothing illogical about this as there are a great many words that are pronounced differently from the way they are spelled.

*Later.*—Called at 2756 Alexander Street, at Abramson's. Spoke to Mr. Schlesinger, one of the workers in the shop, who was the only

one there. He stated that Mr. Kreisberg had worked at Abramson's but a very short time. He proved to be an expert worker at his trade and made between $75 and $100 a week. However, he was an erratic individual, extremely nervous, highstrung, and of a suspicious nature. At the time he left he went into business for himself in a shop on Alexander Street near Lincoln Avenue.

*Later.*—Called at 2493 Alexander Street, where Mr. Kreisberg was supposed to have his own shop. Found place locked, with sign in window "for rent." The place was entirely empty.

*Later.*—Called at 2497 Alexander Street at the Fashion Fur Shop, very close to where Mr. Kreisberg was supposed to have his own shop. Spoke to Mr. Friedman, who gave the following information: About eleven years ago both he and Mr. Kreisberg were workers for a certain furrier by the name of Eichner at 29 Adams Street. Both men worked there for a number of years. Mr. Friedman states that he has known Mr. Kreisberg for the past eleven years. He is a worthless, irresponsible, nervous, erratic person who cannot be relied upon in the least. However, he is an expert workman. When in the mood he can put out really artistic work. Mr. Friedman recalled one day's work at Eichner's, which was something in this wise. Friedman and Kreisberg associated together. One morning they came in to work together, and both had taken off their coats and were putting on their aprons in order to get down to work. About ten minutes after they had come to the shop a young woman came in, and, when Mr. Kreisberg saw this woman come in, he immediately left the shop and never came back there again. Later it was learned that this woman was Mr. Kreisberg's wife, who came from New York in search of him. She had two children whom she was trying to support. From that moment on, Mr. Friedman states that he never heard of or saw Mr. Kreisberg until a number of years afterward. Even then he had the reputation of being very intimate and friendly with a great number of women. About a year ago he worked for some time at Abramson's, then at various other little shops in the city, and about three months ago went into business for himself. However, he evidently went bankrupt and now has left the city. Just where he is Mr. Friedman is unable to say. Since Mr. Kreisberg left his shop, various customers have come in to Mr. Friedman's asking for their goods which they had left with Mr. Kreisberg in hopes that upon his departure Mr. Kreisberg left his various customers' goods with Mr. Friedman.

Mr. Friedman also recalled an instance when a certain elderly man came to ask him regarding Mr. Kreisberg. This man had informed him that Mr. Kreisberg had been paying attention to his daughter, and he came to ask for references. Mr. Friedman gave him what information he had, and he later learned that the marriage had been broken off. Since then Mr. Kreisberg has not been on speaking terms with Mr. Friedman. When questioned as to how Mr. Kreisberg could be located, Mr. Friedman stated that the only place where there is work in the furrier line in the United States at the present time is in Rochester, New York. He expects to be there within the next few weeks and should he learn anything of the whereabouts of Mr. Kreisberg, he will notify the Bureau.

*May 4, 1922.*—Called at 2703 Alexander Street. Mrs. Kreisberg showed worker the marriage license Mr. Kreisberg had taken out at the time they were married—No. 814884. As yet nothing had been heard from Mr. Kreisberg. When questioned regarding personal relations between the two people, Mrs. Kreisberg gave the following information: Mr. Kreisberg was a well educated and an agreeable conversationalist and an expert workman. He was always considerate of everybody's welfare. He was very polite and, as far as she had ever noticed, had never done anything that could be found fault with. At one time Mr. Kreisberg had been in business in LaSalle, Illinois. For some reason or other it did not prosper and he came back to Chicago. This was long before they were married, and Mrs. Kreisberg believes that he has gone back to this latter place. At the time of his departure Mr. Kreisberg left the keys of the store with Mrs. Kreisberg, and the next day when she went down there she found nothing but the four walls. Mrs. Kreisberg is at a loss to understand the man's actions. Mr. Kreisberg had always shown himself to be the best sport, even to the most minute details, and now to turn around and leave her and the child penniless is more than she can comprehend. Since he left Chicago, neighbors have been up to see her any number of times and have told her of various liaisons that Mr. Kreisberg has had with other women. Mrs. Kreisberg states that the only thing she is interested in doing now is to have Mr. Kreisberg found and punished properly.

*May 8, 1922.*—A certain Mr. Hochenberg in office regarding Maggie Kreisberg. He states that he is a neighbor of theirs, and his attention has been called to the miserable plight of Mrs. Kreisberg and her mother's family. He gave the following information: A

Mr. Lieberman, brother to Mrs. Blumenthal (mother to Mrs. Kreisberg), had brought over the entire Blumenthal family to America about eight or nine months ago. This Mr. Lieberman is a well-to-do, prosperous business man. He also had brought over another sister of both his and Mrs. Blumenthal's, a Mrs. Grossman; and upon the marriage of Maggie to Mr. Kreisberg, Mr. Lieberman had made a $600 loan to Mr. Kreisberg, which was due about two months ago. The first payment of $50 Mr. Kreisberg had made, and now Mr. Kreisberg being gone, Mr. Lieberman is forced to meet all the other payments himself. Mr. Lieberman had also assisted Mrs. Kreisberg and her mother's family all along, and is still doing so, but how long he will be able to continue, Mr. Hochenberg states, will just be for a short time. Business is very poor, and such a large family requires enormous sums of money. Mr. Hochenberg states that he came to the office merely to report the situation so that it may not be neglected, for the longer it is postponed, the harder it will be later on to unravel. He asked that some form of assistance be rendered to Mrs. Kreisberg whereby she will not be such a drain on her uncle and her mother.

*Later.*—Called at the City Hall in order to verify the Kreisberg marriage. Found the following entries: "Samuel Kreisberg married to Lillian Rothchild on February 7, 1922, both people living at 1317 Carpenter Avenue." On same record there is note that Mr. Kreisberg had been married to a certain woman by the name of Ruth on January 13, 1919, and divorced on September 12, 1920, on a charge of cruelty. Mr. Kreisberg was the defendant.

No. 2—"Ewell Crossburg married to Maggie Blumenthal on June 17, 1921. Marriage license No. 814884. No previous marriage given."

*May 22, 1922.*—Letter sent to the New York Hebrew Charities asking for a verification of the marriage of Samuel Kreisberg to Rebecca and also an investigation as to the date of birth of Mattie and any other dates, names, or places that may be connected with the record they have on hand regarding Samuel Kreisberg.

*May 23, 1922.*—Mrs. Kreisberg in office asking what is going to be done in her case with regard to assisting her, the infant David, and Mattie, Mr. Kreisberg's child from a previous marriage. She states that her mother is no longer able to assist her. Her two unmarried sisters, who are working, have their hands full supporting their mother and the younger children. An uncle of hers, a certain Mr. Lieberman, who owns a wholesale chicken-market house at 311

Cook Street, absolutely refuses to assist the family any longer. He had loaned Mr. Kreisberg, while he was staying with his wife, $600, $100 of which Mr. Kreisberg himself paid off; and now Mr. Lieberman is forced to pay off the other $500 as he had acted as guarantor for Mr. Kreisberg, and because of this Mr. Lieberman is very angry and states that he has expended as much money as could be expected of anyone in assisting relatives. Furthermore, there is a Mrs. Grossman, a sister to Mrs. Blumenthal, whose exact address Mrs. Kreisberg does not know, who is being assisted by her brother Mr. Lieberman, and he maintains that he is unable to support his own family and two others at the same time. Mrs. Kreisberg further stated as soon as the infant is a little older and bigger, she will go to work, but as things are now it is utterly impossible for her to do so. She requests assistance, she stated, only until such time as she is able to go to work.

Mrs. Kreisberg is a handsome-looking woman, speaks fluently and rapidly, and makes a very good impression. She does not impress one as being overly concerned over the fact that she has been deserted by Mr. Kreisberg.

*May 26, 1922.*—Mr. Hochenberg in office. He stated that he had been down to visit Mr. Lieberman, pleaded with him, and begged that he help out once again his sister and his niece, Mrs. Kreisberg. However, Mr. Lieberman insisted that business at the present time is very poor and that he has done his utmost for the family and now is no longer in a position to do anything. Mr. Hochenberg, therefore, has come to office to say that the only source of assistance that Mrs. Kreisberg might have is now closed, and that there seems to be nothing left for the Bureau but to assist her. Mr. Hochenberg lives at 1943 Alexander Street. He happens to know the Kreisberg family through neighborly talk and recommendation.

*Later.*—Mrs. Kreisberg in office stating that she is desperately in need of assistance. She cannot impose on her mother and her sisters to the extent of having them support her, the baby, and Mattie, the child of Mr. Kreisberg's previous marriage. She complained bitterly of her condition and stated that unless she is given assistance, there is nothing left for her to do but to commit suicide.

*May 31, 1922.*—Called. Social worker at Court of Domestic Relations stated that Mrs. Kreisberg had been in to get a warrant for her husband. Told social worker that the office was, at the present time, trying to verify Mr. Kreisberg's present status in this marriage,

as it was claimed by Mrs. Kreisberg that he had had several previous marriages and she did not know whether this last one was legal. Social worker was under the impression that it might be just as well to have the warrant issued because it might be the means of locating Mr. Kreisberg at the present time. If by that time sufficient information had been found to warrant an action for bigamy, he could be transferred from the Court of Domestic Relations into the jurisdiction of the Criminal Court.

*June 5, 1922.*—Letter received from the United Hebrew Charities of New York stating that they could find no such name as Kreisberg or Crossburg on record at the date given. Information sent them was too insufficient for them to trace anything definite.

*June 6, 1922.*—Mrs. Kreisberg in office asking for groceries. She stated that it is now over a week since she received the $4.00 which we sent. This is far too insufficient for herself and the infant to get along on, and if it is going to be sent irregularly, as it is being done, she is at a loss to understand how she will get on. The only thing left for her to do is to do away with herself and the infant as she can no longer depend upon her mother and her sisters, and, although she has asked her uncle Mr. Lieberman every time for assistance before she came to the office, she has been refused, his one reply being each and every time that he had helped sufficiently and can do no more. Mrs. Kreisberg spoke in a loud, shrill, stormy voice, demanding that she be supported until such time as she is able to go to work. When worker called her attention to the fact that she is conducting herself in an objectionable manner, she apologized. She stated that she is suffering so many miseries that she is no longer responsible for her actions. She further said that if worker does not believe the fact regarding Mr. Lieberman, her uncle, she should for herself ascertain this by visiting him.

*June 14, 1922.*—Mrs. Kreisberg telephoned stating that her mother is on the point of driving her out of the house. First, because she is not paying anything toward the rent. Secondly, because the amount she received from the Bureau is far too insufficient to cover all the expenses she causes in the home. Pointed out to Mrs. Kreisberg that it is as much the duty of her relatives to support her as it is the duty of the Bureau. In fact, it is more so. Told her that nothing will be sent toward the rent.

*June 20, 1922.*—Called at 311 Cook Street on Mr. Lieberman, uncle to Mrs. Kreisberg. Mr. Lieberman was not in.

*June 22, 1922.*—Mrs. Kreisberg in office. She was very noisy and demanded that she be supported adequately; and, if not, she threatened to bring the infant to Welfare Bureau, leave it here, and thus evade all her responsibility. Explained to Mrs. Kreisberg that she was scaring no one by this. First of all the infant is hers, and she is the one to take care of it. Leaving the infant at the office would mean abandonment on her part, which would in all probability sentence her to a term in the House of Correction. At this Mrs. Kreisberg became more quiet, spoke in a lower voice, and asked if it was in any way possible to have the same amount that had been sent her, sent her again even though her mother objects to her being in the house without paying for same. Again pointed out to Mrs. Kreisberg that the assistance being rendered her by office is only temporary and may stop at any time should she fail to show a proper attitude or appreciation. She then apologized for her rudeness and stated that she is so much worried and has so many troubles that she does not realize how she is reacting to things.

*July 3, 1922.*—Called at the home. Mrs. Kreisberg was very ill and wanted a doctor. Connected her with the Dispensary.

*July 8, 1922.*—Mrs. Blumenthal called. She stated that the doctor had been there a few days ago but that Mrs. Kreisberg was suffering again. Also said that Mrs. Kreisberg did not have money to buy the baby milk. Requested worker please to investigate and see if something could be done. Connected her with the Dispensary again.

*July 11, 1922.*—Mrs. Kreisberg in office. Stated that she felt much better and that the doctor had been there in response to her call. Said that she had called a private doctor the first time as she did not know she could get one through us. The doctor had charged $2.00, which as yet she has not paid. She also expended $2.60 for medicine and asked worker if she could have a refund on same.

Mrs. Kreisberg happened to remember the address of a Mrs. Mary Uhlman, General Delivery, Reno, Nevada, who had at one time sent a gift to Mr. Kreisberg's daughter, Mattie. Mrs. Kreisberg sent a letter to Mr. Kreisberg in care of Mrs. Uhlman, Reno, Nevada, stating that Mattie is very ill. She received a telegram signed by Mrs. Uhlman, asking that a wire be sent at her expense stating the condition of the child. Mrs. Kreisberg wired back that the girl was better.

Mrs. Kreisberg feels that if immediate investigation is made we may be able to find Mr. Kreisberg. She left a picture of Mr. Kreisberg to be sent to the National Desertion Bureau.

*Later.*—Letter sent to the National Desertion Bureau suggesting the probability of finding Mr. Kreisberg in Reno, Nevada.

*July 15, 1922.*—Letter received from National Desertion Bureau stating that they were investigating the location of Mr. Kreisberg reported to be in Reno and would advise as soon as they had a report. The letter states that they have a case of Samuel Kreisberg and Agnes Kreisberg (Schmidt) in their office dated March, 1918, and suggest perhaps it is the same man.

*July 19, 1922.*—Letter sent to National Desertion Bureau stating that we are writing in behalf of Maggie and giving a résumé of the case.

*July 27, 1922.*—Letter received from National Desertion Bureau stating that they had received a communication from their correspondent in Reno that the matter is receiving attention and that we will be advised of results.

*August 3, 1922.*—Letter sent to the National Desertion Bureau informing them that the husband of Mrs. Agnes Kreisberg, formerly their client, is also the husband of Welfare Bureau applicant, Mrs. Maggie Kreisberg.

*August 7, 1922.*—Mrs. Kreisberg and the baby David in office. She complained bitterly, maintaining that she is being very much neglected by the Bureau and that, unless her allowance be increased and be sent regularly, she will be forced to desert her child, run away from home, or commit suicide. Mrs. Kreisberg appeared to worker as being quieter and more rational than on any previous interview. She spoke in a low voice, to the point, and did not interrupt while worker was explaining things to her. She was in quite a receptive mood.

*September 8, 1922.*—Letter received from National Desertion Bureau stating that Agnes Kreisberg called at their office on August 1 and volunteered the information that she came from LaSalle, Illinois, five years ago to New York. Mr. Kreisberg went to New York three years ago. He bought her a fur coat, etc., and asked for reconciliation, which she refused. She has not seen him since. He wrote to her twice last year care of general delivery, Chicago. Mr. Kreisberg's daughter, Mattie, wrote to her aunt, Mrs. Mordicai, 12 Cass Street, New York City, about four months ago and the aunt sent her money. Agnes has a cousin, Mr. Blaustein, who owns a cigar store. This cousin knows Mr. Mordicai, who informed the applicant that Mattie wrote to her aunt stating that Mr. Kreisberg had again married and also had deserted. Agnes Kreisberg stated that they only went

through a Jewish ceremony and they had no license. National Desertion Bureau is also asking her to send them a photograph of Mr. Kreisberg.

*November 28, 1922.*—House visit. Mrs. Kreisberg stated that the baby had not been feeling very well due to the fact that the house was cold, and she requested that the Bureau send coal. Advised her, however, that we could not possibly send coal since the entire family was living there and apparently able to keep the house warm, judging from what Mrs. Kreisberg had told us concerning the earnings of her sister. Mrs. Kreisberg made no reply to this. Worker noticed that the house was very well heated. The baby is in better physical condition at present. Mrs. Kreisberg has not had any news at all about her husband. Worker noticed that Mattie, whom worker had only seen the first time, was seated by herself reading in a corner. She is a rather attractive girl and, when spoken to, seemed bright and intelligent. Mrs. Kreisberg stated that she can do nothing for Mattie and requested the Bureau to interest themselves in her. A neighbor had given Mattie some winter clothes, but she is growing out of these. She is in the seventh grade and, according to her statement of her marks, she is progressing very well.

*Later.*—In conferring with supervisor, it was thought best to have Mattie come to the office.

*December 28, 1922.*—House visit. Mattie was not at home. Spoke to Mrs. Kreisberg. She said that she had received a letter about two weeks ago, not sent directly to her but to Mattie with her husband's address given as 12 Cass Street, care of Mrs. Mordicai, New York. In this letter he also said that he was going to London, England, to live. Worker asked her why she did not come in immediately after she had received this letter and where the letter was. She said that she could not leave the baby. Worker told her that at an important time like that, she could have called up immediately if she could not take the baby with her. Then worker asked to see letter, and Mrs. Kreisberg said that she had torn it up. She said that she could not live on the money that the Bureau was sending her. Told her emphatically that we could not send her any more and that we expected her to go to work as soon as the baby was well enough to do without her care. In the meantime we would do everything to trace her husband. Mrs. Kreisberg gives the impression of being a rather timid woman and one who is very excitable, commanding, and exacting.

*December 29, 1922.*—Letter, including picture of Mr. Kreisberg and Mattie, sent to National Desertion Bureau with the following information:

Mrs. Kreisberg in an interview December 28 stated that Mr. Kreisberg's daughter, Mattie, had received a letter from her father which bore the address, 12 Cass Street, care of Mrs. Mordicai, New York. Mrs. Kreisberg also told us that her husband volunteered the information that he was going to London, but she feels that this is simply a ruse on his part. We have not seen this letter as Mrs. Kreisberg destroyed it. Mrs. Kreisberg is absolutely certain that her husband is in New York. Would it be possible to get some additional information from Mrs. Mordicai?

*January 8, 1923.*—House visit in response to a telephone call from Mrs. Kreisberg. Mrs. Kreisberg merely had to report that she could not get along on the $4.29 which the Bureau was sending her because of the fact her sister was being married the following week and her mother could not afford to keep her. She complained about Mattie. Because of the sister's leaving home, her mother could not keep the three of them for $4.29. During the conversation it developed that Mr. Kreisberg had a son by the name of Ben who, according to a drift of information which Mrs. Kreisberg had once gotten, was being boarded in an orphan asylum in New York City. Mrs. Kreisberg could give no additional information about this. (It occurred to worker, who had once been employed in the Hebrew Orphan Asylum in New York City, that she remembered a boy by the name of Ben Kreisberg, who possibly answered to the age and description given by Mrs. Kreisberg.)

Mrs. Kreisberg submitted the name of a Mrs. Ellias, 1416 Independence Boulevard. She said that Mrs. Ellias could give worker more definite information about Ben Kreisberg.

*Later.*—Called at the home of Mrs. Ellias but the latter was not in. Worker left note stating that she would call the following day.

*January 9, 1923.*—Again visited Mrs. Ellias. She said that she had known Mr. Kreisberg because one of his wives, Rachel, who died in New York, was a sister of Mrs. Ellias' sister-in-law. When Mrs. Ellias came from Europe she came directly to Chicago, and Mr. Kreisberg hearing that the family was here came to visit them. In the course of conversation he told Mrs. Ellias that he had a little boy, by the name of Ben, boarding in an orphan asylum in New York. Mrs. Ellias also said that there is a Mrs. David Berg, a sister of Mrs. Rachel Kreisberg, who died, who lives in Montclair, New Jersey, Box 939.

*Later.*—Mrs. Kreisberg appeared in office and submitted New Year's card which she had received from a family by the name of Rhalkowsky, 2125 Cullen Avenue, New York. Mrs. Kreisberg stated that she thinks her husband at times visits this family as they were on friendly terms, and perhaps Mr. Kreisberg could be traced through this channel.

*January 10, 1923.*—Letter sent to Hebrew Orphan Asylum, New York City, stating that we had received information from our client, Mrs. Maggie Kreisberg, that she had heard her husband make a statement that he had a boy who was boarding in an orphan asylum in New York City. Secondly, that our worker who was at one time connected with that institution remembered a child by the name of Kreisberg, and we wondered whether there could be any possible connection. Asked the Orphan Asylum to let us know if there is any connection, who committed the child, and the addresses of all possible relatives and the father, etc.

*January 11, 1923.*—Letter sent to National Desertion Bureau giving them the following supplementary information in addition to our letter of December 29, 1922: Mrs. Kreisberg called at our office and submitted the address of Mr. and Mrs. Rhalkowsky, living at 2125 Cullen Avenue, New York City. It is possible that this family can give some information as to the whereabouts of Mr. Kreisberg. We also received the address of Mrs. Berg, Montclair, New Jersey, Box 939. Mrs. Berg is a sister of Mrs. Rachel Kreisberg, who died in New York City.

*January 16, 1923.*—Letter received from the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, New York City, to the following effect: They state that they have a boy, Abe, aged eleven years, in the institution. He was admitted December 15, 1915, together with his two half-sisters, Hannah and Louise Kuh. The father, Ewell Kreisberg, had deserted his family in 1915. He had abandoned them on six previous occasions. Mrs. Kreisberg died August 18, 1916, from the effects of an operation. This woman had been a widow with three children before her marriage to Mr. Kreisberg. They have no record of the father ever having visited his boy. There is a maternal aunt, Mrs. Berg, 12 One-hundred fifteenth Street, New York.

*January 18, 1923.*—Letter sent to National Desertion Bureau stating that we had traced a child by the name of Abe Kreisberg in the Hebrew Orphan Asylum in New York, and according to information we received from them the father was Samuel Kreisberg; also

two half-sisters, Hannah and Louise Kuh. They also submitted the address of a maternal aunt, Mrs. Berg, at 12 One-hundred-fifteenth Street.

*January 22, 1923.*—Letter received from National Desertion Bureau with the following information:

In answer to yours of the 11th, permit me to inform you that Mrs. Agnes Kreisberg was seen on January 6. She stated that Samuel Kreisberg telephoned her on December 28 and arranged to meet her but never kept the appointment. She claims that she visits Mrs. Mordicai often and that Mrs. Mordicai does not know Mr. Kreisberg's whereabouts. Other clues will be followed up.

*January 26, 1923.*—Letter received from National Desertion Bureau to the following effect:

National Desertion Bureau had communicated with Mrs. David Berg, Box 939, Montclair, New Jersey, but found it to be the Mrs. Berg whom we had mentioned in our last letter. She told the following facts: That her late sister, Rachel, met Mr. Kreisberg in London in 1908. Rachel was at that time a widow with four children. She had a well-paying fur business and was quite well-to-do. They were duly married and went to Paris, where Mr. Kreisberg managed to separate her from her last dollar so that in 1913 the family in the United States was obliged to forward passage for her and the children. Here, too, Mr. Kreisberg resorted to his usual tactics. He defrauded his brother-in-law, and subsequently disappeared. There was one child of this marriage, Abe, now eleven years of age and an inmate of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of this city. About two weeks ago Abe received a letter from his father stating that he intended to go to London and will return in a year. After his marriage to Rachel, the latter discovered through letters found in his possession that he had previously been married and had children. Mr. Kreisberg is in the habit of visiting his child in the orphanage several times a year. About a month ago Mr. Kreisberg made an unsuccessful effort to obtain the child's discharge. This man is well known among furriers in Beeker Street. Mrs. Berg also informed us that this man sometimes goes under the name of Ewell Bergstein and that under that name he married Rachel in London in 1910. On looking through the files of the Bureau I found an old record dated March 11, 1914. Rachel Bergstein, therein mentioned, resided at that time at 97 107th Street, New York City. Mrs. Bergstein had four children of a prior marriage, and one, Elsie, a girl, born in January 1914, by Kreisberg. November 3, 1913, Bergstein or Kreisberg deserted her and the children. This woman died in 1916. It is the opinion of the National Desertion Bureau that Kreisberg is still in New York. They believe it essential however that an indictment be

secured at once, if possible. They have written to the State Department to ascertain whether or not this man has applied for a passport and are also endeavoring to ascertain through the New York Department of Public Welfare if, when Kreisberg made an application for the discharge of the child, Abe, he gave any address that may be followed up. It would appear that Kreisberg is expecting to marry and that drastic action should be taken at once.

*January 26, 1923.*—Letter received from National Desertion Bureau stating that a Mr. Rhalkowsky of 2125 Cullen Avenue, mentioned in our communication of the eleventh, was interviewed yesterday. He stated that he absolutely does not know anything about the man and is at a loss to understand how Mrs. Kreisberg in Chicago became aware of his name and address. He believes, however, that his friends in Chicago, who are possibly acquainted with Mrs. Kreisberg, informed her that he had been a delegate to Europe and had been instrumental in bringing several families to the United States. He believes that Mrs. Kreisberg was under the impression that he could locate her husband and that is why she gave his name. However, they would like to have more details as to how our applicant became aware of him and it might be possible that he does know something about Kreisberg, and if so, upon receipt of further information they will be glad further to assist in locating the man.

*Later.*—House visit. Mrs. Kreisberg could give us no further information or clues which might assist us in locating Samuel Kreisberg. Spoke to her, however, about the necessity of her going to work as we felt that the baby was old enough now and could be left in her mother's care. She stated that her mother was not used to the child. Told her that if this was not possible she would have to make her own arrangements as far as a day nursery was concerned. Mrs. Kreisberg was very much excited about this, but worker made her understand that we could not give her money each week now that the baby was grown up and did not need her care, and that she simply had to think about going to work very quickly. She asked that we help until her husband is found. Told her that this is absolutely out of the question as we could give no promise as to when Mr. Kreisberg will be found and this had nothing to do with her supporting herself. That we expected her to consider this very seriously as we could not possibly help her very much longer. She said that the baby still needed her care as she was still nursing it. Told her that worker would visit the doctor or go to the Welfare Clinic.

Later spoke to Mattie, who stated most emphatically that she had not heard from her father and had no idea where he was. She says that she had received a letter from her aunt, Mrs. Mordicai, 12 Cass Street, but this simply contained information about the latter's immediate family. Mattie is a bright child and gave the appearance of being a rather sensitive child. She was neatly dressed and said that a friend of the family had given her the dress which she wore. She is rather an attractive child and gave the impression of being in good physical condition. She said that she had always been with her father previous to his marriage to Maggie Kreisberg; that is, she had not lived at the same place that he had, but had been boarding. She stated that she has not heard from her father since he left Chicago about eight months ago. She also said that Mrs. Kreisberg is very good to her, and she simply feels as though she were a member of the family. She sleeps in the kitchen with Mrs. Kreisberg's younger sister. She is in the the high seventh grade. She insisted all the time that she did not write to anyone else; in fact, had no other relatives but Mrs. Mordicai, who was an aunt. However, she has not heard very recently from Mrs. Mordicai. Worker did not get the impression that Mattie could give any information additional to what we already had.

*January 27, 1923.*—Mrs. Kreisberg telephoned. Stated that her husband was not a citizen and wondered whether he could get a passport to go abroad or whether he will be permitted to return. While on the telephone, worker asked her how she got the name of Mr. Rhalkowsky. (According to question asked by National Desertion Bureau.) Mrs. Kreisberg stated that she did not know him, but she had received a New Year's card, which she had submitted to worker, from a Mr. Rhalkowsky at the address given on the card, and that she feels that the card really came from Kreisberg, bearing Rhalkowsky's address. She herself did not know who the man is or anything about his family. She therefore is of the opinion that Mr. Kreisberg is known to Mr. Rhalkowsky's family or otherwise he would not have submitted their address.

*January 29, 1923.*—Letter sent to National Desertion Bureau to the following effect: That Maggie Kreisberg had received a New Year's card from Samuel Kreisberg which bore the address of the Rhalkowsky family of 2125 Cullen Avenue. Mrs. Kreisberg states that she absolutely has no idea who Mr. Rhalkowsky is and she believes that if Mr. Kreisberg sent the card from the Rhalkowsky home,

Mr. Rhalkowsky surely knows something about Mr. Kreisberg's whereabouts.

*February 7, 1923.*—Letter received from the National Desertion Bureau with the following information: That they will again endeavor to interview Mr. Rhalkowsky. They also learned that Mr. Kreisberg has not applied for the child's discharge to the New York Department of Public Welfare. No news has as yet been gotten from the State Department.

*February 19, 1923.*—Letter sent to National Desertion Bureau with regard to extradition warrant for Mr. Kreisberg. We have not yet been able to come to any definite decision, but will let them know as soon as we do.

Letter received from National Desertion Bureau to the following effect:

> We wish to inform you that our worker again called on Mr. Rhalkowsky and advised him of the contents of your letter of January 29. He is at a loss to understand the matter. However, after showing him the photograph of the man he stated that he is sure he saw him somewhere, but could not recall where. He requests that we loan him the picture of the man so that he could make inquiries among furriers with whom he was acquainted.

*February 20, 1923.*—House visit. Mrs. Kreisberg was not at home. Worker spoke to Mrs. Blumenthal. She said that Mrs. Kreisberg and the baby had been sick. She said that this is the first day that Mrs. Kreisberg had taken the baby out. Mrs. Blumenthal then said that she did not know what to do about Mattie. She simply kept the child out of pity, and she did not feel she could afford to keep her any more. One of the women in the fish store in the same house in which the Blumenthals live gives Mattie some clothes, but otherwise Mrs. Blumenthal supports her. She said that she does not begrudge the child what she gives her, but she cannot afford to keep Mattie without any money any longer. Left message asking Mrs. Kreisberg to call on February 21.

*February 21, 1923.*—Mrs. Kreisberg in office. She stated that she has been sick and that is the reason why she did not take the baby to the Welfare Station. She then said that the baby weighed about three pounds when it was born and was very hard to raise. He is very delicate, and she has to give him very intensive care. When he was a very young child, she had to get up during the night for extra feeding, and she said that even at present he is not in good physical condition and for this reason she is afraid to wean him. Asked

Mrs. Kreisberg what she did before she was married. She said that she lived with her uncle, Mr. Lieberman, and that she worked very intermittently. The last position she held was in a bindery, in which she simply sorted books. Worker pointed out to her that she could surely make $4.29 a week, and without doubt very much more, and that it was about time she realized that she must make plans for herself and look for a position. She said that she is afraid to leave the baby. Spoke to her as to whether she had made any future plans for the baby and herself. She said that her mother would not keep the baby as she is an elderly woman and cannot do so and it would mean that she take the baby to a nursery. She does not feel strong enough to do this. She complained of feeling very weak at times. This is the first time that Mrs. Kreisberg had ever complained of her physical condition to worker. Told Mrs. Kreisberg that we wished her to take the baby to the Dispensary on the morning of Feburary 23 and that she herself would be examined the same day in the afternoon. Gave her a Dispensary card and instructions. Mrs. Kreisberg promised to take the baby and also have herself examined. Background histories were made out for her and baby. Mrs. Kreisberg then said that she is very anxious to know whether her husband will be found. She does not care as far as support is concerned. Mrs. Kreisberg submitted the address of her uncle, Mr. Lieberman, Franklin 9063, 311 Cook Street. Mrs. Kreisberg stated that before her marriage she had lived with her uncle and that he had been very kind to her. Now, however, in view of the fact that her mother and sisters are here, he does not seem to be concerned in her welfare at all. She then stated that she cannot possibly keep Mattie any longer as her sister has gotten married and there isn't a sufficient amount of income. She said that she doesn't like to give her up, but under the present circumstances she cannot keep her any longer.

*Later.*—Background history sent in for Mrs. Maggie Kreisberg and David.

*February 23, 1923.*—Letter received from National Desertion Bureau to the following effect:

Supplementing our communication of the 15th *re* Samuel Kreisberg, permit me to advise you that we have been unable to obtain any information from the State Department as to whether a passport has been issued to Mr. Kreisberg and that we have been informed by the department that request for this information must come from Mrs. Kreisberg personally. They therefore suggest that she write at once and refer to No. 1–24–1246. We

are continuing at this end to do all we can to locate the deserter. We are still awaiting word from you as to whether an extradition warrant has been secured by you.

*March 1, 1923.*—Letter received from Legal Aid Department containing the following information: In the series of Kreisberg cases recently brought to the attention of Legal Aid Department, worker advises as follows:

On Tuesday afternoon, March 6, at 2:00, at the office of Mrs. Gratz, in charge of family cases for the Indictment Department of the State's Attorney's office, the following should be present: both of the Mrs. Kreisbergs known in Chicago, together with an eye-witness to the first Mrs. Kreisberg's marriage in Chicago. The worker in the case should likewise be present and have with her certified copies of both of the marriage licenses mentioned in the Kreisberg record.

The State's Attorney's office will not advance the expense of extradition in this case. There is a bare possibility that the expenses may be refunded to the Welfare Bureau in case there is a conviction, but there is at present no guaranty of this. It will be therefore necessary to take up at once with the general superintendent the matter of paying the extradition expenses in this case so that if an indictment is returned, a warrant may go forth at once for the arrest of Mr. Kreisberg. Legal Aid awaits the confirmation of this from the district. Legal Aid worker will be present at the conference here mentioned in Mrs. Gratz's office.

*March 2, 1923.*—Letter received from the Dispensary giving tentative report and asking that patient return for re-examination on Monday, March 5, at 1:00 P.M.

*March 3, 1923.*—Called at the address, 1317 Carpenter Avenue, in order to get Mrs. Lillian Kreisberg and advise her that it would be necessary for her to appear on March 6 in the State's Attorney's office. After going through the house could get no information whatever, as the family moved about a week previous.

*Later.*—After calling at the grocery store, was told by the woman in charge that a friend of the boy had said that the family had moved to a place on Van Buren and Anne streets. Could give no definite address.

*Later.*—Called at Mrs. Maggie Kreisberg's house to find out whether she had gotten any information as to the exact whereabouts of the Rothchild family. No one answered knock.

*Later.*—Went over to the region on Van Buren and Anne streets. Canvassed the four blocks on either side and finally located the family. The Rothchilds have moved into a fish store, which they have just opened at 3355 Congress Street. Spoke to Lillian and her mother. Lillian gave the following story:

On October 14, 1920, she had been married in the Jewish faith. She had not been married legally because of the fact that Samuel Kreisberg had been divorced from Mrs. Ruth Simpson and the year necessary before remarriage had not yet expired. In November and December, 1920, and January, 1921, she was ill at home. During February and March, 1921, she got better but still stayed at home. In April of 1921 Mr. Kreisberg moved into her mother's house. From May to June they lived at 1443 Crawford Boulevard. On June 1 they quarreled and separated. Mrs. Kreisberg went to her mother, and she didn't know what became of Mr. Kreisberg. During the months from June to October he had been living with Maggie Kreisberg. In the meantime Mrs. Lillian Kreisberg became pregnant. When she found out that he had been living with Maggie Kreisberg, she had him arrested in October and put under bond. Mrs. Lillian Kreisberg stated that she did not know at the time that he was married legally to Maggie Kreisberg. She contends, however, that Maggie knew of her relationship to Mr. Kreisberg and did not tell her that she was legally married to him. The trial was set for January 3, and was postponed to February 15. The baby was born in January and on February 7, 1922, Mr. Kreisberg took out a license at the City Hall. Both of them took this license back to the rabbi who had married them. On March 8 the trial came up, but Mr. Kreisberg showed that he had the license and the trial had been dismissed. He left in April, and she has not heard anything from him, until about three months ago, when an aunt of hers, whose name she refused to give, had received a letter from a man in New York inclosing a letter from Mr. Kreisberg asking Lillian to join him in New York. Nothing further was said of this, and Mrs. Kreisberg did not get in touch with him. She also said that she had gotten a divorce September 11, 1922, in the Superior Court on the ground of adultery. Worker later saw the decree, No. 492436.

Mrs. Kreisberg said that she will have absolutely nothing to do with the case at all. She is very glad if he is caught, but that nothing will be done through her. She said that she is divorced and she has nothing further of interest to do with him. Worker tried to talk

to her and show her the danger of having a man like Kreisberg at large in the country, and that it was in her power to help us get him, but she absolutely would hear nothing about this at all. She said that she had spent her last money to get this divorce, and since she has it she is free and she wishes to have nothing at all to do with the case. Mrs. Rothchild has moved into the fish store so that Lillian Kreisberg will not have to go out and make a living. They are all extremely fond of the child, Richard. Also learned indirectly that Mrs. Rothchild's son is the owner of a Packard machine.

*March 5, 1923.*—Called at the City Hall and got the marriage licenses of Lillian Rothchild Kreisberg and Maggie Blumenthal Kreisberg. The license of Samuel and Lillian was taken out on February 7, 1922; Rabbi Hillman living at 1822 Green Street married them. The license of Ewell Crossburg and Maggie Blumenthal was taken out on June 17, 1921. Reverend H. Eisenstein, 2062 Alexander Street, performed the ceremony.

*Later.*—Again called at the house of Mrs. Lillian Rothchild and tried to persuade her to come to the office so that she could be interviewed by Legal Aid workers. Mrs. Kreisberg immediately began to talk about the fact that she felt she ought to have some support for the child. Worker then explained to her that we could not do anything for her or the child if we did not get Mr. Kreisberg in Chicago and that once we got him we could then talk about support for the child, and there is no doubt about it that he would be made to support the child. Mrs. Kreisberg immediately became interested but then again changed her mind, stating that she did not want to have anything to do with the matter. Worker again persuaded her that it was to her own advantage and that of her child that Mr. Kreisberg be brought to Chicago, for if it was possible to make him support the children here, her son would certainly become entitled to support. Mrs. Kreisberg then, coerced by Mrs. Rothchild, decided that she would come to the office in the afternoon. In view of the fact that worker was afraid that she would change her mind, promised to call for her in about half an hour.

*Later.*—Went to the home of Maggie Kreisberg. Learned that Maggie had to go to the Dispensary on that afternoon. Told her that she must be in the office at 3:30, and if she had any difficulty she should call worker and inform her of this fact. She promised to do so. She had also taken the child to the Infant Welfare Station. Mrs. Kreisberg stated that she had tried to wean the

baby but that it would not take any other food and she did not know what to do.

*Later.*—Called for Mrs. Lillian Kreisberg, Mrs. Rothchild, and the baby and brought them to office. Interviewed by Legal Aid workers. It was explained to Mrs. Kreisberg that, in the point of time according to the marriage certificates, Mrs. Maggie Kreisberg is the legitimate wife and that she, Mrs. Lillian Kreisberg, is not. Legal Aid worker persuaded her to appear on the afternoon of March 6 in the District Attorney's office, but Mrs. Rothchild and Mrs. Kreisberg stated that they could not possibly do this as Tuesday was a very busy day in their store. Promised to come on the morning of March 7 at 9:00 and sign a complaint against Mr. Kreisberg. Mrs. Lillian Kreisberg wavered a great deal, saying that she did not wish to sign anything, but finally explained to her that someone else could sign the complaint and if she did not do this she would be needed to testify against Mr. Kreisberg in the Grand Jury, but that we would prefer that she sign the complaint herself. Finally promised to do so.

*Later.*—Worker spoke to Maggie Kreisberg and advised her to appear at the office on the afternoon of March 6 at 1:00 with a witness to her marriage.

*March 6, 1923.*—Went with Legal Aid worker, Mrs. Maggie Kreisberg, and witness, Mrs. Kaufman, living at 1464 Albany Street. The latter had been present at Maggie's wedding ceremony. Submitted the marriage certificates of Mrs. Maggie Crossburg and Mrs. Lillian Kreisberg. Gave statement of our knowledge of the situation in connection with the marriages of the two wives. Mrs. Maggie Crossburg gave her version of the story. She stated that she knew absolutely nothing of Mr. Kreisberg's marriage with Lillian at the time that he married her or of her relationship with him. She stated that they had lived happily together when he suddenly disappeared, a week prior to the birth of David. When asked how she found out about Mrs. Lillian Kreisberg, she stated that some of the neighbors had told her of a woman whose husband has disappeared and that it was in this way that she found out about Lillian Rothchild Kreisberg. She could give no information at all about Mrs. Ruth Simpson, from whom Samuel Kreisberg was supposed to have been divorced on September 12, 1920. It was decided that it would be necessary to verify the marriage and divorce of Mrs. Ruth Simpson and Samuel Kreisberg.

Called at the office of Mrs. Gratz, special deputy of the State's Attorney's office, where a statement was given by Maggie Kreisberg,

Legal Aid Worker, and district worker. Mrs. Kreisberg's story was in effect as indicated on the record and that of both workers summarizing the record. Mrs. Gratz stated that should it develop in fact that a previous marriage to Ruth Simpson had taken place, of which marriage there was a divorce within the period of one year antedating Maggie Kreisberg's marriage, then Maggie's marriage is illegal and her marriage, in fact, would be the bigamous one. Mrs. Gratz was told of our inability to locate Ruth Simpson, but that we would make an effort to trace her through any possible address on Kreisberg's divorce from her, should that be located.

*Later.*—Called at office of clerk of Superior Court. Found under No. 538870 that on September 12, 1920, Ruth Simpson obtained a divorce from Samuel Kreisberg on the grounds of cruelty. Personal service was had on Mr. Kreisberg at that time, and he filed his answer and appearance through Attorney Rudolph Hourwich. He did not appear at the final hearing, however, and the divorce was got by default. The date of marriage given on this was January 13, 1919.

*Later.*—Called at City Hall. Verified the divorce of Ruth Simpson from Samuel Kreisberg and traced the marriage certificate. According to it Ruth Simpson and Samuel Kreisberg were married January 13, 1919; number of license 60861. Religious ceremony performed by Rabbi Freund at 1607 Homan Avenue. Address given for Mrs. Ruth Kreisberg in the divorce proceedings was 1484 Homan Avenue. They were divorced September 12, 1920, on the grounds of cruelty; Meyer and Meyer, 411 National Bank Building, attorney for Mrs. Ruth Kreisberg; Rudolph Hourwich, attorney for Samuel Kreisberg. The number of the divorce paper is 538870.

*March 7, 1923.*—Called at Criminal Court to meet Mrs. Lillian Kreisberg, who did not appear with her mother. After waiting for about an hour, it was decided that it would be necessary to find some trace of Mrs. Ruth Simpson.

Call at Mrs. Gratz's office, State's Attorney's office. Lillian Rothchild Kreisberg did not appear as she had promised. On presentation of the divorce, Mrs. Gratz stated that, should the marriage of Ruth Simpson be proved and the divorce be proved, then Maggie Kreisberg's marriage would be the bigamous marriage. However, in order to prove this it will be necessary to locate someone who was present at Ruth Simpson's marriage to Samuel Kreisberg. For all purposes, even for the prosecution of Mr. Kreisberg, because of his marriage within the year of the divorce, it would be necessary to prove

the marriage of Ruth to Samuel by means other than merely the legal divorce certificate from the county clerk.

Worker then suggested to Mrs. Gratz that the matter be taken up with the Indictment Department in order to learn which one of the three following complaints [all felonies] if any, Mr. Kreisberg can be held on: No. 1, bigamy charge; No. 2, marriage of a divorced person within a year of the divorce; No. 3, abandonment of child under the age of one.

The last charge would refer to the abandonment of Lillian Rothchild's child, since her marriage will then have proved to be the legal marriage. Mrs. Gratz will take this matter up with the Indictment Department and will let us hear from her within a day or two.

Called at 1484 Homan Avenue, which is the last address given in the divorce papers of Mrs. Ruth Simpson Kreisberg. Went through the house and questioned residents but could get absolutely no information as to whether a Mrs. Simpson or a Mrs. Kreisberg had lived in the house. The people living there now are new tenants. Also inquired at the neighboring grocery store but could get no information whatsoever.

*Later.*—Called at 1607 Homan Avenue, the address given for Rabbi Freund. Found that he moved about a year ago. Was told, however, that if worker would inquire in the meat market across the street, worker might get information.

*Later.*—Called there. Was asked if Rabbi Freund was also a *Schochet.* Worker stated he probably was. Was therefore given the address of 1904 Troy Avenue.

*Later.*—Called at 1904 Troy Avenue and spoke to Rabbi Freund. He stated that he remembered Mr. Kreisberg and remembered the marriage but could give no information about Mrs. Simpson. He said at that time he had no idea of Mr. Kreisberg's character or of his former actions; that the couple had been married legally by him and that was all he could tell. Worker asked whether he knew of any of Mr. Kreisberg's friends or possible relatives, or any of Mrs. Simpson's. He knew absolutely nothing about either of the two people. He then submitted the name of Mrs. Mazur, owner of a bakery store at Homan and Argyle streets, who might be able to give worker information, and a Mrs. Ellinger, who had a grocery store on Homan and Alexander streets. Rabbi Freund promised to let worker know if he could get any information whatsoever in the neighborhood.

*March 8, 1923.*—Called and spoke to Mrs. Ellinger. She said that she had no idea of any Mrs. Simpson.

Called on Mrs. Mazur. She also could give no information, but, while worker was talking, a visitor, who happened to be in the house and who lives at 1484 Homan, stated that about two and a half or three years ago a Mrs. Graham had been living in a flat at 1486 and that she had kept boarders. It was very possible therefore that Mrs. Simpson lived there at the time. Suggested that worker interview Mrs. Weinstein in a fish store. Mrs. Weinstein herself might not be able to give any information about Mrs. Simpson, but a woman who was living with Mrs. Weinstein, who at one time had boarded with Mrs. Graham, might be of assistance.

*Later.*—Called on Mrs. Weinstein and learned that Mrs. Bernhardt lived with her. Went upstairs and spoke to Mrs. Bernhardt. She told the following story: She had lived with a Mrs. Graham and had moved there after Mrs. Simpson Kreisberg had moved out. She had heard, however, at the time, about the story that Mr. Kreisberg had been married so many times and Mrs. Simpson had been divorced. Worker asked whether she knew where Mrs. Graham lived, but she stated that Mrs. Graham had moved and was living somewhere in the neighborhood of Homan and Albemarle streets. With the directions given by Mrs. Bernhardt worker found the house in which Mrs. Graham had lived, only to learn that she had moved about two weeks ago. None of the neighbors could give any information of her whereabouts; but worker asked some children playing in the yard whether they had played with any of Mrs. Graham's children and was told that one of the girls knew Maizie Graham and that she had attended the Lawson School. Worker will therefore call at the Lawson School and try to trace the transfer card given to Maizie. All the neighbors could tell was that Mrs. Graham had moved farther west.

*March 9, 1923.*—Called at the Lawson School and discovered that Maizie Graham had been transferred to the Cullen School, and was living at 1317 Kildare Avenue.

*Later.*—Called at this address and learned that it was not correct. Finally traced the Graham family to 1350 Kildare Avenue. Interviewed Mrs. Graham. She stated that she had known Mrs. Simpson and had also known Mr. Kreisberg. For a long time, however, according to her statement, they did not live together. She did not know whether they had been divorced at that time or not, but during

this time Mrs. Simpson had gone to Detroit. When she came back she came in the company of a man by the name of Mr. Lubin. Mrs. Graham did not know whether she had married him or not, nor could she give the exact date of her return. She then said that Mrs. Simpson had returned to Detroit with Mr. Lubin, and at present she thinks she is still living in Detroit, for otherwise Mrs. Simpson would certainly have come to see her as they were very good friends. She said that the last she heard was that Mrs. Simpson was in Detroit and had opened a delicatessen shop. Mrs. Graham could not give the names or addresses of any of Mrs. Simpson's relatives. Stated, however, that Mrs. Simpson's best friend, a woman by the name of Mrs. Newfield, who would surely know about Mrs. Simpson, if anyone did here in the city, lives in the region of May and Adams streets and owns property somewhere around the southeast corner of May and Adams.

*Later.*—Called in this district. After making inquiries finally located a Mrs. Newfield at the Rigi European Hotel. She was not in the hotel at the moment, however. (The name Newfield also appeared on the divorce papers which worker had seen.)

*March 10, 1923.*—Telephoned the Rigi and spoke to Mrs. Newfield. She stated that in her opinion Mrs. Simpson was living in Detroit. She could not give the exact address. She promised to let worker know the names of some relatives of Mrs. Simpson's living on Independence Boulevard.

Worker called each day but was never successful in finding Mrs. Newfield at the hotel, but she is still living there, however. Spoke to supervisor concerning Mrs. Newfield, and was told to try to identify Mrs. Newfield as the woman who signed the divorce decree as she could also act as a witness to identify Mr. Kreisberg in case we were not able to locate Mrs. Simpson, or if she did not live in Chicago, and we could not get her to return here.

*Later.*—The following letter sent to National Desertion Bureau:

We find ourselves in great difficulty in this case as far as finding a charge upon which to indict Mr. Kreisberg is concerned. The reasons are as follows: It was definitely determined by copying the documents that Mr. Kreisberg was married to one Ruth Simpson in 1919. Mrs. Simpson, who is now missing and whom we know to be the necessary witness, divorced Mr. Kreisberg in September, 1920. Mr. Kreisberg married Maggie in June, 1921. This marriage is illegal because any marriage contracted by a person divorced in Illinois within one year of said divorce is void. Mr. Kreisberg married Lillian in February, 1922, which is the only legal marriage we have. Our problem now is to locate Ruth Simpson Kreisberg. If we

can locate her and so establish for criminal purposes the identity of the man she divorced as the man who married within a year of that divorce, we can then hold Kreisberg on the charge of marrying within a year of the divorce, which is a felony and punishable by a penitentiary sentence. We are vigorously on the trail of Ruth Simpson because we are most earnest in our anxiety to get Kreisberg indicted and punished. To secure this evidence is now the only thing that stands between us and the indictment. We shall be ready to extradite on the instant of the indictment if by that time you have located Mr. Kreisberg.

*Later.*—Background history and a letter received from the Dispensary. The diagnosis for Mrs. Maggie Kreisberg, chronic pulmonary tuberculosis (slightly active). Prognosis fairly good. Needs a complete rest. Sanatorium care recommended. Patient may not work. Probable duration of present limitations indefinite.

[This diagnosis was followed by placing David through the Home Finding Division, sending Maggie to the sanatorium, and leaving Mattie in Mrs. Blumenthal's home in the hope that Mr. Kreisberg would come to Chicago to see her. The facts later brought out about Mattie and her support are omitted. The plans for the indictment went forward as shown by the following correspondence:]

1. Letter, dated March 23, 1923, to National Desertion Bureau, New York City, from Jewish Welfare Bureau:

In addition to the information given in our letter of March 10, we wish to state the following:

We have succeeded in locating a Mrs. Newfield, who was a witness to the divorce proceedings of Samuel Kreisberg and Ruth Simpson. Mrs. Simpson herself is living in Detroit, but we are unable to obtain the exact address. If Mrs. Newfield will testify that she knew Mr. Kreisberg at the time she was Ruth Simpson's witness in the divorce case and that she knew Ruth was alive at the time of his marriage to Maggie Blumenthal, the State's Attorney will then have a fully prepared case against him—the crime of marrying within a year of the divorce. Our Legal Aid Department is arranging for a conference with Mrs. Newfield prior to the date of hearing before the Grand Jury. According to a statement given by Mrs. Newfield, she has promised to act as necessary witness. As we stated in our last letter, we shall be ready to extradite on the instant of the indictment if by that time you have located Mr. Kreisberg.

2. Letter, dated March 28, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We are in receipt of yours of the 23d instant, with reference to the Kreisberg case. We await word from you as to whether an indictment

and extradition warrant has been secured. Has your applicant written the State Department as per my recent suggestion?

3. Telegram, dated March 29, 1923, from National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Located Samuel Kreisberg's employer. Deserter expected New York Friday. Rush extradition warrant.

4. Letter, dated March 29, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

You have no doubt received our wire of even date, *re* Samuel Kreisberg. The only clue we had in this case was that the man is a furrier, and an investigator was assigned to canvass the various fur shops. After a good deal of effort we ascertained that he is connected with a Mr. Pushkin, furrier, in this city, as a traveling salesman. After the situation was explained to Mr. Pushkin, he promised to co-operate with us and showed our worker a telegram which he had received from the deserter last Thursday. The wire is dated at Buffalo and requests that Pushkin send him $100 as he intends to return to New York the following Friday (tomorrow). Mr. Pushkin had wired him the money and expects Kreisberg at his place tomorrow.

Mr. Pushkin informed us that he has known Kreisberg for a long time; that about two years ago Kreisberg had sold his store in Montreal. He knows of two of his marriages, one to a Mrs. Bacon, a widow who had died leaving two children, and another by whom he has one child and who resides in New York. Kreisberg informed Pushkin that all the children are in an orphanage and that he supports them.

Mr. Pushkin, for obvious reasons, does not want his name connected with the case or his confidence betrayed. He does not wish Kreisberg to be arrested in his place of business but has promised to keep us closely informed regarding Kreisberg's arrival and his movements thereafter. For this reason may we ask that in sending a request to the New York police for the arrest of the man the Chicago authorities should call upon us to aid in identifying the fugitive.

We sincerely trust that you will take immediate action in this case in view of Kreisberg's prior history.

5. Telegram, dated March 30, 1923, to the National Desertion Bureau from the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Samuel Kreisberg. We are proceeding with the indictment.

6. Telegram, dated April 2, 1923, to the National Desertion Bureau from the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Samuel Kreisberg indicted for marrying within year of divorce. Our Police Department has notified your Police Headquarters to get in touch with you. Kindly act accordingly.

7. Telegram, dated April 4, 1923, from the National Desertion Bureau to the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Samuel Kreisberg expected by Pushkin employer, 70 Beeker Street, New York, any day. Kreisberg's last address: 1834 Broad Street, Buffalo, New York. Notify Buffalo police.

8. Telegram, dated April 4, 1923, to National Desertion Bureau:

As Chicago police have already wired New York police Headquarters to arrest Samuel Kreisberg we think it would be a grave mistake to complicate matters by wiring Buffalo and perhaps scare man. Since you expect him any day would it not be best to wait a day?

9. Letter, dated April 5, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Last night we wired you that Kreisberg has not yet returned to New York, but that we succeeded in ascertaining from his employer, Mr. Pushkin, that though he is expected any day, he is still believed to be at 1834 Broad Street, Buffalo.

We sincerely trust that the action has already been taken by the Chicago police with the view to apprehending the fugitive in Buffalo. We are, however, continuing to hold the matter under close observation at this end and will get in touch with the police at once should Kreisberg reach this city.

I will thank you to advise me as soon as you have received definite word from Buffalo.

10. Telegram, dated April 6, 1923, to National Desertion Bureau from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Samuel Kreisberg. We have notified Chicago police and will leave the matter regarding notifying Buffalo to them.

11. Letter, dated April 5, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Permit me to acknowledge receipt of your night letter which has just come to our attention. Mr. Pushkin, Kreisberg's employer, informed us today that Kreisberg had not written him since he had wired him the $100, which the fugitive had asked for. Subsequent thereto Mr. Pushkin sent him a bag of furs. Today the empty bag was returned with no comment from Kreisberg. Mr. Pushkin informs us that he intends to write Kreisberg today to find out what detains him in Buffalo. He assures us that he will let us know as soon as the fugitive returns to New York. However, I do not believe that the matter will be complicated, as you seem to fear, by having the Buffalo police endeavor to effect Kreisberg's arrest, after a discreet investigation.

We will exercise due diligence in apprehending Kreisberg as soon as he arrives in New York but believe it will expedite matters, besides saving considerable on the cost of extradition, if the Buffalo authorities are successful in arresting him.

12. Telegram, dated April 13, 1923, from National Desertion Bureau to the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Bureau succeeded arresting Samuel Kreisberg today. Letter follows.

13. Letter, dated April 13, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

You have no doubt received our wire of even date advising you that we have succeeded in arresting Samuel Kreisberg. The writer appeared at the Magistrate's Court, and Kreisberg was held one week until April 20 pending the arrival of an officer with extradition papers from your city. Kreisberg has consented to return to Chicago to face the charge.

I had a long talk with Kreisberg this morning. He admitted his marriage to Ruth, to Lillian, and to Maggie but denied that there was anything but a Jewish marriage ceremony between him and Agnes, though he admits being the father of two children by her. He insists that he was never married more than five times.

It may be that he will be arraigned at the Family Court of New York as the Department of Public Welfare wishes to settle an account with him for the support and maintenance of his son, Abe, who was committed in 1916 as a public charge and in whose behalf Kreisberg has never since contributed any money. We will advise you of further developments.

14. Letter, dated April 17, 1923, to the National Desertion Bureau from the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

In reply to your letter of April 13, we wish to advise that our Police Department is waiting a statement from New York Police Headquarters to the effect that Mr. Kreisberg is waiving extradition papers over his signature. As soon as this is received our police will proceed. We are taking this precaution as we do not want to lose our money in case Mr. Kreisberg should fight extradition when our officer gets there.

15. Letter, dated April 23, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

No doubt Samuel Kreisberg has already been brought to your city. On Friday last I appeared before Magistrate Brown and though no officer from Chicago was present a telegram had been received from the Chicago Police Department advising that an officer is enroute. The extradition

papers were sent here and were duly honored by the Governor. We thereupon had Kreisberg committed for thirty days, pending the arrival of the officer. Your man came here on Friday afternoon and as the defendant agreed to return at once he was surrendered to his custody.

The Department of Public Welfare of New York had a non-support warrant against Kreisberg in behalf of the son, Abe, for whose support he had not contributed since 1916. Another of his children, Dora, was an inmate of the Home for Hebrew Infants, but as Kreisberg married Dora's mother, Agnes, by Jewish ceremony only, bastardy proceedings would have to be begun. In view of the fact that you were anxious to extradite him, the Commissioner of Welfare decided to waive his proceedings for the time being and consented to surrender him to the Chicago police.

I trust that you will see to it that this man is given drastic punishment in view of the history of this case.

16. Letter, dated May 17, 1923, to the superintendent, Hebrew Orphan Asylum, 1560 Amsterdam Avenue, New York City, from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

*Re* Abe Kreisberg

May we ask you kindly to co-operate with us in the following matter:

You may be interested to know that the father of the above, Samuel Kreisberg, has been extradited to Chicago and at present is awaiting trial on charges of bastardy and marrying within a year after a previous divorce. Mr. Kreisberg is to be examined in the Psychopathic Hospital; and in order to get as complete a social history as possible, may we ask you kindly to give us information about Abe in connection with mental abilities, habits, activities, and general progress.

May we ask you kindly to answer this immediately.

17. Letter, dated May 20, 1923, from the superintendent of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, New York City, to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

Replying to your letter of the 17th instant, relative to the case of Abe Kreisberg, permit me to state that the boy was born on June 28, 1911.

He is in class VI B of public school and has an I.Q. of 1.14. His scholastic work is good, and his general deportment in and out of school is also good. He seems to be a boy of normal habits, engaging in all the activities of boys of his age.

His social life may also be called normal. He is quite companionable, his friends being boys about his own age and of the same grade. He is somewhat undersized but not unattractive. He is making normal progress in all activities.

18. Letter, dated May 23, 1923, to counsel for the National Desertion Bureau from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We are very sorry that we did not give you any information concerning Samuel Kreisberg at an earlier date, but, due to the rapidity and changing of events, we could not do so sooner.

On April 24, the day on which Mr. Kreisberg was brought back to Chicago, he was taken to the County Jail and was held on the charge of marrying within a year of his divorce from Mrs. Ruth Simpson.

On April 26 Mrs. Maggie Kreisberg came to the Court of Domestic Relations to take out a bastardy warrant against her alleged husband; and on April 27, when our worker called at the County Jail, it was found that Mr. Kreisberg had given bond early in the morning of April 26, so that he was no longer in the County Jail when the bastardy warrant reached there. Upon conferring with his attorney, we were told that he felt that Mr. Kreisberg should be out on bond at the earliest possible moment so as to give him opportunity to have his defense prepared. It was our understanding that this trial in the Criminal Court would be put on the sheet sometime during the coming fall. Our worker then found him in the home of Mrs. Blumenthal, mother of Mrs. Maggie Kreisberg. Mr. Kreisberg told the story of his marital entanglements and this coincided, with the exception of a few deviations, with the information received from you. It was then decided in view of the fact that the bastardy warrant had not yet been served, that this same should again be undertaken so that Mr. Kreisberg would be held on two charges. This warrant was served on May 9, and on May 10 Mr. Kreisberg pleaded guilty in the Court of Domestic Relations and was sentenced to the County Jail for six months if he failed to make payments for the support of his and Maggie Blumenthal's child.

On May 15, much sooner than we had expected, we were informed that the Kreisberg case would be tried in the Criminal Court, but this was postponed for a final hearing on May 21. On that date Mr. Kreisberg, following the advice of his counsel, pleaded guilty to the charge of having married within a year of his divorce and a conviction was obtained. On May 25 the length of his sentence in jail will be established. We shall advise you as soon as we are informed of same.

19. Letter, dated June 6, 1923, from counsel for the National Desertion Bureau to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

We herewith acknowledge receipt of yours of May 23, *re* Samuel Kreisberg. Will you kindly advise us as to the final disposition of the case?

20. Letter, dated June 8, 1923, to counsel for the National Desertion Bureau from the Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

In answer to your letter which we received June 8, we should like to state the following:

On June 4, 1923, Samuel Kreisberg was sentenced to the State Penitentiary for a term of one to three years. He will not be eligible for parole until he will have served at least eleven months. Mr. Kreisberg was sentenced on the ground that he had married within one year after a divorce. The verdict entered in the bastardy charge in the Court of Domestic Relations was finally set aside with the provision that if the Jewish Welfare Bureau wished to take action at the expiration of Mr. Kreisberg's sentence at the penitentiary, that action could be taken any time within two years.

[July 1, 1923, a statute enacted by the Illinois Legislature during the session of 1923, repealing the section of the Divorce Law on which this conviction rested, became effective. See below, p. 896. Mr. Kreisberg's confinement lasted, then only four weeks, and in August he was in Chicago complaining of the care given Mattie by Mrs. Blumenthal. The bastardy order is, of course, revived, and he was placed under bonds to contribute to the support of David. The points covered by these portions of the record are sufficiently covered in other cases and are therefore omitted here.]

21. Letter, dated August 28, 1923, from Thomas A. Meyer, attorney-at-law, Chicago, to Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago.

Please be advised that Mr. Kreisberg conferred with me in reference to the status of his children who are at present with the mother of his recent wife. He claims that the old lady does not permit him to see the oldest child and is influencing her considerably against the father; also, that the other infant is very much neglected, the old lady being a sick woman.

If those are the facts, I would suggest that you make an investigation, and I will instruct my client to pay for the support of the children, if placed by you elsewhere, where the morale of the children will be bettered and they will not be prejudiced against their father. It seems to me that this is an important question to be decided without much delay, for the best interest of the children.

Furthermore, he advises me that the old lady refused to give out his clothing and other wearing apparel, of which he is very much in need. You will appreciate that the man is financially in a very destitute condition, having started to work just last week, and is in need of wearing apparel, which is apparently of no use to the old lady, except for the purpose of harassing him. I do not suppose that it will be necessary for me to have any orders of court to that effect, as I am sure your influence with the old lady will go a long way to settle this dispute. He has an unquestionable right to place his oldest child beyond the custody of the old lady, who is in no way related to the child, and who is not giving it the proper care.

I presume the sum of ten dollars will be sufficient to keep her in some other place, which my client will contribute.

I suppose, by this time, we ought to have the marriage annulled, and if you desire me to file the bill on her behalf, I will do so, or else you may do it yourself if you so desire. The marriage ought to be annulled, in view of the circumstances.

I trust that all is well with you and that after your vacation you will be ready to take the matter up with me for early disposition.

22. Letter, dated September 17, 1923, to Thomas B. Meyer, attorney-at-law, Chicago, from Jewish Welfare Bureau, Chicago:

In reply to your letter of August 28, we have spoken to Mrs. Blumenthal, the mother of Mr. Kreisberg's wife, regarding the clothing and other wearing apparel which Mr. Kreisberg informed you had been refused him by his mother-in-law. She told us that Mr. Kreisberg had taken everything that belonged to him, and in fact still owes her $6.50, amount which Mrs. Blumenthal paid for his trunk which was sent from New York.

We are investigating the charges made by Mr. Kreisberg that the Blumenthal family is influencing his oldest child against him. As soon as we have all the facts we shall be glad to let you know.

## SECTION VII

## INDUSTRIAL INJURY AND THE FAMILY WELFARE AGENCY

### A. INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENT

### 37. The Family of Katherine Konczewski

*(Whose Husband, Wallentis, Had Been Killed in One of the Steel Mills)*

[Mrs. Konczewski lived in a two-story, old frame house in a district in the southern part of the city, which was formerly swampy farm land and is now a very new, but rapidly developing section of the city. The cottage is set back from the street, which runs north and south, so that there is plenty of room for a nice grass plot and a vegetable garden in front of the house. A new brick bungalow is just being erected on the southeast corner of the lot, but when Mrs. Konczewski lived here, there must have been considerable garden space. The streets are ungraded for the most part, and, except for a short stretch on the block to the north, cinder paths are the rule. A great many of the frame cottages look as though they had been built by relatively early settlers in this district, but there are many new brick bungalows and frame houses. Many of the houses have nice vegetable and flower gardens, while ducks and chickens add another rural touch. The east side of the Konczewski block is not built up at all, but immediately north and south one finds a great many old as well as new homes. A little south on the parallel streets to the east and west are springing up rows upon rows of stereotyped houses belonging to workingmen. Immediately to the west, however, only a few scattered houses have been built so far, and from there on, only weed-covered vacant lots extend for three blocks to the west. There are a great many Poles in this neighborhood.]

*November 3, 1919 (Monday).*—[A nurse from the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium telephoned asking an investigation of Mrs. Konczewski. The next day, before any visit had been made, a South Chicago representative of the Court of Domestic Relations likewise telephoned. No agency was at the time registered, and the following day, the fifth, a visit was made to the home, a three-room apartment on the first floor of a two-story dwelling.]

*November 5, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Kate Ganczyka, who lives above Mrs. Konczewski, interpreted.[1] Mrs. Konczewski had been feeling miserable, so Mrs. Ganczyka had taken Mrs. Konczewski with her when she went to the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary. Mrs. Konczewski is a tall, thin, sad-faced woman with five well-kept children, Frank (born December 3, 1907), Stephen (born December 3, 1910), Sophie (born February 28, 1912), Edward (born August 4, 1915), and Stanley (born April 3, 1918).

Mr. Konczewski worked as a lead liner (work number unknown) for the Great Lakes Steel Company until about a year and a half ago, when a piece of iron fell on him while he was at work. He was taken to the company hospital, where he died about three months later, on July 3, 1918. Mrs. Konczewski says the company gave her $400 in a lump and $60 a month for a year afterward (paid through a Mr. Noble) and then stopped payment so that now she receives nothing. Her husband was insured in the Saint Cecilia's Church Society for $340. She paid $400 of the money she received after her husband's death on the house in which she is now living. The $12 she receives each month in rent from the family living above her on second floor she pays to Mr. Jung, near Sixty-seventh Street and Salem Avenue (exact address unknown), from whom she is buying the property. She showed visitor a Republic Building and Loan Association Book No. 2579 showing one payment of $32. She thinks the Great Lakes Steel Company buried Mr. Konczewski. At least she could not give the name or receipted bill from undertaker. Father Mayewski at St. Cecilia's Church is "mad at her" because she is sending her children to the public school and because she would not turn over $500 of her money to his keeping. Frank is in Room 202, Stephen in Room 204, and Sophie in Room 106 of the O'Reilley School.

[1] [This first interview is a good illustration of the loss resulting from inability to speak the language. The visitor had a very good sequence to her questions—Mr. Konczewski's employment and the name of his employer, the cause of his death, the insurance, compensation, details of his burial, the children's schooling, the nationality, origin, and family ties of Mr. and Mrs. Konczewski, the church affiliations, the school attendance of the children; all of these points are covered. The trouble is that, due to Mrs. Konczewski's lack of English, the visitor misunderstands the situation as to (1) the date of Mr. Konczewski's death, (2) the amount of compensation, (3) the amount already paid, (4) the lawyer, (5) the undertaker; so that at the second visit the following Tuesday, the whole thing had to be gone over again. And Mr. and Mrs. Konczewski had been in the city fourteen years and the five children born here are all American citizens! See below, p. 907, for statute governing compensation in cases of industrial accident.]

Mrs. Konczewski has been fourteen years in the United States. She was married on a Wednesday in November, 1905, in St. Unafree Church in Zesow, Austrian Poland. In this town both she and her husband were born. They came to this country immediately after their marriage, and all the children were born in Chicago. Mr. Konczewski was not naturalized. He has no relatives in this country. Mrs. Konczewski, whose maiden name was Guzmewicz, has two brothers. One of them, Frank Guzmewicz, is married, living a half-block south of her at 2270 Zenia Street. This brother is not good to her. He is out on strike now and has two handicapped children to care for—a deaf-and-dumb child nine years and a smaller child with a broken foot. Mrs. Konczewski says Frank has threatened to kill her children if they bother him. The other brother, Mark Guzmewicz, is unmarried. He was discharged from the army about three months ago and lived with Mrs. Konczewski until a month ago. He helped out some during the two months' residence with her. Mrs. Konczewski has no idea where he went when he left her place. She says she owes the grocer, Kukulski, at Seventieth and Jackson about $140. She has been to County Agent, but he will not give her supplies. He says she ought to go to work and support herself. Visitor promised to see what could be done.

*November 10, 1919.*—Telephoned Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Nurse says that Mrs. Konczewski is under observation and is coming regularly to the Dispensary. As yet no diagnosis has been made. She has lost greatly in weight and needs more nourishing food. The Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium will let us know as soon as diagnosis is made.

*November 11, 1919.*—Called with Marya Klarkowski, interpreter, to get Mr. Konczewski's work number and to verify statements made by Mrs. Ganczyka, who interpreted very poorly at previous visit. Mrs. Konczewski has no record of Mr. Konczewski's work number and could not give the name of any friend who might know it. She reiterated that he was a lead liner in open hearth and that he had been hurt May 5, 1918, but had died July 31, 1918, instead of July 3. Prosynski, Ninety-third and Essex streets, was the undertaker. The steel company has made a settlement of $4,000 instead of $400. Mr. Noble, lawyer, of Cook and Company, on Essex Street near Seventy-second Street, knows all about this. Mrs. Konczewski has received a lump sum of $1,600 and borrowed $1,000 more from the Republic Loan and Building Association to buy her home, for which she paid

Mr. Jung $2,600. She now has to pay interest on the money borrowed, but she still has money coming to her from the Great Lakes Steel Company. For the last four months, however, she has heard nothing from them. Her brother Mark has seen her during the past week but would not leave his address, saying "he would see the lawyer himself." About two months ago she had to pay $70 for repairs on the house. The geese and chickens running about in the yard belong to Mrs. Konczewski's tenant. [Two previous addresses were obtained.]

*Later.*—Called at her brother Frank Guzmewicz. He was out, but his wife, who has five children, seemed surprised that Mrs. Konczewski needed outside aid. She said that Mrs. Konczewski had bought her house only two months ago. Until then she had lived in the first floor of their house, paying $8.00 a month. Mrs. Guzmewicz thinks that there is a payment of about $100 due this month from the Great Lakes Steel Company. She believes that Mark has to sign papers to get this. Mrs. Guzmewicz does not know where Mark works or lives. He and Mrs. Konczewski have quarreled, and perhaps this is the reason for Mrs. Konczewski's not receiving her money. Mrs. Guzmewicz' husband had just gone back to work November 10, so they have all they can do to support their own family.

*Later.*—Went to Squire O'Rourke's office between Eighty-second and Eighty-third on Essex Street, which is where Cook and Company used to be. Found that Robert T. Noble was the lawyer whom the Great Lakes Steel Company had employed to take care of Mrs. Konczewski's compensation. Mr. Noble was not in, but Mr. Graham Williams let visitor read copy of the Probate Court's proceedings, file No. 5231, document 786, page 329. The settlement was for $4,000.[1] Of this $147.50 had been paid in bimonthly instalments of $33.13 before September 1, 1918, when the case came into court, leaving $3,852.50. The understanding was that this amount was to be paid to Mrs. Konczewski in continued bimonthly instalments of $33.13. However, on July 1, 1919, Mrs. Konczewski filed a petition asking that her share of the whole amount be paid her in a lump sum. On this date there remained $3,189.90. The court granted this plea; whereupon this amount of money was commuted to $3,008.74 by the Industrial Accident Board, and Mrs. Konczewski was made a cash settlement of $1,504.37. The remaining $1,504.37 was placed as a trust with Guardian Trust and Savings Bank. This latter amount is payable

[1] [This amount is the maximum allowance under the Illinois Workmen's Compensation Act.]

only on the majority of each minor; $421.22 was placed in Stanley's name, $361.04 is in Edward's name, $270.79 is in Steve's name, $240.70 in Sophie's name, and $210.62 is in Frank's name. Mr. Williams thinks that a small percentage of this money, about $2.00 a week for each child, is payable by Guardian Trust and Savings Bank to Mrs. Konczewski each month beginning sometime this month. He feels sure that Mrs. Konczewski herself is the person who signs for this payment. When Mrs. Konczewski came to make application for her cash settlement, Mark accompanied her, saying that he had looked over the property which she proposed to buy and found it a good investment; that when the Great Lakes Steel Company through Mr. Noble objected to turning over to Mrs. Konczewski her entire share of the money, her brother had insisted upon the settlement, saying that if she needed money, he would help her.

*Later.*—Called in office of Republic Building and Loan Association in office of Squire O'Rourke and verified their loan of $1,000 on August 23, 1919, to Mrs. Konczewski. To date she has paid $32 on the principal and $7.79 interest. In months containing four Mondays she is to pay $10 on principal and $5.83 interest. In months with five Mondays she is to pay $13 on principal and $5.83 interest.

*Later.*—Visited Kukulski, grocer. Mrs. Konczewski owes $80 there at present.

*November 13, 1919.*—Called Prosynski, undertaker, and got an itemized bill.

*Later.*—Called again at Kukulski's, the grocer, and learned that Mrs. Konczewski had paid a bill of about $42 early in summer and that she had run a "book" almost constantly since her husband's death.

*Later.*—Called at County Agent's and read their record of the family, which showed that Mrs. Konczewski had received $1,000 insurance from the Polish National Association and agreed with what we had found out in regard to the Great Lakes Steel Company settlement. The County Agent had dropped the case as they had been unable to secure definite information about the family.

*November 14, 1919.*—Called at Mr. Jung's, Sixty-seventh and Salem streets, and Mrs. Jung verified the fact that Mrs. Konczewski had paid her husband $2,600 for the house. Said that Mrs. Konczewski had had to borrow money to do this but that she had paid in full.

*Later.*—Guardian Trust and Savings Bank said that money was in their bank in trust for the children, but that nothing, not even interest, was to be given to Mrs. Konczewski without a special court

order; that the entire amount was to be held in trust until each child became of age.

*November 15, 1919.*—Called on Mr. Noble. Mr. Noble entered a court order[1] on October 14, 1919, providing that the Guardian Trust and Savings Bank pay to Mrs. Konczewski $2.00 a week for each of her five children, which would amount to something over $40 a month; that in addition to this they give her $80 to buy winter clothing for the children. Mr. Noble promised to go down to court November 17 and stay there until the order goes through. He said that Mrs. Konczewski's priest (would not give name) and a Polish lawyer, who is going to ask a fee of $300, had both tried to get control of the money which the Great Lakes Steel Company had settled on the family and that it was with difficulty that he, Mr. Noble, had kept control of it. That finally when Mark, Mrs. Konczewski's brother, had come and pleaded with him to let Mrs. Konczewski buy the present property which she holds, he had himself gone and looked over the property and finally consented to let her buy it with the understanding that Mark would help if necessary. When Mark was discharged from the army, he came and lived with Mrs. Konczewski, turning over his entire pay check to her. For two months things went well until Mark began to go with a young Polish girl. This infuriated Mrs. Konczewski, and she kept at Mark until he finally left her. Mr. Noble has seen Mark recently, although he does not know where he works nor what his address is. He says Mark is probably to be married, but says he will help as much as he can, though soon he will be unable to help at all. He describes Mark as a good, open-faced youth, wanting to do the right thing but finding it very difficult to get along with Mrs. Konczewski, who has an ungovernable temper. He says Mrs. Konczewski has no business sense whatsoever. At one time Mark gave her a $50 Liberty Bond to keep for a rainy day. Mrs. Konczewski gave it to a half-sister for safe-keeping and, when she wanted the money, found the half-sister had spent it.[2] Mr. Noble's plan for the family seems to be to let Mrs. Konczewski keep the house

[1] [This complicated court procedure is no longer necessary. In 1919, in fact, it was probably a matter of caution, rather than of necessity, as the Board had already been given the power to decide such questions as these.]

[2] [There are frequent references in the records to the inability of foreign-born persons to realize the value of the Liberty Bonds. They are often quite at a loss to measure in any true way the value of United States currency, and these new forms of security were to them often wholly unintelligible. See Breckinridge, *New Homes for Old*, chap. iv, pp. 88–91, for discussion of this point.]

for the next six months or so and to see if she can manage to live and keep up her payments on the $1,000 borrowed during this time; if not, to have her sell the property. Asked Mr. Noble to secure Mark's address if possible.

*Later.*—Called at Frank Guzmewicz'. Mr. Guzmewicz not at home. Talked with Mrs. Guzmewicz. She says Mark will come to Sunday dinner at Mrs. Konczewski's on November 16; that neither she nor her husband knows his exact address though they know he is living at a hotel[1] on Forty-second Street. Mrs. Guzmewicz admitted that Mark intended to be married. Promised to try to secure his address.

*November 16, 1919* (*Sunday*).—Called at Mrs. Konczewski's. Mark had not come to dinner. Mrs. Konczewski still insists she had no idea where he is living, although she says she is sure her brother Frank knows; that Mark has registered at some hotel under an assumed name. Asked if she could not give the name of some friend who would know where Mark lived. She said perhaps Beneck Simonowski, Eighty-eighth Street and South Shore Drive, might know.

*Later.*—Called at Beneck Simonowski's. He was not at home, but woman in house said he would be home all day November 17 Promised to call.

*November 17, 1919.*—Called on Beneck Simonowski and asked for Mark Guzmewicz' address. Mr. Simonowski refused to give this pretending he did not understand visitor. Perhaps he did not.

*Later.*—Called at Frank Guzmewicz'. Mr. Guzmewicz says he thinks Mark is staying at the South Park Hotel, Forty-second and Lake Park Avenue, that he thinks Mark has registered under his own name. Mark told him a week ago when he last saw him that he intended to be married November 14 and was then going away perhaps to Mexico. Frank does not know whether he has actually gone or not. He, however, has not seen him. Frank seems to be a stolid and unintelligent, but well-meaning man. He thinks Mrs. Konczewski was very foolish to buy her house as she could have stayed on in his house, paying only $8.00 a month rent. He realizes that even

[1] [This expression "living at a hotel" is again an illustration of the language difficulty. By Mr. Guzmewicz it was literally used, that is, it applied to any one eating and sleeping at the hotel without regard to the conditions on which he obtained his room and board; to the visitor it suggested the patron of the hotel, and she therefore looked for the registration of a person who was on the room list rather than on the pay-roll of the hotel. See second entry of November 17, 1919. "Frank Guzmewicz thought that his brother Mark had registered under his own name" at the South Park Hotel.]

if she gets the $40 a month from the Guardian Trust and Savings, she will be unable to live on this and keep up the interest on the $1,000 borrowed. He is unable to help.

*November 19, 1919.*—Got the school records for Frank, Steve, and Sophie. All the three children come to school regularly and are bright and well dressed. These children are noticeably cleaner and brighter looking than the other children in their respective rooms and the teachers spoke very highly of them.

*November 20, 1919.*—Called at South Park Hotel to learn, if possible, the address of Mark Guzmewicz. Talked with the manager, who seemed interested. He inquired of employees for such boy, but he was unknown. The manager consulted registry, but found no one by that name. Visitor left card; and he said that if Mark could be found or any information obtained, he would notify Welfare Agency.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Konczewski had received $150 from Mr. Noble, with which she immediately started to pay her debts. She had already paid $30 to Mrs. Ganczyka, the tenant who lives upstairs. She still owes this woman $20 more. She intends to pay her grocery bill of $80, $25 to the Republic Building and Loan Association, $2.00 for gas, $5.00 for her water tax. She has heard nothing more of her brother Mark, but the Simonowskis have promised to let her know if he comes to see them. They do not know his address. Frank was home from school because his shoes were in such bad condition. The man who interpreted said that Mark was using an assumed name these days. That one way to identify him was that he had badly smashed the last three fingers of his left hand. When Mark was home last he had told Mrs. Konczewski that she ought to go out and work and support her own children.

*November 21, 1919.*—Mrs. Konczewski had been to the school about clothes, but they only gave the little girl a note to get a pair of shoes. Told Mrs. Konczewski that she must pay only $40 on grocery bill now and then $10 a month later. Made her understand through interpreter (neighbor, a plumber) that Welfare Agency could not give her any more grocery orders. Interpreter said that there was no use trying to get any help from Father Mayewski; that all he would do was to try to get money from the people, not give help.[1]

[1] [This statement about the priest is of course not to be taken as true, but as the view of some neighbors of Mrs. Konczewski as to the reasons for the priest's interest. The visitor of course took occasion to obtain the priest's version (entry of November 26, 1919). The lawyer distrusted the priest, the priest the lawyer.]

*Later.*—Went to O'Reilley School to leave School Children's Aid card for clothes for children. The principal took card but would not promise to sign it, saying, "Other families needed clothing besides the Konczewskis."[1]

*Later.*—Called to see Mr. Noble, who said that Mrs. Konczewski would receive $50 every five weeks, December 23, 1919, being date for next payment. Mark Guzmewicz had been to see him about a week ago, but he did not remember his address. Mr. Noble repeated that he thought it would be a mistake for Mrs. Konczewski to sell her property. Thinks she should be helped until property is paid for.

*November 22, 1919.*—Asked Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium nurse to send us report on this family.

*November 25, 1919.*—Telephoned Father Mayewski, St. Cecilia's Church, and made appointment to talk over family with him November 26.

Volunteer took boy's blue suit with extra pants for one of the boys.

*November 26, 1919.*—Called on Father Mayewski. He says Mrs. Konczewski is a splendid mother and a thoroughly moral woman. He knows nothing about any insurance which she received from the church. She got $4,000 from the Great Lakes Steel Company, and he went two or three times to see about this at Lawyer Noble's. His only quarrel with Mrs. Konczewski is that she borrowed her $1,000 from the Republic Building and Loan Association instead of from the Church Building and Loan Association, where the interest would not be so high. He knows Mark only slightly and says he has not been registered at this church for some months. Frank, however, the other brother, is a good man, but has his hands full with his children. Father Mayewski feels that the move away from the lower part of Frank's house to Mrs. Konczewski's present home was a good one as the former place was not sanitary.

*Later.*—Called on Mrs. Konczewski. The house was clean, and Mrs. Konczewski looks somewhat better. Her back, however, continues to trouble her. She goes every week to the Municipal

[1] [The reaction of the principal to this appeal in behalf of the Konczewski children illustrates the inappropriateness of calling the persons to whom the Society is ministering "clients." The moment the slightest tinge of partisanship characterizes an appeal, there is resentment. The principal had in mind all the needy children in the school and insisted that the need of each should be contemplated in view of the needs of all. The *client* has been one to whom either the *patron* showed special favor or the *attorney* rendered the services of special pleading.]

Tuberculosis Sanitarium and is taking their medicine regularly. The children are all once more in school. She understands that she is to get only a little paid on her various bills and will pay them up month by month. Left oranges, apples, and sugar given by South Shore Baptist Sunday School.

*Later.*—Thanksgiving basket sent by South Side Woman's Club.

*November 28, 1919.*—Mrs. Konczewski very grateful for her Thanksgiving basket. At last she has Mark's address. Came there for Thanksgiving and quite willingly left his address. Questioned Mrs. Konczewski about neighborhood gossip to effect that her brother Frank has $800 which she lent him. This, she says, is nonsense. She has lent him nothing. Neighbors are evidently jealous because she is once more on her feet.

*December 3, 1919.*—Telephoned Mark. Landlord answered and said that Mark was not in at present, but that he roomed there.

*December 8, 1919.*—Miss Lewis, Great Lakes Steel Company, telephoned to say that Mrs. Konczewski had received $4,000 compensation for her husband's death and that he had been a good steady workman.

*December 16, 1919.*—Visited. An attractive young Polish woman came to the door. She said she was Mark's wife; that she and Mark were married about a month ago. They had stayed only a few days at the place on Lake Shore Avenue where they were living when visitor telephoned Mark and then had come to Mrs. Konczewski to make their permanent home. They pay board. Mrs. Konczewski and the children seemed very fond of Mrs. Guzmewicz. Mrs. Guzmewicz says Mark is "crazy about the children and so is she."

*Later.*—Met Lawyer Noble on train. Said Mrs. Konczewski would get her next Great Lakes Steel check December 26; glad to know Mark had returned and was helping with income. Said he felt sure all along that Mark was going to do the right thing.

*December 20, 1919.*—Letter received from Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium as follows:

> Mrs. Konczewski was examined, November 29, 1919 by Dr. E. B. Foster and found to have pulmonary tuberculosis incipient "B." I believe she can follow the appropriate treatment at home. Sophie, aged seven, is being carried under observation. She apparently had an acute infection when she came in, November 10, probably pharyngitis, but she has not been into the dispensary since, so we are unable to give any further information.

*December 30, 1919.*—Mrs. Konczewski said that the baby, Stanley, had been sick; that she had called a Polish doctor, could not spell name, and paid him $3.50. Explained to Mrs. Konczewski that she must not do this again. When any member of the family is sick, she is to telephone the Welfare Agency and let them call county doctor.[1] The child is well now. Mrs. Konczewski has not been down to the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary for a month. Explained to her that to keep well it was necessary for her to go once every two weeks. She promised to go December 31. Steve and Edward both need shoes. As children are having vacation, Mrs. Guzmewicz can bring the children to the office December 31. Hereafter when they need clothes or shoes they must go to the teacher. Explained to Mrs. Konczewski that if she was to own her property, she must be very careful and wise in spending the $62.50 which she gets each month.

*December 31, 1919.*—Mrs. Guzmewicz, Steve, and Edward in office. Gave underwear, shoes, boy's waists, and Christmas toys, as the Konczewskis had received no Christmas basket from the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

*January 26, 1920.*—Neighbor, Mr. Mayer, telephoned baby very sick, order for doctor.

*Later.*—Telephoned Visiting Nurse, county doctor, and three other doctors. Finally, Dr. Lettman promised to call at once.

*January 27, 1920.*—Mr. Mayer, neighbor, telephoned baby Stanley died January 26 at 12:30 P.M. Doctor had called before baby died.

*Later.*—Visitor called. A $20 coffin,[2] from Prosynski, Ninety-third and Essex streets had arrived. Mrs. Konczewski carried $20 insurance on Stanley. Told her to go at once to Prosynski and tell him to keep expenses down to $40 at most.

[1] [The difficulty of depending on free medical service has already been pointed out. See the Juraitis case, p. 36. In this instance, Mrs. Konczewski is pitiably responsive and within the month telephones for medical aid. There is no suggestion that either the mother or the visitor connected the death with the use of the county doctor, but the sequence of events is very painful. See entries of January 26, 1920, and January 27, 1920.]

[2] [This apparently heartless emphasis on keeping down the expense instead of attempting to comfort the mother is the result of two sets of circumstances, (1) the knowledge that the undertaker will charge all that the market will bear and resentment at that fact, (2) the reliance on church and family to bring consolation in time of bereavement.]

*January 28, 1920.*—Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium nurse reports that their nurse is calling in the home and that Mrs. Konczewski is not well.

*January 31, 1920.*—Mr. Mayer, neighbor, telephoned to ask whether Welfare Agency would pay for Stanley's funeral. Told him to tell Mrs. Konczewski that Mark must help her with this. Promised visit February 3.

*February 3, 1920.*—Mrs. Konczewski very discouraged. Said that Stanley's funeral had cost $50 and if the Welfare Agency did not help her she did not see how she could get along as Mark has been ill with influenza for past two weeks, but was back at work this morning. He continues to live with her. The doctor told him two or three days a week was as much as he ought to work. Mrs. Konczewski also asked that visitor talk to the principal of the school, to see that children are admitted to school. They were sent home after baby died as the school thinks the child died of diphtheria.

*February 5, 1920.*—Mark is sick again. He has been working for the past two weeks with the Indiana Steel Company. Their doctor is taking care of him. Saw the death certificate for Stanley signed by Dr. Boganazeski; cause of death: broncho-pneumonia. Mrs. Konczewski reports she has not received check this month from Great Lakes Steel Company as Mr. Noble is sick and cannot go down to Guardian Trust and Savings Bank for it.

*Later.*—Explained to principal, O'Reilley School, that the Konczewski baby died of broncho-pneumonia and asked that children be allowed to return. The principal said "it was none of the Welfare Agency's business or even hers when the children were to return to school. That only the health officer could say that." (Several of the neighborhood children reported that the Konczewskis had scarlet fever at the house.) School report as follows, Frank and Steve good behavior, good scholarship, good attendance. Sophie, poor attendance.

*February 6, 1920.*—Delivered check for $60 which visitor had secured from Guardian Trust and Savings Bank. Mrs. Konczewski looks much better and, as visitor instructed, had been down to Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium Dispensary and is drinking two glasses of milk a day. Mark promises to stay with his sister so long as his wife does not bother him.[1]

[1] [Mark's marriage had proved an apparent failure and he and his wife had separated. His married life was encountering difficulties. He had married in haste. The following entry from the record of his relationship to the Welfare Agency explains some of the difficulties the visitor had been meeting.]

*December 19, 1919.*—Mrs. Mark Guzmewicz telephoned office to ask visitor to meet her in South Chicago during the afternoon.

*Later.*—Met Mrs. Guzmewicz, who is a very attractive young Polish woman eighteen years old. She was very much upset. Said she had no one but visitor to whom to turn for advice and so she had telephoned. It seems that Mark had told her nothing of his obligation to his sister. Until a week before their marriage on November 16, at St. Peter's Church, Mark had intended marrying her older sister, Gertrude. He had married her chiefly to get rid of the sister whom he did not want to marry. She knew that he preferred her to her sister but did not know until after she had married that Mark had had illicit relations with her sister. During the month that she had been married, she has tried to find out exactly what their obligations are to Mrs. Konczewski, but neither Mark nor Mrs. Konczewski has answered any of her questions. Mrs. Guzmewicz thinks she is pregnant and is naturally very worried about her future. Her own mother and father are well-off people living in South Bend, Indiana. She has two brothers and three sisters in South Bend and an aunt in Chicago. Her parents have given her no help of any kind since she was thirteen years old. She described her mother as the sort of woman who bore her children simply because she did not know how to keep from having children and beat and abused them in every way until they were thirteen years old when each of them was forced to leave home. Mrs. Guzmewicz is now only eighteen and during the past five years has been doing housework. Mark is working at the George Snyder Company, Fifty-fourth Street and Washington Avenue, where he gets $27 a week. Visitor explained to Mrs. Guzmewicz that Mark was under no legal obligation to his sister, but was under a very strong moral obligation since he had promised to help her out when he had gone with her and persuaded the lawyer to make her a cash settlement. Mrs. Guzmewicz says both she and Mark are very fond of the Konczewski children, that she is willing to help out all she can, but that she thinks she will go crazy if she has to live in the same house with the Konczewskis. She feels that Mrs. Konczewski is constantly coming between her and her husband and that both families would get along much better if they were living in separate quarters. Invited Mrs. Guzmewicz and Mark to visitor's home Sunday, December 21, to talk matters over.

*December 21, 1919.*—Mark telephoned to say that his wife was sick in bed; that otherwise they would have been very glad to come and that he would come any time visitor appointed.

*December 30, 1919.*—Mrs. Guzmewicz telephoned visitor at her home at 8:30 P.M., saying that she was afraid to stay at Mrs. Konczewski's house any longer; that Mrs. Konczewski had threatened to beat her and that in her weakened condition she did not see how she could stand living in such close quarters with so many children much longer. Told her to come to office next day.

[The rest of that record will not be given here, but neither young Mrs. Guzmewicz nor Mark was prepared for the exigencies of married life in so confused and complicated a situation. He is suffering from the effects of his army experience, and during the next few weeks and months, the experiment of living with his sister's family was abandoned; Mrs. Mark attempted to bring him into the Court of Domestic Relations for non-support; she was diagnosed as a "pathological liar"; he and she separated and both went to work. Mark showed symptoms of dementia praecox and finally suffered a nervous breakdown and was treated in one of the United States Hospitals. Later a baby boy was born. Mark left the hospital and was traveling as salesman for a big mercantile establishment where he worked on commission to maintain the family. There was an unadjusted claim for compensation in connection with which the services of the American Red Cross were being sought.]

*February 19, 1920.*—Mrs. Konczewski continues to go to Dispensary regularly.

*February 28, 1920.*—Mark left February 21 because he did not want to be bothered any more by his wife.

*March 2, 1920.*—Mrs. Konczewski has worked for the past two days in some factory[1] (unable to give name). She leaves at 6:00 A.M. and does not get home until 7:30 P.M. Explained to her and to Frank that she has tuberculosis and that she must not work until she is stronger. Left clothes for the children. Mark is living at 835 Tolman Aveune, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

*March 8, 1920.*—At visitor's request, Mrs. Konczewski has given up her factory work. She would like one or two places within walking distance to do day work. Her sister-in-law, Mrs. Frank Guzmewicz, will keep the children. She gets very tired just staying at home.

*March 27, 1920.*—The children were at home alone. Mrs. Konczewski is working four and a half days a week for the Car Manufactur-

[1] [We find here the problem of Mrs. Konczewski's employment. She is away from home at least twelve and a half hours, the Welfare Agency is not putting in relief, and the income from the compensation and the rent, reduced by repairs,

ing Company, leaving the house at 7:30 and arriving home at 6:00. The children buy their lunches at school, and Edward spends the day with Mrs. Frank Guzmewicz. Mrs. Konczewski makes from $15 to $45 a month. She likes the work much better than doing day work, and she is not working in a dusty place. She continues to drink two glasses of milk a day and is eating fresh eggs, as the chickens have begun to lay. Mark is not living with them.

*April 10, 1920.*—Mrs. Konczewski continues to work at the same place. Frank says that she keeps well and drinks her milk every day. They are getting along very well.

*May 28, 1920.*—Mrs. Konczewski telephoned that during the afternoon of May 26 Frank took $15 from his mother's pocketbook and left the house, saying he was going for candy. At 6:30 when his mother returned home from work, Frank had not returned and he did not come home that night nor the next day.

Telephoned precinct police station. Gave description of boy. The morning of May 28, Frank was picked up by the police and kept in the matron's room. During the day visitor called to see him. He cried and said that his mother beat him; that he spent the night wandering up and down Oglesby Avenue, and had spent most of the next day in Bessemer Park. He was eager to get home and promised not to run away again. He was allowed to go home in the evening when his mother had returned from work.

*June 1–28, 1920.*—Mrs. Konczewski is having trouble with her tenants upstairs.[1] Mr. Ganczyka refuses to move, saying he will not leave until the police throw him out. Gave Mrs. Konczewski landlord's five-day notice. Referred her to Squire O'Rourke's office for further information and explained to her procedure of eviction.[2]

Visitor met Mrs. Konczewski at Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. She goes once a month to the Dispensary. She is feeling well.

She has one of the best amateur gardens that can be found anywhere in the neighborhood. They have all the vegetables they can

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taxes, etc., is inadequate. She is driven to work then by her fear of losing her house. She tries factory work, then considers "day work" but prefers a factory job with a shorter day and in a place that is not dusty. She comes back later, however, to "day's work" (January 18, 1921).]

[1] [The record contains no reference to Mrs. Konczewski's former trouble with her tenants. She has appeared, however, as a woman of violent temper.]

[2] [See above, p. 103.]

possibly eat and sometimes she is able to sell some. They also have fresh eggs. She continues to drink her three glasses of milk a day.

*July 14, 1920.*—Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium reports Mrs. Konczewski is getting along nicely. She should continue to come once a month for treatment and observation.

*August 4, 1920.*—Mrs. Konczewski working in piston-ring department at Ninety-fifth Street and Colfax Avenue, earning $17. Says it is easier than her former job. Children all well. Ganczyka family moved three weeks ago. Stafanski family living upstairs with three children. Children all seem to get along together.

*September 28, 1920.*—Visited. Mrs. Konczewski was not home, but visitor talked with Mrs. Frank Guzmewicz. She said that the Konczewskis were doing very nicely. Mrs. Konczewski had said, if visitor called, to ask her if Welfare Agency could help them with coal this winter, as that was the only thing she needs. She thinks they will have a hard time to get it. Otherwise the family does not need our help.

*November 2, 1920.*—Great Lakes Steel Company Goodfellows have sent coal, as Welfare Agency requested, to Mrs. Konczewski. They will continue to supply coal to this family throughout the winter.

*December 25, 1920.*—Blaine High School provided Christmas for family.

*January 18, 1921.*—Mrs. Guzmewicz (case) asks that we take up again the matter of coal for Mrs. Konczewski with the Great Lakes Steel Company. They sent one ton of coal, but Mrs. Konczewski has used this up. Mrs. Konczewski is no longer working for the Car Manufacturing Company, but is doing "day's work" four days a week. Frank has been sick. Since Stanley's death the money held in trust for him has been divided up among the other children. Recently Mrs. Konczewski was asked to sign some paper in connection with this. Since signing the paper, there has been some delay in her check. Mark went to Mr. Noble's office and found that Mr. Noble had died and that Mr. Williams who was in charge of the office did not seem to know what he was talking about. Asked that we take up the matter and find out what is wrong.

*July 20, 1923.*—Visited. The family has moved several blocks west and south of where they formerly lived. They are in a two-story modern-appearing cottage, which is neat and attractive. The neighborhood is further developed than the other neighborhood. The streets are graded, and there are cement sidewalks. However,

there are still many vacant lots and gardens. Mrs. Konczewski's front lawn and back yard are well kept.

Mrs. Konczewski was not at home, but visitor found Edward playing in front of the house. He is a bashful youngster of almost eight years. He looked very clean for a small boy. He was promoted to the second grade last June. He goes to the grade school about ten blocks south and east. Mrs. Konczewski does day work in different homes, leaving early in the morning and returning in the evening. Frank is working, but Edward does not know who his employer is. Sophie is sick in a hospital. Edward could not tell what was the matter with her, nor did he know the name of the hospital. He was not interested in going to the country this summer.

### 38. The Family of Paul Macho

(*A Hungarian Steel-Worker Whose Foot Has Been Injured in the Mills*)

[The Machos lived on the first floor of a plain, two-story, frame house, which is now in need of painting. There is a small front porch and a very large porch along the back of the house. A cement sidewalk leads to the back yard scattered with cinders. Within a radius of two blocks, north, east, and south, the district is very new, and the houses are far apart on the street just north of them.

Some very attractive frame and brick bungalows have been put up recently, but there is still much vacant land in the neighborhood. There is an automobile shop just to the west, and a dyeing establishment and a small factory a little farther away. The street to the north and toward the east is just beginning to develop, but going west there are small factories, stores, machine shops, and some residences.

No particular nationality lives in this neighborhood. There are Americans and foreigners of all kinds. It is a mixed neighborhood. About four blocks to the south a Polish community begins, extending several blocks.]

*February 19, 1920.*—Mrs.. Chalmers, Maryland Avenue, reports that Mr. Macho had his foot hurt while working for the American Steel Company.[1] He has been out of work for nearly a year and has been unable to effect a settlement with the company. Family were found in destitute condition by census enumerator, who reported it to Mrs. Chalmers. The neighbors have sent in some clothing for

[1] [See below, p. 907, for statute governing compensation in cases of industrial accidents.]

the two girls and Peter. Mr. Macho has been examined by a number of doctors and has put his case in the hands of a lawyer. Mrs. Chalmers understands that the company offer him $1,000 cash, but will not re-employ him.

*Later.*—Visited. Mr. Macho is an intelligent-looking young Hungarian man, at present very despondent and bitter toward the American Steel Company. His wife, American-born, is a large, good-natured, slovenly woman with four very bright, attractive children, Eleanor (born August 11, 1908), Eugene (born August 3, 1909), Mary (born October 14, 1910), and Peter (born October 16, 1919). The three older children go to the public school. Mr. Macho says that they came to Chicago from Birmingham in August, 1918. He worked from that time until his accident, December 24, 1918, as a millwright's helper for the American Steel Company, never missing a day and working overtime every chance he got.

The accident occurred through his sledging down a slide door which had become fast in the mill. The door suddenly loosened, catching his foot and hurling him head first off the door to the floor. He was taken at once to the doctor's office in the mill and from there by ambulance to Dr. McBride's office. Dr. McBride, after the examination, told him that his only injury was a sprained foot and asked him whether he wished to go home or to the Great Lakes Steel Company Hospital. Mr. Macho replied that if that was all the matter with him, he would go home. Dr. McBride's assistant called on him later that day and said he would be back again in two or three more days. The next day, however, his foot caused him such pain that he called in Dr. K.K. James, who had been the family's physician. Dr. James gave him a hypodermic and asked him whether he wished him to take the case. Mr. Macho said no, that Dr. McBride, the steel company doctor, was looking after his foot and he called Dr. James simply because he could not wait until Dr. McBride came. For the next week Mr. Macho remained in bed under Dr. McBride's care. At the end of this time the steel company had three X-ray pictures taken of his foot. Two of these they showed to Mr. Macho, saying that there was no fracture and that everything was all right.

Accordingly, Mr. Macho went back to work in the mills. For about two months he was given bench work. Then he was made supply clerk for the millwright division, which meant a great deal of walking around on his foot. Almost immediately after he started this job his foot swelled up, and he could not even stand on it, and he

had a relapse lasting from May 4, 1919, until September, 1919. During this period he took his case to Attorney Kramer, Commercial Avenue, who in turn took up the case with the company lawyer, Attorney Graham. The steel company lawyer told Mr. Macho to go back to work to see once more how his foot acted. Accordingly, in September he went back and worked first for seven or eight days on a crane and then one night on a scale grab, after which his foot had swelled so that he could not work. He notified Attorney Graham, who took up the situation with the superintendent of the accident department, whereupon he said "that the man was lazy" and that was the only kind of job they had for him in the mills.

The hearing came up before the Industrial Accident Board in October. Shortly after this, October 20, the following decision was handed down: that Mr. Macho was to receive half-wages, $15 a week for fifty weeks, and that at the end of that time he was to be on his own responsibility. This is the compensation given for 50 per cent loss of one foot. Mr. Macho claimed that Dr. James said that his foot was absolutely no good and that he would be better off with an artificial foot than with his foot as it now is. After this decision, Mr. Macho took his case to Attorney Benjamin Monroe, Cottage Grove Avenue, who has been working on the case since. So far, Mr. Macho has received $382.50 from the company. He expects a check within the week for $300 for compensation since last September. This will leave him less than $150 more coming from the company. After that he has no idea what will become of him. The X-ray pictures of the man's foot were taken at the Jefferson Park Hospital (Dr. James and Dr. Drake) and at Latimer Hospital (Dr. Hall). The Jefferson X-ray pictures Mr. Macho has seen, and he says they show that his foot never will be any good. Dr. Hall told Mr. Macho that there was nothing the matter with his foot; that he could not see why he did not go to work.

Since last September Mr. Macho has been selling papers mornings near his home, making from 50 cents to 75 cents a morning. He has borrowed over $180 for current expenses from his brother-in-law, Charles Gallagher, who lives upstairs. He has received county supplies for the past three months and owes $50 in doctor bills and $150 in lawyer's bills. Beside this he owes so much on his furniture that the merchant is going to take that back next month. His lease expires in March, and they will have to move, though they are not behind in the rent, which is $10. Mr. Macho says that although he paid 46

cents a week to the Company Insurance Society, he has received nothing from it since his accident, as the company informed him that their insurance only covered accidents outside the plant; that accidents inside of the plant were taken care of by the company compensation.

Mr. Macho says that although he signed up to take out his citizenship papers at the mill, they never actually applied for them because he did not know the name of the boat on which he came over. He and his brother and father and a first cousin came to the United States from Austria, landing in New York and going directly to Johnstown, Pennsylvania, when Mr. Macho was seven years old. He does not know what part of Hungary he came from and has not kept in touch with his family except with one sister, Mrs. Mary Brinco, who lives in Biloxi, Mississippi, and one brother, John Macholak, who lives in Birmingham. He has a married sister living there, one brother in Detroit, and another in the West. He has shortened his name in an attempt to make it sound more American. He is unduly proud of the fact that his wife is American-born. Mrs. Macho, who is of Irish-American parentage, was born in Iowa. She is Protestant, but Mr. Macho and the children are Catholic and go to St. Anne's. Mr. and Mrs. Macho were married in a mining town in Illinois, April 10, 1907, by a Protestant minister. In Johnstown he worked in the mines, and later he worked in the mines outside of Peoria, Illinois. After this he went to Birmingham with his brother and worked at a steel mill on Second Street. His brother John has been employed by this firm for twenty-seven years as an oil man. He worked in the blowing-room department as a repair man. Mrs. Macho's brother, Charles Gallagher, lives in the apartment above.

*Later.*—Learned through Confidential Exchange that the family were known to Latimer Hospital, October 16, 1919; to the Infant Welfare Society, November 13, 1919; to the Visiting Nurse Association (under different spelling) November 29, 1919; to the School Children's Aid, December 30, 1919; and to the County Agent, December 13, 1919.

*February 24, 1920.*—Read County Agent's report. It throws no new light on the case.

*Later.*—Called Miss Copeland, Infant Welfare Society. She reports that Mrs. Macho brought baby once to station but never returned.

*Later.*—Telephoned Visiting Nurse Association. They report that Miss Gano's (American Steel Company) letter covers everything they know.

*February 25, 1920.*—Following letter received from Latimer Hospital:

Paul Macho was here July 23, 1919, for an X-ray of old fracture of left foot. He left the same day, unimproved. He entered the hospital as a patient of Dr. Hall's August 13, 1919, and was discharged August 24, 1919, improved. The diagnosis was old trauma of left heel. Mrs. Macho was an obstetrical patient here October 11, 1919, and was discharged October 25, 1919. One of our nurses investigated the home and found it in wretched condition. The mother was referred to the Infant Welfare Society.

For further information regarding the family would refer you to the American Steel Works. Mr. Macho was working for them at the time of his accident, and they encountered a great deal of trouble with the family. Miss Gano was the nurse with whom we worked.

*February 25, 1920.*—The following letter received from the American Steel Company.

Your favor of February 20, with reference to Paul Macho, addressed to Miss Gano, has been referred to me, and in reply, thereto, I take pleasure in giving you the following history of the case:

Mr. Macho was injured while employed in our Mill No. 3 on December 24, 1918. He was repairing a large door on the side of the mill building when he fell from the door to the ground below, a distance of about six feet, and injured his left heel. He was sent to the hospital and treated by our surgeon, Dr. McBride. He returned to work on March 3 on easy work; but, on account of slackened operations and business depression, he was laid off on May 13, 1919; he remained off until September 8, during all which time we paid him compensation amounting to $15 per week, or a total of $382.50 during this time. His attorney advised him to resume work early in June, but he did not do so until September 8, when he showed up at work, and we placed him on an electric crane, breaking in; this was a job which did not require him to be on his feet continually; he worked one turn of eight hours on this job and came into the office and said he could not hold this job because it was of such a nature that his feet pained him so that he could not stand it, and he went home and has not worked since.

Since that time the case has been heard several times before the Industrial Commission, with the result that the Commission made an award of $610 in addition to the $382.50 which he had already received. During the latter part of his litigation with the company he was represented by Attorney Monroe. On February 9, Attorney Monroe and Mr. Macho went before the Commission and agreed and entered into a stipulation that the case before the Board be dismissed and an award of $610 be made. After all arrangements for settlement had been made and a check prepared, Mr. Macho and his attorney refused to accept the amount of the award and left the city office.

So far as our doctor's advice in this matter goes, Mr. Macho is able to do the work which we offered him to do, and any time he desires to accept this award, which was agreed upon between his attorney and a representative of our company, we will be glad to pay it.

I might say in connection with this case, that our Goodfellow Club last fall purchased clothes for the children and assisted them in other ways. However, I do not feel it incumbent upon us now to assist him, as we believe he is able to work, and we can see no reason to assist a person who has a sum of $610 awaiting his pleasure of acceptance. I have noticed him for several months past, selling newspapers and upon investigation I find that his income from this source is about 75 cents per day.

Of course, this man did have a rather severe injury, but there is no reason according to our doctors why this should disable him for life.

From March 3, the day he first returned to work until May 13, we gave him a job that did not require his walking to any great extent, in other words, a job threading bolts, at which he could sit down most of the time, but when slackened operations came on it was necessary to reduce the force, and as he had been complaining all the time, we felt it our duty to lay him off, but you will notice that when we did lay him off, we resumed paying him compensation; in other words, we felt that he was able to work, but as he was complaining about the work which we gave him, we also felt that he would be better satisfied doing nothing and receiving $15 per week, which we believe proved true.

I trust I have given you sufficient outline in this letter to enable you to decide your procedure in the case.

*February 28, 1920.*—Telephoned Attorney Monroe. He is sick.

*Later.*—Read Industrial Accident Commission record. Petition for claim was first filed June 23, 1919. The hearing was in October, and the decision was handed down October 20, 1919, by Arbitrator Pense. It read: "$15 a week for sixty-six and one-half weeks for permanent loss of 40 per cent of the use of the left foot on the basis of Mr. Macho's annual earnings for the year before the accident being $1,560." November 31, 1919, the petition for review was filed.

February 9, 1920, on the date set for the rehearing, both parties asked that the case be dismissed and the award of the arbitrator be confirmed. Therefore, Mr. Macho at the present time is entitled only to the compensation reported above. Letters from Dr. Hall and Dr. Greatheart to the Commission follow.

Copy of letter from Industrial Commission Record No. 16210. Letter dated August 21, 1919, from Dr. John L. Hall:

I have now had this man under observation and treatment at Latimer Hospital for about ten days. The recent X-ray picture made at the hospital

shows that the fracture of the oscalcis which he sustained at the time he was injured, and which showed plainly in the X-ray plates taken in January, which are now in his possession, has completely healed. The pain and disability which were evident when he came to me were undoubtedly caused by his having considerable strain upon the longitudinal arch. The sensitiveness has practically gone, and I have had a supporting insole made to go inside of his shoe, and he is ready for discharge from the hospital. I can see no reason why he should not make a complete recovery and be able to return to work within two weeks. He has no permanent disability.

Copy of letter from Industrial Commission Record No. 16210. Letter dated October 8, 1919 from Dr. F. T. Greatheart, medical director, Illinois Industrial Commission:

On December 24, 1918, this man fell about fourteen feet landing on a concrete floor.

He suffered a fracture of the oscalcis, and now has callus behind and underneath the external malleolus. He has some pronation of the foot and a loss of lateral mobility. His shoe shows that he is walking on the inside of the foot to the exclusion of the outside. He is wearing an extension heel, but I believe the sole should also be built up so that it will support his foot in the interior part as well as the posterior, along the inner margin.

At this time this man has about 40 per cent disability of the left foot, but I believe this disability could be considerably relieved if the callus was removed from behind and underneath the external malleolus, since this is the place he complains of most of his pain. He also has a bone protruding at the back of the heel which should be removed at the same time, and would give considerable relief. I believe his disability could be reduced to about 10 per cent. Most of his disability comes from the fact that the callus behind and underneath the external malleolus hits the external malleolus and pinches the tendons running under it when he tries to plantaflex his foot.

*Later.*—Saw chairman of the Industrial Commission. Case can be reviewed on petition any time within eighteen months after date of the accident if it can be proved that disability is greater than at time of last hearing. Dr. Drake testified as follows: He had examined Mr. Macho June 1, 1919, when Dr. James called him in, in consultation. At this time he suggested an X-ray picture and gave a general examination. The picture showed a longitudinal fracture. He estimated the permanent disability as from 35 per cent to 50 per cent of loss of the left foot and said "if man is forced to remain on his feet, condition will become worse" and that before he could work on the foot he would have to have a reconstruction of joint. Dr. James

bore out Dr. Drake's testimony. He had examined the man the day of the injury, again in May, and on October 1. He testified man was unable to step on the ball of foot. Representative of the plant tried to prove Mr. Macho was lazy because he said he could not do the work given him by the company. It was brought out, however, through cross-questioning that there was no provision made for sitting down in either of the jobs given Mr. Macho at the mills (work on the scale grab or threading bolts). In fact, that there was no work in the mill which could be done by a person sitting down.

*March 1, 1920.*—Following letter written Birmingham Associated Charities, by the district superintendent of Family Welfare Agency:

We are interested in the family of Paul and Rose Macho. On December 24, 1918, while working for the American Steel Company, Mr. Macho was thrown fourteen feet to a cement floor, which resulted in a fracture of one of the bones of his foot. The Industrial Accident Commission of Illinois have allowed him only $15 a week for sixty-six and one-half weeks in spite of the fact that he has permanently lost 40 per cent of the use of his left foot. We are securing additional information about the man with a view toward asking for a review of the case if the facts warrant it. Mr. Macho gives the following relatives:

Mrs. Mary (Mike) Brinco, 84 Gulf Street, Biloxi, Mississippi, sister.

Mrs. Laziak, 2714 Thirty-seventh Street, Birmingham, Alabama, sister.

John Macholak, 2714 Thirty-seventh Street, Birmingham, Alabama, brother.

We should very much appreciate your calling on these people and securing the following information: first, the town, county, and province in Hungary from which the family came; second, the month and year that Mr. Paul Macho came to America; third, the name of the boat on which he came (Mr. Macho has been unable to secure his naturalization papers through lack of this information); fourth, what the family say of him; fifth, the type of people the relatives are. We should very much appreciate your securing the work record for this man at Brown and Warrens on Second Street, where Mr. Macho says he was employed as a repair man in the blowing-room. Mr. Macho reports that his brother, John Macholak, has been employed by this same firm as an oil man for the past twenty years.

*March 6, 1920.*—Following reply received from Associated Charities of Birmingham:

In accordance with your request, we called upon Mrs. Laziak, who lives at 2714 Thirty-seventh Street, and regret our being unable to get any definite information. She could not give us any of the information requested in your letter.

While Thirty-seventh Street is in an undesirable district, the woman was pleasant and neat. She has two rooms which were also neat, and the two children were pleasant and clean. It has been two years since she saw her brother. At that time she gave him $30 to cover transportation to Chicago. The woman spoke very little English.

John Macholak lives at 2714 Thirty-seventh Street and works in a nearby mill. They also have two rooms, and five children. The rooms were very clean and neat, and the woman also was clean. She spoke no English, but, with the aid of a neighbor woman, we learned that Paul Macho and family lived with this family for several months before he went to Chicago about two years ago. They have not seen him since and did not know he had been injured.

By writing Mrs. Mary Brinco, who lives at 84 Gulf Street, Biloxi, Mississippi, direct, you might be able to get more intelligent information, as she is the oldest of the family and came to this country first. Paul Macho went to live with this sister upon his arrival in America.

We regret our inability to be of further assistance to you in this instance.

*March 12, 1920.*—Attorney, Legal Aid Bureau, went over the case thoroughly and said that unless the amount of permanent disability of Mr. Macho's foot was greater at this time than at the time of either of the hearings, it would be impossible to secure greater compensation for Mr. Macho. If Mr. Macho had lost the entire use of his foot, he would only have received 125 weeks' pay. With only 40 per cent loss he had received sixty-six and one-half weeks' pay.

*March 13, 1920.*—Jones and Addington, hardware manufacturers, will be glad to give Mr. Macho a job where he can sit down.

*March 16, 1920.*—Explained to Mr. Macho that unless he could prove that his foot was worse today than when the case was tried before the Industrial Accident Board and unless petition for review was filed within eighteen months after the date of accident, he could get nothing more. Asked him to go to Dr. J. L. Hall for re-examination. He will consult his lawyer, Mr. Monroe, who has been sick for the past three weeks, and if the lawyer consents will go. He refused to go with visitor to Jones and Addington's to see about a job where he could sit down, saying it would hurt his case. He cried twice and seemed very bitter and difficult to persuade to do anything. All he does is sit and brood about the extent of his injury.

*March 17, 1920.*—Case presented at Advisory Committee. Decision: Mr. Carpenter to confer with Mr. Belmont of the American Steel Company in regard to the situation, and visitor to consult with the Great Lakes Steel Company physician in regard to the man's injury.

*Later.*—Mrs. Macho telephoned that her husband had decided to accept the offer of work at Jones and Addington's.

*Later.*—Took Mr. Macho to Jones and Addington's, where he was employed at 35 cents an hour, eight hours a day, doing work which did not require his standing.

*March 22, 1920.*—Took cane and naturalization book to Mrs. Macho.

*March 23, 1920.*—Mrs. Macho telephoned to ask visitor to make appointment for her husband with Dr. Hall.

*March 27, 1920.*—Took Mr. and Mrs. Macho to Dr. Hall's office for appointment with Dr. Hall's assistant, Dr. Meyer. After explaining situation to Dr. Meyer, he refused to look at the man's foot, saying that if visitor telephoned at 3:00, March 30, 1920, Dr. Hall would make an appointment to look over the man's foot himself. Dr. Meyer promised to report all the points of the case to Dr. Hall.

*March 31, 1920.*—Verified fact that Mr. Monroe, attorney for Mr. Macho, had died. Mr. and Mrs. Macho would like advice as to their next move.

*April 6, 1920.*—As arranged, took Mr. Macho for examination to Dr. Hall, who said that he remembered Mr. Macho well. He re-read his letter of August 21, 1919, and said that after again examining the man's foot he would stand by that former statement. He read Dr. Greatheart's letter of October 8, 1919, and said that he believes compensation on a basis of 40 per cent disability was generous. That if he had been testifying before the Industrial Accident Board, he would have recommended much less.

Later he talked alone with visitor and said there was no reason why this man should not do work which required the use of his injured foot. That Mr. Macho had only a slight loss of lateral mobility and this could be greatly diminished by the use of his foot. He advised that an arch support be worn inside the man's shoe. An appointment was made for Latimer Hospital, 8:45, April 10, 1920. He stated three or four times that the man's trouble was almost entirely mental and said that it all began when Mr. Macho first saw an X-ray plate which showed he had a fracture of the bone.

*April 7, 1920.*—Mr. Macho cut his thumb very badly on a piece of rusty tin while making a fire in the stove. He went to work, but his foreman sent him home and told him to rest up for a day or two until his hand got better. Gave card with instructions for surgical clinic, St. Anne's Hospital, for April 8, 1920. Explained to both Mr. and

Mrs. Macho that Dr. Hall had said there was nothing permanently wrong with his foot. He needed no operation. The only way to get back the fullest possible use of his foot was to use it more and more. In view of this statement it would be ridiculous to attempt to reopen the case before the Industrial Accident Board. Mr. Macho asked visitor to take up the matter of the lump settlement with the American Steel Company.

*April 10, 1920.*—Dr. Hall himself made the plaster cast of Mr. Macho's foot at the Latimer Hospital. He spent a great deal of time and trouble with the foot and made a special order of the silver blade which is to go inside the shoe.

*April 12, 1920.*—Mr. Macho, as instructed, had his wound dressed at St. Anne's Hospital. Mrs. Macho in office for clothing.

*April 13, 1920.*—Telephoned Miss Gano, American Steel Company. She directed visitor to Mr. English, 808 Wabash Avenue.

*April 14, 1920.*—At visitor's request, Mr. Kramer [the lawyer] finally consented to make his bill $100 instead of $150 and to telephone this down to Mr. English.

*Later.*—At visitor's request, Dr. James and Dr. Drake reduced their bills from $25 to $20.

*April 15, 1920.*—Mr. Macho accompanied visitor to Latimer Hospital, where Dr. Hall fitted the silver arch support to his foot.

*Later.*—By appointment interviewed Mr. English, American Steel Company. In spite of every possible appeal, he would not give one cent more than the $610 which the Industrial Accident Board compelled the company to pay. In addition to this, he presented a bill for $58.50 from the company for clothing and schoolbooks which the Goodfellow Department under Miss Gano has "given the family" during the man's early illness. He finally threw out this bill and promised visitor that, if Mr. Macho's foot in the next few years should become worse and the foot have to be amputated (which Dr. Hall says is absolute nonsense), the company will pay the difference between the 40 per cent permanent disability and the entire loss of the foot. Mr. English would not put this in writing, saying it would not be "good business." The American Steel Company will not re-employ Mr. Macho.

*April 16, 1920.*—Explained the entire situation to Mr. and Mrs. Macho and advised them to accept the $610 and forget about the past. Mr. Macho threatens to bum his way on freight trains up to the Mayo Brothers and get their diagnosis before signing away his rights for

only $610. Mr. and Mrs. Macho will think over the situation fully and give visitor their decision. Gave note to County Agent for shoes for Eugene.

*April 19, 1920.*—Mrs. Macho in office for clothing as instructed. Mr. Macho is sick with a very bad cold.

As requested, county doctor called and diagnosed Mr. Macho's trouble as acute bronchitis.

Mr. English, American Steel Company, reported that Mr. O'Donnel of the firm of Nicholls and O'Donnel, 9 South Dearborn Street, is now handling Mr. Macho's case. Interviewed Mr. O'Donnel. He will drop the case and ask Mr. Nicholls to explain to the Machos the futility of their trying to get more money.

*April 24, 1920.*—The Machos placed the two boys in St. Joseph's Home, May 1, 1920, and are now looking for furnished rooms, as the Central Furniture Company will call for their furniture May 5. Mrs. Macho has signed a release for the furniture.

Found suitable house at $10 a month at 9120 Brandon Avenue. Mr. and Mrs. Macho will move into this place with the understanding that we will pay the first month's rent and donate furniture.

*Later.*—Mr. Reed, manager of Central Furniture Store, will leave the bare necessitites of housekeeping until May 19. The Machos have paid nothing on their furniture since May, 1919. On a total bill of $393.09 they have paid only $100.80.

*May 1, 1920.*—Following letter sent to superintendent, New Orleans Family Welfare Society:

We should be grateful if you would have your correspondent in Biloxi call on Mrs. Michael Brinco, 84 Gulf Street, Biloxi, Mississippi, and secure the following information for us:

1. The town, country, and province in Austria from which Mr. Paul Macho, brother to Mrs. Brinco, came to America.

2. The name of the boat on which he came. (Mr. Macho has been unable to secure his naturalization papers through lack of this information.)

3. What this sister has to say of Mr. Paul Macho.

4. The type of person this sister is.

Mr. Macho, who lives at 9120 Brandon Avenue, was hurt in an industrial accident December 24, 1918, while working for the American Steel Company. He was thrown fourteen feet to a cement floor, which resulted in the fracture in one of the bones of his foot.

The Industrial Accident Commission of Illinois have allowed him compensation for 40 per cent permanent disability of this foot. He is now doing light work, which does not pay him enough entirely to support his family.

He tells us that Mrs. Brinco is worth approximately $40,000. Possibly, if she understood that her brother needed only a little temporary assistance, she would be willing to contribute something until the man is once more on his own feet.

*May 8, 1920.*—Family moved to the new cottage. Purchased stove for $19.

*May 10, 1920.*—General office truck delivered three chairs and three tables donated by Mrs. Robert F. Graves and office, and two beds donated by Mrs. Trevor, 7390 East End Avenue. Sheets and pillow cases given out of office stock.

*May 12, 1920.*—Eugene is sick. The Visiting Nurse called. They sent for the county doctor, but as he did not come Mr. Macho took Eugene to the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. They report he needs his tonsils and adenoids out. Mrs. Macho refuses to have this done.

*May 15, 1920.*—The following letters received, forwarded from the New Orleans Family Welfare Organization:

Letter dated May 10, 1920, to the superintendent, New Orleans Family Welfare Society from R. P. Adams, Biloxi, Mississippi:

Your letter of the sixth to the pastor of the Presbyterian church was handed me for investigation. The inclosed letter is all the information obtainable and believe it is all they know. I am advised that Mr. Brinco has property valued at about $15,000. I visited their home; they are prosperous. Mr. Brinco works in the coal mines.

Letter, dated May 8, 1920, to R. P. Adams, Biloxi, Mississippi, from Michael Brinco:

In reply to your letter concerning Paul Macho:

The place or town where he came from is Volyke Czorovec, county of Zemplinska, state of Czeshio, Hungary. I can't tell the name of the boat he came here on, he was about 12 years old when he came to America, he was a good person when he resided with me. His sister is a good person, attends to church regularly. In reply to the last statement concerning the wealth of Mrs. Brinco is entirely wrong.

*May 15, 1920–June 1, 1920.*—Instead of going to the West Side Dispensary for examination as arranged, Mr. Macho took his last pay check for $27.50 and went to the Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minnesota.

Visited. Mrs. Macho's mother and sister-in-law were calling on her. The mother is a very nice-looking woman of fifty-three years.

She has a careworn face and seems to have a great deal of trouble in her own family. As teamsters were on strike, left emergency cash for coal.

*May 25, 1920.*—Following letter sent to the Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minnesota, by district superintendent:

Mr. Paul Macho, 9120 Brandon Avenue, whom you examined under registration No. 2156 on May 20, has asked us to write to you in regard to his foot.

On October 20, 1919, when his case against the American Steel Company came before the Illinois Industrial Commission, he was awarded $992.50 on the basis of 40 per cent permanent disability of his injured foot. We are inclosing the letters of Drs. John L. Hall and F. T. Greatheart, on whose testimony the award was made. Mr. Macho has felt all along that his foot was a total permanent disability and was determined not to accept the award of the Illinois Industrial Commission until he had been examined at your clinic.

If in your opinion his foot is totally permanently disabled or if the disability is greater than 40 per cent, his case can be reopened. He would be very grateful if you would send the X-ray plates and a statement of your diagnosis and prognosis together with the amount of permanent disability which in your opinion he has sustained, to Dr. F. T. Greatheart, medical director, Illinois Industrial Commission, 139 North Clark Street. Would it be too much trouble for you to send a copy of this letter to us and to Mr. Macho? Mr. Macho cannot say enough in praise of your clinic and particularly of your own kindness to him.

We deeply appreciate the time and trouble you have given to this discouraged man and assure you once we have your statement in our hands we will reopen his case at once.

*June 1, 1920.*—The following letter received from the Mayo Clinic:

Your letter of May 25 is received, and we are very glad to hear from you.

We were evidently misinformed in some way by Mr. Paul Macho. We were under the impression that he had as yet received no compensation, and he also told us there had been no fracture of the oscalcis discovered.

We thought if that was the case you would surely be glad to know of the findings made here. We find, as Drs. Hall and Greatheart did, that there was a fracture of the left oscalcis, and the man is suffering from a permanent disability. I note you say he has been made an award on the basis of 40 per cent permanent disability of his injured foot. I must confess I am unfamiliar with the laws governing the awarding of compensation for disabilities. Dr. Greatheart, in his capacity would, of course, be much more familiar with these laws.

I do not believe there will be more than 40 per cent disability of Mr. Macho's foot. This 40 per cent disability of his foot will, however, we believe, exclude him from following his occupation as steel worker.

*June 9, 1920.*—Mrs. Macho of her own accord secured a position as chambermaid in the St. James Hotel on South Park Avenue, working from 8:00 to 12:00 and two hours on Sunday, for which she gets paid $15 a week. Mr. Macho will continue to work at Jones and Addington Company until he can get something better. He agrees with visitor that one more trial should be made at the American Steel Company. If this proves unsuccessful, he will try to get better-paid work in some automobile shop which will give him a chance to use his knowledge as a machinist.

*June 10, 1920.*—Mr. English, American Steel Company, telephoned for report on case.

*June 16, 1920.*—After much persuasion, Mrs. Macho allowed Eugene to have tonsillectomy performed, which was done at St. Anne's Hospital, June 15. Eugene came through the operation very well and went home today. The baby got kerosene in his eyes and was treated at St. Anne's Hospital. Mrs. Macho's teeth are in bad condition. She will go down to the St. Anne's Dental Clinic for treatment.

*June 22, 1920.*—Mr. Macho finally accepted the award of the Industrial Accident Commission and received $510 from Mr. English, June 21, 1920. The remaining $100 was kept with Mr. Macho's sanction by Mr. English for the lawyer's fee with the understanding that it was not to be paid Mr. Kramer until visitor had one more interview with him. At Mr. Macho's request, visitor received $40 of Mr. Macho's money and paid Dr. James and Dr. Drake. Mr. Kramer, in his final interview reduced his fee to $90 whereupon $10 more will be delivered to Mr. Macho through visitor.

*June 28, 1920.*—Mr. Macho's first papers were filled out.

*July 10, 1920.*—Mrs. Macho reports that Mr. Macho gave up his job at Jones and Addington Company right after the settlement with the American Steel Company, and worked one day at Indiana Harbor, but found the work too hard. About a week ago he left for Biloxi to see his sister and find out about his "estate in the Old Country." Mrs. Macho understands that last year Mrs. Brinco received $2,000 from her property in Austria. Peter has been sick all week; that is why Mrs. Macho has not worked for the St. James Hotel. Mr. Macho left Mrs. Macho most of the money.

*July 21, 1920.*—Mr. Macho returned July 18, 1920. Had no luck. His brother-in-law had everything rented out but would very much like family to move to Biloxi; would give them furniture, etc. Gave Mrs. Macho card to Illinois Free Employment Bureau.

*August 4, 1920.*—Mr. Macho sleeping; is working nights as general help in Indiana Harbor (number unknown) earning $5.00 a day. Mrs. Macho has not been to dentist because of bad cold; is still coughing. Baby also had bad cold; both improved. Mrs. Macho has bought second-hand White sewing-machine, $20, and is sewing school clothes for children. Advised against moving nearer Mr. Macho's work until he is sure of work being satisfactory; has been there one week.

*August 20, 1920.*—Mrs. Macho telephoned that her husband had quit the job in Indiana Harbor as it was too hard. He is now looking for a position as watchman. He understands that he can take out his second papers on October 1, 1920.

*August 27, 1920.*—Mrs. Macho in office. Given clothing. They are getting along well, as Mr. Macho got the position he was looking for. Mr. Macho is still complaining constantly of his foot.

*December 1, 1920.*—Visited and found that family has moved from the cottage. Neighbors do not know where they live now.

### 39. The Family of Mrs. Helen Kolecki

(*The Widow of a Polish Steel-Worker, Killed While at His Job*)

[This family lived in a fairly new two-story brick building, second floor, rear, on a street running northwest and southeast. There is a grocery store in the front of the building, and a vegetable garden joins the house on the east. There is a chicken house back of the vegetable garden. On the west there is a vacant lot, then a saloon at the corner a half-block away. On the opposite side, there is also a saloon at the corner and there are two-story, plain frame cottages with small but neat inclosed front yards. Directly south the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad yards and the Illinois Central tracks extend a considerable distance, while to the southeast the steel mills jut in to within three blocks. There is a public playground just a little west of the home and a great Polish Catholic church a block or so to the north.]

*June 14, 1920.*—Mrs. Kolecki, a sister of Marya Lenol [whose baby had died May 26], in office. Her husband was burned to death in the Great Lakes Steel Mills, May 13, 1919, where he was working as

a craneman.[1] He was not insured, and as yet she has not received any compensation for his death. She still owes the undertaker $216. Veronica was born two months after Mr. Kolecki's death. Because of this there has been some confusion as to the amount of compensation to which she is entitled.

She reports that the Great Lakes Steel Company have offered her first $3,300 and later $3,750 in settlement. She refused these amounts, feeling they were not adequate compensation for her husband's death. She would be very grateful if the Agency would find out what her rights in the matter are.

*Visited.*—Mrs. Kolecki is a plump, clean-looking, young matron, who speaks English well and keeps a very clean, orderly, four-room home, for which she pays $12. She is terribly afraid of anything to do with law or the courts and says for this reason she has let the matter drag on for over a year. Her sister, Marya, lives with her, and besides the baby, Veronica, there is a four-year-old boy, Walter. Besides Marya Lenol there is a sister Phyllis, and her mother has married again, a Mr. John Czarniecki, and has two daughters by the second marriage.

*June 17, 1920.*—Letter written to the Great Lakes Steel Company, Chicago:

Mrs. Helen Kolecki, 2437 Buena Avenue, reports that her husband, Walter Kolecki, who worked for you as a craneman, was burned to death in the mills on May 13, 1919. Although thirteen months has elapsed, she says that she has received no compensation for his death. Any information you can give us in regard to this matter, we shall greatly appreciate.

*June 18, 1920.*—Letter received from the supervisor of labor and safety, Great Lakes Steel Company, Chicago:

Replying to your letter of the 17th instant, relative to the claim of Mrs. Helen Kolecki, 2437 Buena Avenue, I wish to state that one Walter Kolecki, who undoubtedly is the person mentioned in your letter, did meet his death in our plant in the manner and at the time as stated by Mrs. Kolecki. We have, however, tendered Mrs. Kolecki the legal amount of compensation as provided by the State Compensation Laws. This has been tendered to her on two or three occasions, but so far she has not accepted. We stand ready at any time to settle with her.

*June 29, 1920.*—Visited office Illinois Industrial Accident Commission and was told this case had never been received.

[1] [See below, p. 907, for statute governing compensation in cases of industrial accident.]

*June 30, 1920.*—Visited office of Great Lakes Steel Mills. Was referred by general superintendent to Mr. Cabell, the man in charge of legal matters of this kind. Mr. Cabell reported that the Great Lakes Steel Company offered several times to effect a settlement of case with Mrs. Kolecki but had been unsuccessful. The case had been long standing, and they would like to have it settled. Mr. Cabell stated as the accident occurred before the amendment to law of June 28, 1919, it would have to go through the old procedure, namely having an administrator appointed and settled through the Probate Court. He offered to have an administrator appointed through his office without any expense to Mrs. Kolecki, if we would bring her to office for the signing of necessary papers. As to the maximum of $4,000 which is allowed under the new law, he said the amount paid would rest with the Board when the case was received. Whatever they allowed would be paid by the company.

*July 6, 1920.*—Attorney for Legal Aid Bureau reports that settlement would come under old law as death occurred before law was amended, which was $3,500, and that company was giving her benefit of new amendment when offering her $3,750. He advised letting Mr. Cabell's office appoint administrator and proceed with the case.

*July 9, 1920.*—Visited Mrs. Kolecki. Explained fully to her regarding amount of compensation due, and reasons for same. She consented to go with visitor to Great Lakes Steel Company, Mr. Cabell's office. She still feels her husband's death very keenly, and has great dread of any court proceedings. She has had a great deal of advice from her friends and neighbors, who have, no doubt, misinformed her regarding the case. Her husband had worked for the Great Lakes Steel Company as craneman for over twelve years. Her home and children are beautifully kept. She has been living (contrary to writeup of June 14, 1920, to the effect that Mr. Kolecki was not insured), since her husband's death, on insurance ($1,000) paid her by order Modern Woodmen, and is planning to go to work in a few months if mother moves near her.

*July 14, 1920.*—Accompanied Mrs. Kolecki to Mr. Cabell's office as prearranged. Mr. Cabell was ill, but his assistant took us to the office of White and Simonds, attorneys and counsellors-at-law, 9340 Commercial Avenue, where Mr. White went over the case, taking necessary data. Mrs. Kolecki is to return to office July 15 for signing petition asking that Mr. White be appointed administrator of estate.

*July 17, 1920.*—Accompanied Mrs. Kolecki to Probate Court clerk's office, meeting Mr. White at said office. Mr. White told visitor and Mrs. Kolecki that the company had arranged to settle for $4,000 instead of the sum named previously.

*July 19, 1920.*—Accompanied Mrs. Kolecki to Probate Judge's office with Mr. White where petition was heard. Went with Mr. White to Industrial Commission Board, where was told the case could not be reviewed before August 15, but thought the first payment could be made before that date.

*July 30, 1920.*—Called Mrs. Kolecki. She said she still owed undertaker $216. When Mr. Kolecki was killed, she had $250 saved, and had in the house $300 in Liberty Bonds; $200 of this, she could never find. She loaned $700 of Mr. Kolecki's insurance to a woman who pays interest on same. Just has received $40 interest. Mrs. Kolecki has notes for money borrowed.

*July 31, 1920.*—Telephoned Mr. White and was told that the judge of Probate Court must make the apportionment per month.

*August 4, 1920.*—Letter written Mr. George White, Chicago, Illinois:

> We wish to express our appreciation for what you have done for Mrs. Helen Kolecki. We realize the time and trouble you have spent in settling up her case and wish you to know that Mrs. Kolecki joins us in thanking you.

*August 7, 1920.*—As instructed, Mrs. Kolecki went to Probate Court, Judge Devine's room, at 10:00 and signed necessary papers.

*August 19, 1920.*—Telephoned Mr. White of case, who says the final disposition cannot be made until the judge comes back from vacation.

*September 28, 1920.*—Mr. White telephoned that the rest of Mrs. Kolecki's money was now ready for her at the bank and that a settlement to date of $1,260 would be made. Mr. White advised us, thinking that in all probability we would like to guide Mrs. Kolecki in spending the money.

*July 20, 1923.*—Visited. The Koleckis with the Czarnieckis now live in a neighborhood considerably inferior to that in which Mrs. Kolecki was living at the time of the earlier contact. They are just two blocks west of the steel mills on a rather cheerless and sooty street. They live on the second floor, rear, of a brown frame house. The front of the place appears much more decent than the back, which was quite neglected. The majority of the houses in the block are two-

story frame cottages, rather the worse for wear. There are two saloons at the nearest corner. The alley west of the house is littered with papers and rubbish.

Mrs. Kolecki was not at home. Mrs. Czarniecki would not talk, and understands very little English. Talked with Marya Lenol, who was busy in ironing a newly made apron belonging to her mother. Mrs. Kolecki has been working at the South Shore Laundry Company for the last two months, making $12.50 a week. Walter was promoted to the second grade last June. Veronica's right eye is crossed. It has grown that way recently. Mrs. Kolecki does not want it taken care of now, as she thinks a doctor would only prescribe glasses which Veronica would break now when she is out in the street so much. Mrs. Kolecki intends to take her to a doctor in the fall. Visitor asked Walter whether he would like to go out in the country this summer, and talked with Marya, but they showed little interest in an outing.

Marya looks quite delicate. She is a slim, brown-eyed, rather attractive girl, but extremely reticent. She left her job at the canning factory last week as she felt she needed a vacation after working steadily for five years. Says she is getting along well. Doesn't know what kind of work she will do after her vacation.

## B. INDUSTRIAL DISEASE

### 40. The Family of Max Berger

*(A Jewish Plumber Who Loses the Sight of One Eye and after Treatment Is Set Up in Business)*

[In this, as in some of the other cases, portions of the record are omitted. For example, no attempt is made to show exactly the amount of relief given. The standards maintained by the organization and the methods employed have been described above. Here the effort is to show the special treatment in the case of a man handicapped by an industrial disease in the pursuit of his trade.]

*September 12, 1922.*—Mrs. Berger in office [Jewish Welfare Bureau] stating that her son has just had an operation upon his eye and has been unemployed for several months; his wife and three young children are in great distress.

*September 15, 1922.*—Called. Young Mrs. Berger was surprised but not at all sorry to see visitor. She was not aware of the fact that her mother-in-law had reported their distress and stated that if

anything could be done for them she would certainly appreciate it. She is a young woman of twenty-five, very neatly dressed, and very pleasing in her manner of speech. The family live in an extremely well-furnished, five-room apartment. Mrs. Berger had just come up from the laundry when visitor knocked. However, the house was in an immaculate condition, and she herself was neatly dressed in a dark gingham dress. There are three children, Margaret aged six, Elizabeth, three, and Ralph, four months old.

Mrs. Berger states that she and her husband, who is a plumber by trade, were married seven years ago and have always had a very comfortable home and everything of the best, until three years ago, when Mr. Berger was employed with the Quick Service Plumbing Company in Jacksonville, Illinois, at which time he began having trouble with his eyesight. Blindness came upon him suddenly one morning, Mrs. Berger states. He immediately visited the very best doctors in Chicago and was told that his loss of sight might have been caused by lead poisoning. He was forced to give up his trade as a plumber and to accept small odd jobs where he was not required to use his eyesight. A year ago his two brothers and sister got money together and established him in a small cigar and delicatessen store, which he was forced to give up a few months later because of his declining health. At present he is being treated by Dr. Cutler, of Racine, who performed a small operation several months ago. Three days after the operation a cataract formed on his left eye causing a sympathetic weakness in the right eye so that he is now totally blind. Mrs. Berger states that, as soon as the hot weather is over and Mr. Berger's physical condition is improved, he will return to Racine to have this cataract removed. In the meantime he has visited several physicians in Chicago, all of whom recommend the removal of the eye; and for this reason they are very anxious to have Dr. Cutler perform the operation. All expenses for the doctors and for the household have been met by the brothers and sister of Mr. Berger, who have willingly contributed equal shares for the past year. Mrs. Berger states that they have received over a $1,000 in the last twelve months. However, Mrs. Berger states that these brothers have large families of their own and cannot be expected to contribute to the support of her household for any length of time. Although they have not complained of their contributions, she feels that the fact that the mother-in-law asked our assistance in this matter is a proof that they are no longer able or willing to continue their assistance. Mrs. Berger states that

she herself would never have applied to this organization, although she feels that since she has contributed $15 yearly to the upkeep of the organization she is entitled to special consideration. Her household expenses are very great, she states, since the three children are young and in need of nourishing food. She has never been able to get along with less than $20 a week, excluding rent.

Mrs. Berger came to this country when she was three years old and has always lived in Chicago. She graduated from the Scammon School and has always done a great deal of reading in her leisure time. She states that, if it is possible for us to assist her for several months, she is certain that her husband will be able to return to work at the end of that period and repay us. [The names and addresses of Mr. Berger's three brothers and of a sister were obtained.]

*Later.*—Called at home of Mr. Berger's sister, Mrs. Lieberman, with whom Mr. Berger's mother lives. She was not at home, but visitor spoke with sister of Mr. Berger, who stated that she and her brothers have been assisting Mr. Berger for over a year and at present owing to business depression they feel that they can no longer continue this assistance. She states that she has kept her mother with her for over a year and feels that this additional burden to her household is sufficient. The two brothers, each of whom has a store, feel that they can no longer assist and have not been sending Mr. Berger money for several weeks. Last week Mrs. Lieberman states that she called upon her brother and found that they had nothing in the house. They are very proud and would sooner starve to death than ask for more than is willingly given to them. Mrs. Lieberman has been giving the children clothes and helping with odds and ends, but can do no more than this. Her own home is very poorly furnished and badly in need of repair. She believes that Dr. Cutler has not been successful in his treatment of Mr. Berger and is very much in favor of his transferring to some doctor in Chicago. He has not been visiting Chicago doctors because their prices are too high. His visits to Dr. Cutler cost him $3.00 each, excluding transportation. Due to some slight accident during the operation or after it, Mr. Berger entirely lost his sight. His sister does not blame Dr. Cutler but feels that her brother did not receive the proper attention while in the hospital. She states that she will arrange, if possible, some evening for a family conference at one of the sons' homes since they are unable to come to the office because of business ties, and will notify visitor immediately.

*September 19, 1922.*—Called. Mr. Berger is a rather fine-appearing man of twenty-seven. Takes his misfortune quite cheerfully and has full confidence that Dr. Cutler's second operation will bring him his sight. He states that the accident which occurred at his first operation was not the fault of the doctor but was due to the fact that directly after the operation Mr. Berger moved his head slightly and caused a hemorrhage. He states that he has visited Dr. Trapp and Dr. Estill, both of whom he states are eye specialists. They recommend that his eye should be removed. He feels that he can resort to their treatment any time, while Dr. Cutler promises to cure him, and he feels that he should continue with him. However, he is willing to report at the Dispensary and see what their recommendation will be. He is certain that Dr. Cutler will allow him to make payments upon the second operation after he is able to return to work, and wishes that we lend him money only to tide them over the few months until he is able again to resume his trade.

*September 21, 1922.*—Called at the home of Mr. Berger's brother, David Berger. Spoke with his wife, who states that she and her husband have been assisting their brother for over a year and had been in a position to do more for them than the other brother. However, at present due to business depression they are having difficulty in making ends meet in their own household. She states that the two brothers and sister have contributed as much as $25 weekly and that this has meant a great sacrifice to each and everyone. She states that her sister-in-law has several relatives in Chicago, among whom is a very wealthy uncle. However, none of these has made an effort to assist the family in their distress. Mr. Berger is a very conscientious person, she believes, and would much prefer that we make him a loan. He has entire confidence in Dr. Cutler and is certain he will be cured and able to return to work in a few months, and at that time he will be able to repay us. She is to arrange for a family conference at the office on September 28 and if this is impossible to notify visitor.

*September 20, 1922.*—Steering letter to Dispensary.

*September 28, 1922.*—Mrs. David Berger telephoned that she was unable to arrange for a family conference since the brothers were unable to leave their business.

Conferred with supervisor and decided to take no further action until steering letter was returned.

*September 29, 1922.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned that her mother-in-law and two sisters-in-law had come to the office on Thursday night, September 28, as arranged by visitor and had found no one in the office. She states that she is in great distress, and she hesitates to ask her relatives for more assistance. She feels that they have done all that is in their power for her.

*October 10, 1922.*—Called. Mr. and Mrs. Berger gave visitor same details as had been given on previous visit regarding Mr. Berger's illness and their financial condition. They said that their relatives had done a great deal for them, and they could expect very little more. Asked her to make arrangements with her relatives for a conference at her home the following Friday, that is, October 20, at which supervisor and visitor would be present. In the meantime supplied grocery order.

*October 20, 1922.*—Conference with relatives at the home in the evening. Those present were Mr. and Mrs. Lieberman and David Berger. Mr. Mathew Berger was unable to be present. Discussed with them Mr. Berger's treatment. He has great faith in Dr. Cutler and says he believes Dr. Cutler will operate on him about the first of the month. Mr. Berger had not yet reported to the Dispensary for examination, and he was requested to do so. He said he would co-operate to that extent and promised to go the following Tuesday.

The problem of support was discussed. Mr. Berger's relatives stated that since his illness they had spent several thousands of dollars for the support of the family and for doctor bills and hospital expenses. At one time they bought a store for him on Argyle Avenue, thinking that this sort of work would not be hard for him, but he was unable to read the scale or to do many other things about the store and was forced to give it up. They realized only $300 from the sale of it.

Mr. David Berger stated he wanted to give his brother a job in his store but was unable to do so because he would not be able to read the scale and was therefore useless. They all have great hope that Mr. Berger will be able to work within a month. If at any time he doubts his speedy recovery, he never makes any mention of it. His wife also seems to be trying desperately to keep up her courage, and she seconds her husband's belief that he will recover his eyesight very soon. At times, however, one discerns in her attitude a feeling that she is not so hopeful as she wants to be and that she is worn out from the long strain, but that she is keeping up her appearance of hope only to please her husband.

Mr. Berger's brother evidently does not have very great confidence in Dr. Cutler and he urged Mr. Berger to make the best of the opportunity to be examined at the Dispensary. The entire group of people seemed very refined and sensible. They have evidently done their utmost for the Bergers with the exception of Mathew Berger. He has a cigar store at 125 West Street. Visitor gathered from what the family said that he and his wife are living to the limit of their income. They stated that Mrs. Mathew Berger is a sick, nervous woman and that she had to stay in a sanitarium for several months this summer and had to pay $40 a week for her room. Other details of their expenditures were given, and the family at the conference insisted that they could not appeal any further to this brother as they could not make him give money if he did not see fit to do so himself. Mr. David Berger stated he could give $6.00 a week for the family and that, if ever it was possible, he would give more, but he could not guarantee that. The Liebermans stated that they were unable to give any regular assistance, as there was a rival cleaning establishment newly opened near them and they were losing a great deal of trade. The only assistance which could be depended on, therefore, was $6.00 a week from David.

*October 25, 1922.*—Mrs. Berger called, stating her husband was in the hospital under observation; that they were penniless and their rent was due.

*October 26, 1922.*—Received telephone call from the Dispensary stating that they were forwarding the background history on Mr. Berger to the hospital, where he was under observation.

*November 2, 1922.*—Called. Mrs. Berger was very dejected, although she stated she had just learned from the hospital that Mr. Berger's eye would not have to be removed, and that the doctor gave the same verdict as Dr. Cutler. She stated that she is optimistic by nature, but this long period of misfortune is greatly weakening her. The relatives are very slow in contributing their share and rather than remind them she has done without many things perhaps to the extent of impairing her children's health. At present she stated that she had 30 cents. Mrs. Berger seems to be a very devoted wife. She spends three days a week at the hospital with Mr. Berger and in order not to neglect her household duties is forced to work late into the night when she returns. At present a nurse from the hospital is staying with her at night, and in return for this accommodation the nurse looks after the baby while Mrs. Berger visits her husband

at the hospital. She states that each one of these trips costs her close to a dollar since she leaves Mr. Berger money for his hospital expense, such as shaving, and always brings him fruit. For this reason her weekly allowance is greatly reduced.

*Later.*—Called upon Mathew Berger. He stated that, although he has been giving financial assistance to his brother for several months, he is no longer able to continue this since his wife is very ill and nervous. He states that he is under a large expense on account of his wife's illness and has two children of his own to support, and that in addition to this he is at present keeping his mother. However, he stated that he would do as much as possible and would always be willing to give moral support.

*November 9, 1922.*—Letter from the hospital advising that Mr. Berger had been discharged November 7, and referred to the Dispensary for additional treatment. Advised that Mr. Berger had 75 per cent vision in his good eye, the right, and could see only light in his left eye. He will be unable to work while he is receiving treatment and should not consider returning to his old trade. Suggested that we refer Mr. Berger to the Illinois Society for Prevention of Blindness at 122 Michigan Avenue and that we should refer him to the State Vocational Rehabilitation Bureau, City Hall Square Building, in order that he may be re-educated.

*Later.*—Called in order to discuss with Mr. Berger the possibility of an occupation for the future. Mr. Berger was not home. Mrs. Berger states that he is greatly improving, although the present treatment he is receiving renders him practically without vision. She states that he had gone to the Dispensary for treatment, but will report at our office on the eleventh. She and her husband have been discussing very seriously with the relatives the possibility of opening a small grocery store. Their plans were that the family should move into a few rooms in the rear and Mrs. Berger should attend to the trade and Mr. Berger assist as much as possible until he recovered his sight. Mrs. Berger states that she has had experience in managing a store since she was of great assistance to her husband when they had their small cigar store. As yet they have not received any check from their brother and hesitated to remind him of it although they were greatly in need.

*November 13, 1922.*—Mr. Berger in office. Interviewed by supervisor. His physical condition has greatly improved and his attitude is much more cheerful and hopeful. He states that he is at present

under the care of Dr. Kalish at the Dispensary, who has advised the removal of the eye. He is also receiving treatment at the Dental Clinic since the doctors feel that the condition of his teeth may have some effect upon his eyes. He is very anxious to consult Dr. Kimmel at the hospital since he had promised him that his eye would not have to be removed. His diagnosis was the same as that of Dr. Cutler and Mr. Berger has great faith in both doctors. Advised him that it would not be advisable to be under the care of two doctors at once.

Discussed the problem of the future with Mr. Berger at some length. He states that he has given this matter serious thought and that if it would be possible for us to lend him some money he would like to open up a small grocery store and move into the rear as his wife has suggested. They have both had experience in managing business and feel that they would make good, although they were not successful in their last attempt. However, Mr. Berger states that this was due to the fact that his wife was in no condition to assist him at that time and that at that time the store was so far removed from the house. He was forced, too, to give it up when he went to the hospital. He did not show great enthusiasm at the plan as suggested by the hospital that he attend the Rehabilitation Bureau for re-education, although he did not refuse to do so. The supervisor told him that no definite decision could be reached until we had a definite report from the Dispensary.

*November 15, 1922.*—Letter to the Dispensary asking whether or not it was permissible for Mr. Berger to be referred to the State Vocational Rehabilitation Bureau while he was receiving treatment.

*November 23, 1922.*—Letter from the Dispensary advising that patient's eye is improving nicely, and that he will soon have normal vision in his good eye, and, therefore, Dr. Kalish thinks it better to postpone re-education until the doctors are able to determine whether the condition of the eye will warrant it. The doctors say that he is making a great mistake in not having his other eye removed since he has no vision in it and it is constantly inflamed and was the cause of inflammation of the other eye. Mr. Berger was not urged to have this done, although they feel it will be necessary in the end. They think that Mr. Berger is an unusually co-operative patient and one who feels exceedingly grateful for what both doctors have done for him.

*November 27, 1922.*—Called. Mr. Berger was home alone with children. He was very hopeful and feels that his condition is improving noticeably. He has been informed that in a few weeks his treat-

ments will be discontinued, and he will then be able seriously to consider his future. As yet the family is finding it extremely difficult to make both ends meet since the relatives have not lived up to their promise in regard to their contributions. There is a gas bill which is unpaid, and the gas company is threatening to shut off service. Mr. Berger again brought up plan which he had suggested regarding a loan of a certain amount of money to establish himself and his wife in a small store. As yet he has not spoken of this plan to his relatives since he feels that they have done a great deal for him, and is unwilling to make himself a burden upon them if he is able to secure this loan in any other way. Informed Mr. Berger of the recommendation of the doctors at the Dispensary that he have his eye removed. He states that he is unwilling to agree to this operation until he is certain that the treatments are not improving his condition. He feels that Dr. Kalish is not taking sufficient interest in his case and would be much better satisfied if he could receive treatments from Dr. Kimmel. He has made several efforts to see the latter but has been unable to find him.

*Later.*—Mrs. Berger in office, asking that we increase their allowance if this is possible in any way since the relatives are not living up to their promise, and they are having a very difficult struggle. Their gas bill is unpaid, and she asked that if we can do nothing else we pay this. Informed her that because of lack of funds we are unable to increase her allowance, and after conferring with the supervisor had to tell her that we could do not more than we are doing at present. She was very much humiliated at her mission and apologized again and again that she should be forced to come to us to beg. However, she stated that she was very thankful for as much as we were doing and realized that if we refused to do more it was because we found it impossible. She asked that her next order of coal be range coal rather than chestnut since chestnut was consumed too quickly in a furnace. She asked that rent be sent. Informed her that because of the insufficiency of funds this could not be sent until the first of the month.

*December 6, 1922.*—Called. Mr. Berger was home alone with the children. He states that his wife had gone to the Dental Clinic to receive treatment. He is getting very disgusted because he has to remain at home and says that he would be willing to do any kind of work as soon as his vision is restored to him. Dr. Kalish has discontinued the treatment, and Mr. Berger does not know what the doctor's plans are after that. He is in hopes that his treatments will be ended

within a few weeks and that he will be able to go to work. He has not as yet discussed with his brothers the plan which he put before supervisor of opening up a small store. However, he feels that this would be the best plan since Mrs. Berger is very anxious to help him. He feels that they could manage excellently. Dr. Kalish still recommends the removal of the bad eye. Mr. Berger is very anxious to see Dr. Kimmel before he permits an operation. Mr. Berger is to report as soon as his treatments are discontinued.

*December 20, 1922.*—Called at request of Mrs. Berger. She states that Mr. Berger has talked with his brothers about establishing a little store. His mother is willing to assist with $100, and she is certain that one of his brothers will assist with an equal sum if not more. She is very enthusiastic about assisting her husband, and feels that both of them together would certainly make good and would be able to return any assistance which we might give them in establishing the store, very soon. She realizes that if we consider this matter it would take a great deal of time and states that her husband is very anxious to do whatever possible in the meantime to contribute to the support of the family. He is no longer receiving treatment and his vision has greatly improved because of this. However, the doctors still recommend the removal of the eye.

In speaking to Mrs. Berger about her own relatives, she states that her mother, Mrs. Desenberg, lives at 3172 Seventh Street. She states that until several years ago they had always received assistance from her people but that her father had sometime ago invested his money in an enterprise in which he had lost practically everything, and that for the past two years they have been in need of assistance themselves. She is certain her mother has gone many days without food in the house rather than apply at our organization. There is a sister eighteen years old, who bears the burden of the entire support of the family, since her father is out of employment at present. She also has a sister, twenty years of age, who has recently married against the will of her parents to a good-for-nothing young chap, who is unable to support her now. She has a small baby and lives a very unhappy life.

*December 27, 1922.*—Called upon Mrs. Desenberg, mother of Mrs. Berger. Mrs. Desenberg is a rather young-looking woman. She was very downhearted in speaking of the circumstances of her daughter. She confirmed the statement of her daughter that her husband had lost his money a few years ago in an unfortunate investment and that they are entirely dependent upon the wages of their eighteen-

year-old daughter. Their home, however, is very nicely furnished and bears reminders of a better day. Mrs. Desenberg states that her daughter had been brought up in a home of plenty and that she had always had everything she wanted. She received a grammar-school and partial high-school education and earned fairly good wages when she worked. She was always a happy-go-lucky girl and had many friends. She knew Mr. Berger several years before their marriage. He had been an ardent lover and had always given her her way. Mr. Desenberg is at present out of work and has been unable to secure employment. He has no trade since he has been a store-keeper all his life. However, he has no capital to invest in a business at present and is unable to secure work of any kind. There are no relatives on Mrs. Berger's side who are in any way able to assist her and her husband. Mrs. Desenberg states that her family have always kept a great deal to themselves and that the few relatives they have in New York have never been on friendly terms with them. She is certain that they are financially unable and also unwilling to give any assistance.

Follow-up letter sent to Dispensary on Mr. Berger's condition.

*January 4, 1923.*—Called. Found Mrs. Berger at home with children. She had just come from shopping, and the children's grandfather, who had been caring for them in her absence, was sleeping on a cot in the dining-room. Mr. Berger had gone out to look for work. Mrs. Berger said he was going to try to secure work from a plumbing establishment with which he had formerly been connected. He was doing this on the strength of Dr. Kalish's advice that the improved condition of his eye warranted his return to plumbing. She feels that it will avail them very little if Mr. Berger does go back to plumbing and then after a few months or even years be forced to drop his trade again. She feels that it will be impossible for him to continue at his trade and that it would be much better if he set up in business in a Jewish district. She says that if their home could be in back of the store she will be able to devote most of her time to the store. She said her brother-in-law will provide them with stock if the Bureau will lend them a small amount of money to get started on.

Conferred with supervisor, who had discussed the matter with Dr. Kalish. He feels that the condition of Mr. Berger's eye warrants his going back to plumbing. Dr. Kalish is interested in Mr. Berger and is willing with Mr. Berger's co-operation to keep close watch on the condition of his eye should he go back to plumbing. Supervisor

said that there is no use in our turning to doctors for advice if we are not going to accept their advice. Plumbing is a very lucrative trade and it will be to Mr. Berger's advantage if he can follow it.

*January 9, 1923.*—Called. Found Mrs. Berger at home with two children. Mr. Berger not at home. Mrs. Berger said he had gone over to the West Side to look at a small store in which his brother was trying to interest him. Mrs. Berger said that Mr. Berger had attempted to work several days ago at the plumbing company with which he had formerly been connected. However, due to his poor sight he had been struck by a monkey wrench on the cheek bone and had a rather painful bruise there. Mrs. Berger said that Mr. Berger went to the Dispensary Saturday, where they had told him it was necessary for him to wear glasses. The price of the glasses is three dollars and some cents. Mr. Berger is unable to pay for the glasses, and Mrs. Berger requested visitor to make some arrangement for securing them. He is to receive them Saturday. It is expected that they will aid his vision and he will go to work as soon as he receives them. Visitor reported result of conference with supervisor. Told Mrs. Berger that it had been decided to follow Dr. Kalish's advice that Mr. Berger return to plumbing until it was certain that the work was endangering his eye. Told her that Dr. Kalish is very much interested in Mr. Berger and will be willing to keep close watch on the condition of his eye to avoid any danger while he is working. Pointed out that if Mr. Berger is able to return to his trade their prosperity will be much greater than if he undertakes the responsibility of establishing a business since they have no funds of their own. Impressed on Mrs. Berger that it was at least worth while trying. Mrs. Berger accepted this point of view and assured us of their co-operation.

*February 9, 1923.*—Called at home. Mrs. Berger stated that Mr. Berger had been working for the past two weeks. Dr. Kalish had told him to return for an examination at the close of those two weeks, and Mr. Berger was intending to see Dr. Kalish the next day. Mrs. Berger stated that she did not think the report from Dr. Kalish would be a favorable one because Mr. Berger's eye had been troubling him a great deal while he worked. Every night when he came home his eye had been inflamed, and they had been forced to put on hot applications. She said that Mr. Berger had made over $41 the previous week although she did not know what the last week's earnings would total. Mr. Berger earned practically $6.00 a day.

She said that the money he was earning, however, was eaten up by the rent and coal for which they had themselves paid this month. Mrs. Berger said that she hoped very much that Mr. Berger will be able to continue plumbing, however, because it is a very lucrative trade and she knows that they can get on their feet once more if he could only continue.

She brought up the subject once more of establishing a business for them if Mr. Berger's eyesight prevents him from continuing his trade. She said that her mother-in-law had suggested that they take a small store on the West Side where the Jewish people would trade with them because of the circumstances. Mrs. Berger stated, however, that she had no desire to secure trade through sympathy. However, she said that she was only considering the matter because there was the possibility that Mr. Berger would be unable to continue his plumbing. She promised to report to visitor what Dr. Kalish reported on Mr. Berger's eye.

*February 15, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned to say that following the examination of Mr. Berger's eye, Saturday, Dr. Kalish had asked Mr. Berger to return the following Saturday. She said that Mr. Berger was not home at that moment. He had gone to look at a store. She asked that coal be sent. Said she had very little on hand.

*February 16, 1923.*—Coal sent.

*February 17, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned that she had received slip for coal but coal had not yet arrived. Visitor explained that there was a great deal of difficulty in securing coal at present. Suggested that she borrow some for the time being until hers arrived. Mrs. Berger stated that Mr. Berger was going to see Dr. Kalish that day and that she would report what the examination might reveal. She said that they had a very good proposition which she would like to discuss with visitor. She said that they had in view at present a store which the owners were eager to vacate immediately and she thought that they could secure a very good proposition if they could accept it immediately. Asked visitor to discuss the matter with supervisior.

*February 21, 1923.*—Called at the home. Mrs. Berger stated that Mr. Berger had gone to Racine Monday for an examination by Dr. Cutler. He had had an examination by Dr. Kalish Saturday, and Dr. Kalish had recommended the removal of his left eye. Mr. Berger had become very discouraged and did not want to have the eye removed unless there was absolutely no chance of saving it. He had talked the matter over Sunday with his mother and it was decided that

he go to Racine at her expense for an examination by Dr. Cutler. He telephoned to Mrs. Berger Tuesday stating that Dr. Cutler told him that there was one chance in a hundred of saving the eye by an operation and Mr. Berger had asked her advice as to whether he should take the chance or not. It was finally decided that Mr. Berger undergo the operation at Dr. Cutler's hospital. If the operation is not successful he could come back to Chicago and have the operation for the removal of his eye here. Mrs. Berger said that Dr. Cutler knew that they had no money, but she said she did not know whether he was attending Mr. Berger gratis or whether Mr. Berger had promised to pay for his services when he is able. Mrs. Berger said she did not know when the operation would take place but she thought probably in a day or less. She said following the operation Mr. Berger would have to remain at Dr. Cutler's hospital for about six days before the success of the operation could be determined. She said she had sent Mr. Berger's clothes on to Racine that day and would let visitor know any developments. She was afraid that visitor and supervisor might not like the fact that they had taken the matter into their own hands in this fashion but she said it was only natural that they should take this only chance to save Mr. Berger's eye. She said they had nothing to lose because if the operation failed Mr. Berger would simply have the eye removed as recommended by Dr. Kalish and if the operation were successful they would be gaining much. She asked if the organization would continue to help them during Mr. Berger's stay in the hospital.

*February 23, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned to say that she had received a letter from Mr. Berger in which he stated that the operation on his eye was to take place the following Tuesday and that Dr. Cutler seemed confident that the eye need not be removed although he promised that very little sight at best could be saved in the eye.

*March 1, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned to ask whether her rent was to be sent to her. She stated that Mr. Berger was operated upon a week ago Thursday, but she had received a letter Wednesday from the nurse stating that Mr. Berger was still in bed but that his condition seemed favorable. She is having a difficult time getting along. She said her relatives are not being very generous although they know that she has been left without any income. The only thing she wished to ask of us, however, was her rent.

*March 6, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned that they had received a letter from the hospital stating that both Mr. Berger's eyes had been

operated upon; that the inflammation had been removed from both eyes and that if the operation is as successful as present condition indicates Mr. Berger will have 100 per cent sight in his right eye, although none in his left. However, Dr. Cutler is certain that there is no need that the left eye be removed. Mrs. Berger said that her brother-in-law telephoned to Racine yesterday to confirm this report. Mr. Berger will have to remain in the hospital a week or ten days longer. However, this very favorable report makes her feel that his going to Racine was not a mistake and she feels that it may be possible that this may be the last time that she will have to call upon us for help.

*March 20, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned and asked that visitor call on her sometime this week. She said Mr. Berger is now at home, but is forced to wear bandages on his eyes for some time. She says that they will not know until these bandages can be removed whether the operation has been successful or not, but before he left the hospital Dr. Cutler was very certain of the success of the operation, and felt that there was even a possibility of sight, very slight, however, in the left eye. Dr. Cutler had stated that as soon as the bandages were ready to be removed he would provide Mr. Berger with suitable glasses. However, Dr. Cutler told Mr. Berger that he would never be able to go back to the trade of plumber since the work would be too great a strain on his eyes and suggested that if he wished to save their sight he seek some other work. Mrs. Berger said that she wished to talk the matter over with visitor.

*March 29, 1923.*—Called at home. Visitor met Mr. Berger for the first time. [The first contacts had been made by another visitor.] He has an extremely pleasing personality. The bandages had been removed from his eyes, and he is wearing dark glasses. Said his eyes must be accustomed to the light before dark glasses can be entirely dispensed with. He said that he is gradually getting more sight in his eyes and although he has not much sight in the left eye is able to distinguish between light and dark with the eye. He said that Dr. Cutler had assured him that there would be some sight in the left eye. He expects to go to Racine Saturday or Monday for a final examination. He has already been assured, however, that he will never be able to return to his trade of plumbing or do any work where the strain on his eyes will be very great. For this reason Mr. and Mrs. Berger feel that their only solution is becoming established in a small grocery business with their home behind the store so that Mrs. Berger

could devote a great deal of her time to the work. Mr. Berger's brother has promised to help in this venture, but they asked that some help be given by the Bureau since the initial expenditures will be too great for them to start alone. Mr. Berger's brothers have already expended so much for the medical treatment of Mr. Berger's eyes that it is hard for them to do much more now. They have already paid part of the bill owing to Dr. Cutler. Mrs. Berger said she had nothing whatsoever for living expenses because she could not ask her relatives for money for this purpose in view of the payments which they have made for Mr. Berger's recent hospital expenses. She said that not only had she been forced to get along on practically nothing but in addition to that all three of the children have been ill with the measles although they were now recovering. She said she had not called the Dispensary doctor as advised by visitor because she felt capable of taking care of the children herself. She said she had permitted no one to come into the home during the illness of the children, however. She said that could the organization suggest a better plan for Mr. Berger than establishing him in business they would be glad to follow it, but she felt that there was no other alternative.

*April 4, 1923.*—Mr. Berger telephoned. Said that he had been in Racine that week-end and that Dr. Cutler had declared that his eyes were getting along very nicely.

*April 13, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger in office by appointment. Conference with supervisor. Mrs. Berger discussed possibility of establishing small business but she said she was willing to follow any other plan which the organization might wish to make. It was decided to communicate with Dr. Cutler before deciding what work Mr. Berger might go into. Mrs. Berger said that her relatives had been giving them no aid since her husband had gone to Racine because of the fact that they had had to defray his hospital expenses. They had been having an extremely difficult time in getting along, and she asked for financial assistance during the time in which Mr. Berger should be idle. She said that that afternoon the delivery boy had taken the order of meat back with him because of her inability to pay. She said she did not have a penny in the house to go elsewhere; $3.00 was given for general relief, and Mrs. Berger was promised assistance until Mr. Berger was able to go to work.

*April 18, 1923.*—Letter to Dr. Cutler, asking whether in his judgment Mr. Berger could anticipate going back to plumbing as a trade.

*April 23, 1923.*—Called at home. Mr. Berger appears to be in

fine physical condition and says that his eyesight is gradually improving. Mrs. Berger, however, seems to be showing the strain of the last few months. Mrs. Berger told visitor that they were considering establishing a store on California Street. However, they are willing to wait till we hear from Dr. Cutler and until it is certain that Mr. Berger is physically able to go into such a venture. Mr. Berger's brother had promised to provide credit for the entire stock and fixtures for the store. Visitor told them that since we had placed them on an allowance until Mr. Berger's condition was ascertained, we would expect the relatives to contribute as much as possible to the allowance. They suggested that visitor call on David Berger since it is possible he might be willing to help, although he intends to carry almost the entire burden of their venture into business. They said they did not think it was worth while calling on the other brother since they have been unable to secure any money from him.

*Later.*—Called on David Berger. He told visitor that he would be entirely willing to help his brother in the matter of allowance if he could, but that his business is extremely slow. However, he intends to give his brother $500 credit in stock should Mr. Berger establish a store, and he feels that this is the extent of his ability to help.

*April 24, 1923.*—Letter from Dr. Cutler saying that Mr. Berger should not allow himself to hope to return to plumbing.

*May 17, 1923.*—Called at home to make an appointment for conference for 10:00 A.M. Friday, May 18.

*May 18, 1923.*—Conference with Mr. and Mrs. Berger in office. Supervisor present. It was decided that before making any plans for Mr. Berger in regard to work it would be advisable for him to go through the Diagnostic Clinic. Mr. Berger readily consented.

*June 2, 1923.*—Met Mr. Berger on street and accompanied him to the home since he said they had not yet received their check and they would have nothing over the week-end. Check had been delayed and arrived while visitor was there.

*June 18, 1923.*—Letter from Dispensary containing report of Diagnostic Clinic to the effect that Mr. Berger's eye would have to be removed and that he could then be set up in business.

*June 23, 1923.*—Conference with Mr. and Mrs. Berger with supervisor present. The decision of the Diagnostic Clinic was discussed and Mr. Berger said that he was ready to accept the decision to have the left eye removed. Both Mr. and Mrs. Berger showed their usual fine spirit during the conference. He promised to go to the hospital

as soon as a bed was ready for him and during the conference the supervisor made arrangements for him for Monday morning, June 25. The subject of what Mr. Berger was to do following his recovery from the operation was touched on. Mr. and Mrs. Berger were told to discuss with Mr. Berger's brothers just what plans they were making for helping Mr. Berger establish himself in business. In the meantime the matter could be brought before the Conference Committee of the Bureau. When it is known that the Diagnostic Clinic recommends a business for Mr. Berger, the project will probably go through.

*July 5, 1923.*—Mr. Berger in office. Although the operation on his left eye had been performed only last Friday, June 28, Mr. Berger said that he was feeling very well and that now that the eye had been removed he was reconciled to the idea. He has been told that it will be necessary for him to rest for two months before he will be able to have an eye placed in the socket. Supervisor was present, and it was decided that the present plan remain in force until the two months had elapsed.

*July 18, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned saying that her children had been ill with diphtheria and that her house is quarantined. When the children were first stricken she called the Dispensary requesting a physician. A doctor answered her call a day later and requested Mrs. Berger to remove the children to the hospital since he could not call every day. Mrs. Berger refused to obey these orders and kept the children at home. When it became necessary, she called a private physician who responded very quickly. On Monday it was necessary to call in the doctor twice. Her doctor calls daily. Mrs. Berger reports that the children are out of danger, but in an effort to safeguard their health she has expended $20. She asks whether the Bureau could not increase her allowance in order to pay her doctor bill and furnish the extra diet which sick children require.

*July 24, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned stating that it is necessary for her to call a private physician since the Dispensary doctor refuses to call.

*July 25, 1923.*—Telephoned the Dispensary and learned that it is the practice of that organization to refer contagious diseases to the Health Department and, therefore, their doctor cannot call at the Berger home.

*August 15, 1923.*—Called on Mrs. Berger. She looked extremely worn, but was just as cheerful as usual in her conversation. The illness of the children had been a great strain on her and in addition

to that the condition of Mr. Berger's eye began to get worse. He had gone to Dr. Kalish in regard to the matter, but Dr. Kalish has assured him that his eye was getting along all right. He had finally consulted Dr. Kimmel, who immediately stated that the eye was getting worse. Treatment was changed, and the eye is now beginning to show improvement. The Bergers, however, cannot understand Dr. Kalish's attitude toward Mr. Berger because he would not admit that the eye was getting worse until Mr. Berger told him that he had consulted Dr. Kimmel. Mr. Berger is getting discouraged over the uncertainty of the result of the operation, and is eager to make some definite plan for the future. Visitor promised to write the Dispensary regarding a report of Mr. Berger's present condition.

Mrs. Berger asked if the organization would pay for the bill of the doctor whom she had during the children's illness. The bill is $10. Because the hospital would not accept the baby at the time of illness she felt that she might as well keep the other two children at home since it was just as easy to be in quarantine with three as with one. She was forced to secure a private doctor since the Dispensary doctor did not call. Visitor promised to consult supervisor.

*Later.*—Consulted supervisor in regard to doctor's bill. It was decided that it would be fair to expect Mr. Berger's brothers to shoulder the expense.

*August 25, 1923.*—Mr. Berger in office. He is wearing a temporary glass eye and looked extremely well under the circumstances. He is very eager to begin making plans in regard to establishing himself in a store. It was explained to him that the Self-Support Committee would be unable to do anything definite until fall, and that under the circumstances it would be advisable for him to find temporary work of some kind. He was told that as soon as we heard from the Dispensary in regard to the type of work suitable for him, we would immediately make arrangements for temporary work. Mr. Berger was entirely agreeable. He asked regarding payment of doctor's bill which had been caused by the children's illness. When told that we would expect his brothers to pay the bill, Mr. Berger expressed great reluctance to ask them, since he said that they had known the children were ill but showed no interest as to how they were getting along during the illness of the children.

*September 13, 1923.*—Called at home. Found both Mr. and Mrs. Berger and the baby at home. Mr. Berger looked extremely well and is very eager to get into some sort of work. Visitor told him

what our report from the Dispensary was and that as soon as we had a list ready to submit to the Dispensary, and it received a response, we would let him know.

*September 18, 1923.*—Miss Blumenthal of Employment Bureau telephoned to say that she had read the Berger record as per request and desired to interview Mr. Berger.

*September 19, 1923.*—Called on Mr. Berger at his home and requested him to come to the Employment Bureau. Since visitor was likewise going to office Mr. Berger accompanied her there. Mr. Berger's attitude toward visitor during trip to office was entirely that of a friend. He seemed entirely at ease. Helped visitor on the street car and paid her fare without question. During the ride he talked about the results of the disaster in Tokio and the effect which it would have on the power of Japan.

*Later.*—Brought him into office of the Employment Bureau and introduced him to Miss Blumenthal.

*October 2, 1923.*—Miss Blumenthal of the Employment Bureau telephoned visitor. She told visitor that she had been disappointed in Mr. Berger's attitude. On Thursday, September 27, she had sent him a letter notifying him to go to a certain paper company where a job as salesman was open. Monday, October 1, she had learned through the paper company that Mr. Berger had failed to make application until that day. The position was already filled and they were forced to refuse his application. Mr. Berger himself came into the Employment Bureau. He explained that he had received the letter on Saturday and so could make no application until Monday. He expressed regret that the notification had been received so late. It happened that on the bulletin in Miss Blumenthal's room was a notice for a job as carpenter. The notice attracted Mr. Berger's eye since the notice called for rough carpentry of which he thought he was capable. He said he had had some experience with rough carpentry in doing his plumbing. Since it was a private job Miss Blumenthal sent him out on it with a letter to the owner of the building. Later Miss Blumenthal learned from the employer that Mr. Berger had applied for the job. He had offered him 60 cents an hour but Mr. Berger had demanded 75 cents. Because the employer did not feel that the job was worth 75 cents an hour, he did not employ Mr. Berger. Moreover, when he had requested the letter of introduction from the Bureau, Mr. Berger had said that he had left the letter in another coat pocket. This was an impossibility since he had gone

directly from Bureau office with the letter. Miss Blumenthal could not understand Mr. Berger's unwillingness to show the letter.

*October 3, 1923.*—Postponed sending allowance or rent until explanation regarding Mr. Berger's attitude toward jobs offered him was secured.

*October 5, 1923.*—Telephoned to Berger residence requesting Mr. Berger to come to office.

*Later.*—Mr. Berger in office. Visitor explained reason for delay in sending check for the week. Mr. Berger stated that he was entirely willing to give an explanation, that he was sorry what had happened had taken place. First of all the letter which Miss Blumenthal had sent to him regarding the first job failed to reach him until about 11:00 A.M. Saturday. The letter suggested that he call in the morning and Mr. Berger told visitor that since the Saturday morning was already half gone he felt that Monday morning was meant. He called Monday morning, and as Miss Blumenthal had already told worker, the job was taken. In regard to the carpentry work which Mr. Berger had voluntarily chosen he went directly to the place but was unable to make final arrangements due to the fact that the employer was not there. However, he talked with one of the men in charge who gave him the employer's name. Mr. Berger telephoned to the man Monday and practically completed arrangements for 75 cents an hour. He was told to be on duty Wednesday morning. When he arrived Wednesday morning, however, he learned that he was to receive no more than 45 cents an hour and found that it would be necessary for him to work part of the time in the basement, which was dark and poorly lighted. Mr. Berger felt that this would be too great a strain on his eyes. In regard to his failure to give the letter to his employer, he said that on Monday he had had the letter with him as he had come directly from the office but had forgotten to present it at the time. Wednesday when he was asked for the letter, he had actually left it at home.

Mr. Berger seemed to be very sincere in his explanation. He told visitor that he now has prospects of becoming connected with the Standard Brush Company and feels that this is a pretty good proposition. Likewise he told visitor that he and his wife have changed their minds about establishing a grocery store. They feel that it will make too great demands upon him and are considering establishing a sort of rooming-house. However, this idea is very vague as yet. Mr. Berger was told that it would be necessary for worker to see his

relatives this week. Mr. Berger is certain that the only one who will help him in any way is his brother David. Since it was too late to give Mr. Berger his check he was told to return Saturday morning for same.

*October 9, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned regarding failure to receive rent. Visitor explained that the rent was delayed because through an oversight it was not given Mr. Berger Saturday and that on Monday it was impossible to get ledger. Mrs. Berger likewise told visitor that Mr. Berger has secured a position with the Standard Brush Company. He is spending this week going out with a salesman to learn the art of approaching people. He expects next week to be able to go out himself. There is no fixed salary in selling the brushes, but Mr. Berger will receive 40 per cent of the sales. The method is this: After Mr. Berger secures an order it is sent to the company. The order is sent to Mr. Berger, who delivers it to his customer. He then, when he secures payment, subtracts his commission and mails the remainder back to the company. Because of this, since the salesman is on his own responsibility, he is placed under a bond for $200. Mrs. Berger told worker that David Berger signed the bond. Mr. Berger had several prospective customers lined up so that she hardly thinks it will be necessary to send them any money next week. However, Mr. Berger is only doing this as a temporary job until different plans can be made for him. When visitor told Mrs. Berger that she felt that the first week of learning was a loss of time since Mr. Berger does not intend to remain in this permanently, Mrs. Berger pointed out the impossibility of his doing anything else right now. Moreover, she feels that Mr. Berger is gaining something by having this opportunity to think of something else besides himself. He has made so many efforts to secure work that she feels that this is the first good turn he has had for a long time. She is doing everything she can to help him and is reading to him every evening from the books on salesmanship put out by the Standard Brush Company. Requested Mrs. Berger to make arrangements for a family conference Thursday evening at the office at 8:30. She promised to get in touch with Mr. Berger's brothers and sister, but she doubts whether Mathew will attend.

*October 11, 1923.*—Family conference in office. Mr. Berger and Mr. Berger's two brothers, David and Mathew, present. Supervisor also present. Both brothers expressed their interest and willingness to co-operate in any business venture Mr. Berger may undertake.

Neither one, however, feels that he can give any cash, but both are willing to provide Mr. Berger with credit for stock and likewise any necessary fixtures. Mathew, who is in the cigar business right now, says that his business is extremely tied up at this time. David, who conducts a grocery store at 1216 Washington Street, claims that he is having so much competition right now from Atlantic and Pacific and the Piggly Wiggly stores that he is having a difficult time. However, it was decided that when a definite proposition is in view they will be better able to state what they can do for their brother. Numerous possibilities and types of stores were discussed, but it was decided that it would be much more satisfactory to await until superintendent of the Self-Support Department could look into the situation. It was decided to have a similar conference at the Berger home as soon as she could be acquainted with the details of the problem.

*October 18, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned to say that Mr. Berger had been working for the past week, but had come home the day before unable to do anything more. His eyes were troubling him a great deal, and he had gone to Dr. Kalish, who warned him that his eyes were strained and that he had better rest from work. Mrs. Berger is greatly discouraged. She said that she has just weaned the baby and feels that since this will leave her freer to leave home that she herself will go to work. Worker, however, told her that since more definite plans are now under way that it will not be necessary for her to take any steps of this sort at this particular time.

*Later.*—Conference with supervisor and superintendent of Self-Support Department. The latter had read the Berger case and was desirous of meeting the family in order to secure further insight into the situation. Visitor telephoned to Mrs. Berger during the conference and arranged for a meeting at her home Friday October 26, at 8:00 P.M. Mrs. Berger promised to have her two brothers-in-law, David and Mathew, present.

*October 26, 1923 (evening).*—Conference at Berger home. Mathew telephoned after 8:00 that he would be unable to be present, but David was present. The different types of business advisable for Mr. and Mrs. Berger to go into were discussed. The first essential was that it be some kind of business which would require no strain on Mr. Berger's eyes, such as reading the scale, etc. Another essential to be considered is that the place of business must have living-rooms in the rear so that Mrs. Berger could devote as much time as possible to the store. The type of store advisable was discussed, but it was

decided that it would be impossible to decide on anything definitely until several prospects were looked into. David Berger made a definite statement that he would give $200 in cash toward any amount which the Bureau would furnish in the undertaking. The matter of what Mathew would give was discussed, but they feel that there is little possibility of his giving any cash since he claims that his business is tied up right now. The Bergers intimated, however, that the truth of the matter is that Mathew and his family are living up to every penny of his income since his wife has extremely expensive tastes. This is the first statement that we have ever had from David that he would give anything in cash. Arrangements were made with Mrs. Berger to look at a prospect on the corner of Twenty-fourth and Austin.

*October 30, 1923.*—Telephoned superintendent of Self-Support Department. Inquired as to the prospective business place which she and Mrs. Berger had gone to see Saturday morning. She said that the place had not seemed at all suitable, and that she was making arrangements with Mrs. Berger to look at various other places. Promised to call worker as soon as there was something definite lined up.

*November 1, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger telephoned that her coal supply is almost gone, and asked whether it would be possible to get more. Visitor told her that it would not be possible to send it for a day or so if her supply would hold out that long, since the coal is supposed to last two weeks.

Mrs. Berger said that she and the Self-Support worker had been looking at several places. As soon as something definite was lined up, she was extremely desirous that visitor go to look at the places with her. She told visitor that she would call her and make arrangements for that purpose as soon as possible.

*November 13, 1923.*—Mrs. Berger in office. She was aware of fact that the matter of establishing them in the store at 2533 Peoria Street was to be passed upon by the Self-Support Committee that afternoon, and she was extremely excited over the result. Worker promised to let her know result. Her purpose for interviewing visitor was to request advice regarding disposition of her grandmother, who is an old woman and extremely difficult in the home. Mrs. Berger's mother had had her in her home for a short time and is almost a wreck from the strain of having her in her home. Mrs. Berger has an aunt in Wisconsin who has likewise been taking care of the grandmother, but all the children are extremely desirous of placing her in

some home if possible. Mrs. Berger said that the relatives would pay for the keep of her grandmother if visitor knew of any place or home where she would receive suitable care. Visitor promised that if she learns of anything worth while that she would let Mrs. Berger know.

*Later.*—The Self-Support meeting. Mr. Hochenberg and James Meyer present with superintendent of Bureau and case supervisor. Self-Support Committee voted unanimously to establish the Bergers in business at 2533 Peoria Street if store proves to be as described.

*November 20, 1923.*—The establishment of the Berger family in business was presented to the Board of Directors at their meeting. The decision of the Self-Support Committee was approved by the Board.

*November 23, 1923.*—Called at home. Found Mrs. Berger. She and Mr. Berger are alternating in watching the store at 2533 Peoria Street. Mr. Berger spends from 6:00 A.M. until 3:00 or 4:00 P.M. Mrs. Berger relieves him at this time and remains in the store until about 10:00. So far as is known now, the store is everything that it has been represented to be. They will watch the store for an entire week before the deal will be closed. Mrs. Berger told worker that it would not be necessary to keep the ten bags of coal which had been sent her since she expected that they would be moving into the store in a little less than a week. Since the coal had not as yet been delivered, worker suggested that she send one-half of it back with driver. Mrs. Berger promised to do so.

*December 6, 1923.*—Called with superintendent and supervisor at the Berger store at 2533 Peoria Street. Mrs. Berger did not look as if she had given much time to her toilet, but she explained that she gets up at 6:00 A.M. to open the store in order to catch the trade of men going to work at that time. Because of the need of rising so early, she does not get an opportunity to get cleaned up properly until after the children have arisen and have been taken care of so far as their breakfast and dressing is concerned. Mr. Berger was giving the children breakfast when the call was made. They are both extremely proud and happy over the store and have no lack of confidence in this step. Mr. Berger is able to get along very well in the store, and while his eyes prevent him from doing certain small tasks around the store, he gets along very well. He promised that he would be careful and would go frequently for examinations to the Dispensary and to watch the condition of his eyes carefully.

*December 12, 1923.*—Called on Mrs. Berger at the store. During visit, she told worker something which she had never mentioned

before, namely that she had occasionally worked evenings at a store. Her going to work had been occasioned by the doctor bill of $10 which they owed when the children were ill last August. At that time, it had been suggested that the Bergers get their relatives to pay the bill. Mrs. Berger said that they had been reluctant to ask Mr. Berger's brother to pay for the doctor bills since they had done so much for them and she had managed to secure a pleasant job which enabled them to pay the bill. She had not mentioned this to visitor because she had no intention of doing any more than securing enough to pay for the doctor bill. However, following that time, the owner of the store had called her in occasionally for an evening or two during the week. This enabled her to buy necessary things. Although the Bergers were on a clothing budget, Mrs. Berger told worker that the relatives had not assisted the family for the past few months.

Mrs. Berger looked very neat, although she had not been expecting visitor, and the store itself was in perfect order and was immaculate.

*December 26, 1923.*—Case transferred from District X to Self-Support Department.

SELF-SUPPORT DEPARTMENT

1923.—Following is verified statement of average monthly purchases covering a nine-month period for the confectionery store at 2533 Peoria Street, for which the price is $3,000:

| | |
|---|---|
| Hirshorn cigars | $ 25.00 |
| Fox: cigars and cigarettes | 108.00 |
| General Cigar Co. | 40.00 |
| Hesser: cigars, cigarettes, notions | 60.00 |
| Hydrox Ice-Cream Co. | 91.00 |
| Chic Notion Co. | 130.00 |
| Zachs Bunte Candies | 108.00 |

Purchases not verified and not included:

McClurg's
Brenman
Stangel
Beaver Paper Co.
Magazines

| | |
|---|---|
| Total verified purchases | $ 562.00 |
| At 33⅓ per cent profit | 281.00 |
| Gross income from newspapers | 88.80 |
| Gross income from laundry | 80.00 |
| Total Income | $1,011.80 |

Average weekly income claimed by owner is $250 or $1,083.00 per month. The difference of $72.00 may be accounted for by the items not included in our verified figures, but shown above under "Purchases not verified."

Using only the verified figures as a basis, following is profit:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gross profit (as indicated above) | | $281.00 | |
| Profit from newspapers | | 29.00 | |
| Profit from laundry | | 20.00 | |
| Total gross profit | | 330.00 | per month |
| Expenses | | | |
| Rent | $80.00 (lease to May 1, 1926) | | |
| License | 10.00 | | |
| Light | 8.00 | 98.00 | |
| Net profit per month | | 232.00 | |
| Self-Support Budget | | 86.00 | |
| Left for repayment | | 146.00 | per month |

At repayment rate of $125.00 per month or $28.75 per week loan would be repaid in 24 months.

*November 19, 1923.*—Called with check for $100 to pay deposit on store at 2533 Peoria Street, but proprietor refused to accept deposit of $100, insisting that the full purchase price be placed in escrow. Would accept the $100 deposit if this were given to her in hand, or will refuse this. It was finally agreed to place the $3,000 in escrow in the Fidelity Trust and Savings Bank.

*November 20, 1923.*—Called with check for $2,900 in addition to the check previously offered of $100. Both checks were placed in escrow in the Fidelity Trust and Savings Bank with the agreement that this money is to be returned to the Bergers if the income is not in accordance with the statement made by the proprietor, that is, $250 or thereabouts for the week. It is further agreed that the income for the week is to belong to Mrs. Berger and the expenses for the week to be paid from this income. Proprietor was worried by the fact that she had given an agreement to Mr. T. C. Arthur that she will pay him a commission if he sends a buyer. The Bergers had been advised about this store first from Mr. James of Sawyer Brothers, and later it was mentioned to them by this Mr. Arthur. But inasmuch as it was not through Mr. Arthur that they came to consider the store,

he is not entitled to any commission. However, the proprietor insists on an affidavit to the effect that Mr. Arthur is not responsible for their purchasing the store. Affidavit was drawn up, and after it had been O.K.'d with corrections by Mr. Peter Hart, attorney, it was signed by Mrs. Berger and left in escrow with the other escrow agreement and the check.

*November 21, 1923.*—Called at the store. Advised Mrs. Berger to keep a separate accounting of the income to check up on the cash register; also to note carefully the large purchases made, so that it may be determined whether or not these are special customers sent in or whether they are legitimate customers and part of the usual trade.

*November 27, 1923.*—Telephoned the Chattel Mortgage Reporter. Learned that there are no judgments against the store and no mortgages except the chattel mortgage against the fixtures and furniture of which the proprietor had spoken, and release of which is to be given the Bergers before the deal is closed.

*November 28, 1923.*—Inasmuch as the income for the week was $265.68, called with the proprietor at the Fidelity Trust and Savings Bank and released $2500 of this money in escrow as per agreement, the balance of $500 to be left for five days to cover any claims that may be presented. The proprietor in the meantime filed an affidavit of indebtedness of the store.

Received confirmation of statement from Chattel Mortgage Reporter regarding no judgment of record against the proprietor. Mrs. Berger is to move in on Friday, November 30.

*November 30, 1923.*—Letter to the morning papers, advertising the change in management of the store.

*December 1, 1923.*—Letters to creditors named in affidavit.

The following is statement of account during the week that Mr. and Mrs. Berger watched the store from November 21 to November 28. Income was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| November 21 | $34.38 |
| November 22 | 34.11 |
| November 23 | 34.38 |
| November 24 | 49.44 |
| November 25 | 52.28 |
| November 26 | 30.22 |
| November 27 | 30.87 |

This is a total of $265.68. The sales were apparently all legitimate. The cash paid out for various expenses and merchandise during the

week was $122.21, leaving a balance of $143.47 to be deposited on the account of Mr. Berger. From this, however, is to be deducted $39.78 as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| For rent from November 25 to November 30 | $23.95 |
| For fire insurance on an $1,800 policy to expire May 23, 1924, and for which the premium has been paid, premium still on the unexpired term | 7.33 |
| On the $1,200 policy the unexpired term | 8.50 |

There is a further deduction of $53.40 for bills paid by the proprietor for merchandise delivered during the week. This is in accordance with the agreement. This leaves a balance of $50.29 due Mr. Berger. In addition to this, the proprietor is to pay Mr. Berger $3.20, the estimated amount due for the electric bills to November 21, making the actual cash balance on hand of Mr. Berger $53.49, which together with the $100 given Mr. Berger by his brother was deposited at the North Shore Trust and Savings Bank. Part of this will be used to pay the rent on December 1. Mr. Berger's brother has asked that he be permitted to use the other $100 which he has promised to loan the Bergers until January 1, when the Bergers will need this for their license. This was agreed upon. Mr. Berger signed chattel mortgage and judgment note to secure same. Also signed agreement to pay not less than $25 per week and to keep account as requested. Mortgage will be recorded.

*December 3, 1923.*—Called at the store. Income for the past week was $185.72. On this basis there was due $27.76. After deducting the total of expenses for the week of $136.85, and $29.66 for the Bureau the balance should be $172.70. However, the actual balance in the bank and cash in the register is $171.47 or a deficit of $1.23, which may be accounted for by some forgotten item in expense. Mrs. Berger claims, however, that she cannot understand as she enters every item of expense immediately. Insists that each evening the cash in the register checks up with the figures registered.

*December 11, 1923.*—Called. Statement for the past week is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance carried over from previous week | $171.47 |
| Income for the week | 240.36 |
| Received from the Bureau reimbursement for moving expenses | 26.27 |

This makes total cash $438.10. Paid out for merchandise $181.43, incidentals $4.72, household $23.75, Jewish Welfare Bureau $27.76,

or a total of $237.66, leaving a balance of $200.44. However, the actual cash on hand is $199.51, showing a deficit of 93 cents. Believe that it is possible that because of Mr. Berger's poor eyesight, he may make mistakes in ringing up the register. Checked up on the register at 1:00 and found an error of 52 cents. This may account for the small deficit each week. Mr. Berger is going to fix up a strong light over the register so that he will have less difficulty. He has already arranged the store very neatly; has marked prices with heavy pencil and large figures so that he will have no difficulty in reading same. Payment of $41.58 made today based on actual profit as of date. In considering the payment due, the rent is prorated and all other items are considered when paid. Payment this week, however, does not deduct the rental for the week. This matter will be adjusted during the month.

*December 17, 1923.*—The windows have been redecorated. One window is decorated with Christmas articles. Christmas tree is very well decorated, and store throughout is arranged for Christmas trade. The Bergers are very careful in their buying. Income for this week was $242.40. Actual balance on hand on December 10 was $199.51, making a total of $441.91. Paid out this week for merchandise $167.85, incidentals $1.10, household $20, the Bureau $41.58, leaving a balance of $211.38. The actual balance on hand is $211.71, showing a surplus of 33 cents. The payment due for the two weeks would be a total of $56.31 on the basis of the income for the two weeks, but inasmuch as $41.58 was paid last week, the balance due at this date is $14.73. In estimating the profit, a percentage of $33\frac{1}{3}$ is used.

*January 3, 1924.*—The following is a statement for the month of December:

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on December 1st | $ 195.93 |
| Received from the Bureau | 26.27 |
| The month's income from the business is | $1283.67 |

This makes a total of $1,505.87. Paid out during the month for merchandise $859.30, incidentals $111.83, household $128.78, loan $201.70, a total of $1,301.61, leaving a balance of $204.26; the actual balance of cash on hand at this date is $198.24, showing a deficit of $6.02. This is partly accounted for by Mrs. Berger having accidentally destroyed several incidental expense slips, and partly by mistakes in ringing up the register. Both of these will be avoided in the future.

## SECTION VIII

## CHILDHOOD AND OLD AGE

### 41. The Case of Peter Johns

*(A Turkish Immigrant with a German-American Wife)*

*November 14, 1916.*—Mrs. Johns in the office asking help in finding a home for her nine-year-old boy, Joseph. She had been married first to Mr. Schmidt, who died three years ago, and has besides Joseph, an eleven-year-old daughter, Mary Elizabeth, born of that marriage. Mr. Schmidt, who was abusive and drunken, died in 1913; and on February 15, 1915, she married Mr. Johns. She is of German-American parentage and was born thirty-six years ago in Ohio. Mr. Johns is Turkish and is thirteen years older than she. He has a grown son by an earlier marriage, whose whereabouts is unknown. Mr. Johns immigrated eighteen years ago and has lived in Chicago nine years. They were married by a Lutheran pastor, Geiger by name. Mr. Johns does not drink, but he has always provided for her very poorly, and he left her five weeks ago. Ever since her marriage she has worked in the garment trades, and he has demanded a strict accounting of her expenditures. When she refused to give this accounting, he left her. Because she has not got a divorce, the orphans' home in which she tried to place Joseph refused to take him. Mr. Johns works irregularly as a janitor as he has given up his job. She does not want to live with him again and would get a divorce if it were not for the expense. She has a married sister, Mrs. Schaeffer, in Chicago; a married sister, Mrs. Evans, in Denver, Colorado; a brother, Ralph, in Dayton, Ohio; and a brother, Robert, a Lutheran pastor in New Albany, Ohio. Mr. Johns has a brother, a physician, who practices on the West Side in Chicago. Mr. Johns thought Mary Elizabeth a burden, although she is a bright child; and so Mrs. Johns's brother Ralph, who has two married daughters, is glad to keep her, but he cannot take Joseph. One of these daughters works although she has a baby, and she leaves the baby with Ralph's wife. Joseph is backward in school because he had scarlet fever some time ago. He is very lively, and she does not like to have him on the streets while she is at work. During her widowhood, from September, 1913,

to February, 1915, both children were cared for in the orphan asylum, and she paid their board. At present she is living in a third-floor, one-room apartment for which she pays $3.00 a week. The landlady lives in the basement at the same address. When she married Mr. Johns, she thought any man who did not drink would make a good husband, but she feels now that he makes life more bitter than many drunkards would. Tomorrow she hopes to commence piecework with the Practical Garment Company, 732 Market Street. If this position does not materialize, she will answer an advertisement to make holly wreaths until Christmas, after which there will be work in all garment-manufacturing establishments. She is four months pregnant and wants to find a place to work in return for maternity care later on. She will be able up to this time to pay $1.50 a week board for Joseph. After the baby is born she hopes to find an opening to sew in some institution where she can support both Joseph and the baby. [One previous address was obtained.] The Legal Aid is registered December 17, 1915.

*November 16, 1916.*—Letter written by Welfare Agency to Mrs. Johns:

> We have decided that you can best place Joseph in a home by applying to the Children's Friend Society. The office is open until five o'clock every day except Saturday, when it closes at one o'clock. This week, however, you could go on Saturday afternoon as some one will be there for you to talk to. If you have any trouble, let us know, and if you are unable to find a home where you can receive maternity care later on, we shall be glad to help about that.

*February 7, 1917.*—Mrs. Johns in office smelling strongly of whiskey. She had been in County Hospital from January 15 to 29 with grippe; had card from physician asking her to return for X-ray. Mr. Johns not working. She gave his employment as that of porter. Mrs. Johns is six or seven months pregnant. Started work at sporting goods manufactory at Lake and Paulina February 1. Presented card referring her to Welfare Agency, from Dr. F. W. Cantrill. Said she had gone to his office and hospital to work and to receive maternity care but was too far along to be admitted. Asked care in home for Joseph. Mary, to whom she referred as Elizabeth, is still in Dayton, Ohio.

*February 8, 1917.*—Mrs. Johns in office to see visitor. Brought with her her certificate of marriage to Mr. Johns signed by Rev. Geiger. Mrs. Johns formerly lived in his[1] neighborhood, and her

[1] [This neighborhood is in another district.]

sister still lives there. Mrs. Johns also brought certificate showing that she had had the children in the Orphans' Home and had paid for their care there. This was before her marriage to Mr. Johns. She also brought bill for her first husband's funeral, which was paid in full, $113. Mrs. Johns does not feel as though she can keep on working much longer; she is operating a power machine for the Manufacturing Company at Lake and Paulina, and gets severe backaches from bending over the machine. She cannot understand what Mr. Johns does with his money when he earns any; he never drinks. Her first husband drank to excess, but she feels that that was no worse on the whole than the treatment which she receives from Mr. Johns. The rent is overdue, $13 in arrears. It is $3.00 a week with heat furnished.

Told Mrs. Johns that arrangements would be made to place Joseph in the Home for the Friendless if her sister will not take care of him in case Mrs. Johns goes to Foundlings' Home until the time of her confinement. Mrs. Johns had already applied at the Home for the Friendless for Joseph's care but was referred by them to this office. Mr. Johns is out of work; cannot do hard work because of intestinal trouble, which he has had for years. Mrs. Johns's family was rather against her marrying him. She will have him call at office tomorrow morning, and visitor will try to get light work for him.

*February 9, 1917.*—Telephoned Home for the Friendless. If Mrs. Johns was referred here by them before Joseph could be accepted, it was only to secure some information about the family before they would take him.

*Later.*—Telephoned superintendent, Foundlings' Home. She will undoubtedly be able to take Mrs. Johns until the time of her confinement, when she can be sent to the County Hospital.

*Later.*—Mr. Johns in office. Made a fair impression on visitor. He has been in this country since 1897 and took out his first papers soon after arrival. Has never completed his citizenship because of lack of funds. Says that he was brought up to be a school teacher and taught for four years in Turkey after leaving the high school there at eighteen. He then set up a small grocery and general store which he kept until the time of the first Armenian massacre, when he lost everything. He then came to America and worked in New York in rug stores and other places. He managed to save $1,400, when he went to Montreal to enter a partnership with a friend there. He opened a general merchandise store not far from Montreal with a

Syrian, who ran away with all the stock at a time when Mr. Johns had gone to Montreal to make further purchases. He has never been able to find any trace of the man since then. Being without funds he then went to New York again and obtained work in an asbestos plant. Nine years ago he came to Chicago and since that time has had various kinds of work. Six years ago he was wringer man in the laundries of several hotels and hospitals [names and addresses obtained]. He has also had work in the press rooms of a great many printing establishments but is not a printer. In the past three months he has had two weeks' work. Has one old recommendation. Says that he was ruptured when a baby and that he was never properly taken care of, as in Turkey doctors had not much standing. He has talked about his condition with doctors and has been told that an operation could be performed but they could not guarantee that it would be successful.

Mr. Johns says that Mrs. Johns is extravagant. Instead of purchasing wisely with the money he gives her, she buys many cheap things which wear out in a very short time. He would highly appreciate Mrs. Johns's being able to go to the Foundlings' Home now as he realizes she is in no condition to work. Joseph was with Mrs. Johns's sister while she was in the County Hospital, but Mr. Johns doubts whether he could be taken there again as the sister's husband does not care much about having him about. Their own children are grown up and they are unused to having small children in the house.

After telephoning Cosmopolitan Elevated Railroad Company gave Mr. Johns a letter to manager in hope of obtaining employment for him as crossing man at $40 to $45 a month. Mr. Johns expressed his great appreciation of efforts of visitor made for him and Mrs. Johns.

*February 10, 1917.*—Mr. Johns in office. Was refused job on the Elevated because his vision is not good enough. After telephoning Illinois Free Employment Office gave him a letter to the manager, where he will go on the thirteenth. Mrs. Johns was not at all well last night.

*February 12, 1917.*—Letter written secretary, Dayton Welfare Society, asking a visit on Mrs. Johns's brother Ralph Walther.

Letter written [district superintendent of another district, asking a visit on Mrs. Johns's married sister, Mrs. Schaeffer, on the clergyman who married Mr. and Mrs. Johns, and at a previous address.]

*February 14, 1917.*—Mrs. Johns in office. Says she would like to go to the Foundlings' Home as soon as possible as she cannot stand working any longer. Gets such pains in her side that she can hardly bear them by the end of the day. Is positive that her brother-in-law would not be willing to take Joseph as he quarreled with his wife about taking him the last time. She says that Mr. Johns has never beaten her, but once choked her terribly and kept his hand on her throat until she swore an oath that she would never leave him. Immediately after that she left the house, ostensibly to go to the store, but instead of that went to the police station and swore out a warrant for his arrest. He was sent to the House of Correction from November, 1915, until May, 1916. He has behaved a little better since then, but has not supported her. She says that under no circumstances will she go back to him after her confinement. She said again that she wished to obtain work in an institution where she can have the children with her.

Throughout the interview, Mrs. Johns found it difficult to raise her eyes to the visitor's face; kept looking at her hands, which were constantly fumbling with her gloves in a most nervous manner.

*Later.*—Telephoned superintendent, Foundlings' Home; she will keep a place for Mrs. Johns until the end of this week. Mrs. Johns will be required to do very light work in return for board.

*Later.*—Letter written superintendent, House of Correction, asking about Mr. Johns's term in the Bridewell.

Letter written to superintendent, Legal Aid Society, asking nature of their contact with the family in 1915.

*February 15, 1917.*—Miss Sloan [visitor in neighboring district] telephoned giving preliminary report of visits to the pastor and Mrs. Johns's sister. The pastor doubts if Mrs. Johns's mental condition is normal, and thinks that she should not have the care of the children. She lived with Mr. Johns before their marriage because Mr. Johns appears never to have been divorced from his wife in Turkey.[1] He

[1] [This record, as was suggested above, contains a number of interesting and suggestive points. In the first place there is the marked difference between the Family Welfare Agency and the Children's Friend Society as to the effort to be put forth in order to persuade and enable the mother to keep her baby daughter (see Children's Friend entries of April 13, 22, 23, 26, and May 2, 1921, pp. 804–6); and there is the great reluctance on the part of the judge to accede to the mother's request that the child be given over to the Children's Friend Society (pp. 808–14) and his demand that the view of the Family Welfare Agency be at least considered before a final decision is reached.

The most suggestive feature of the case is the confusion exhibited by all the

knew nothing of this at the time he married them. Mrs. Johns's sister is not able to take care of Joseph. The pastor thinks that he should be placed permanently.

*Later.*—Visited County Hospital and read their record. Mrs. Johns was admitted January 16, 1917, and there was doubt in making the diagnosis as to whether she has tuberculosis or bronchitis. She was to have returned for second X-ray picture, by which it was hoped that the condition of her lungs could be better determined. Two tests were made, both of which were negative. Mrs. Johns left the hospital in slightly improved condition January 29.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Johns has two very pleasant rooms on the third floor front of a large rooming-house. Has a gas burner for cooking and a small heating stove. Everything was orderly and clean. Mr. Johns went to work again today. Mrs. Johns will call at office with Joseph tomorrow afternoon, preparatory to sending him to the Home for the Friendless and going herself to the Foundlings'

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persons with reference to the marital status of Mr. and Mrs. Johns. This is described by the judge of the Juvenile Court when he says (p. 809) that "if Mr. Johns has a wife still living from whom he has not been divorced he has committed bigamy and could be sent to the penitentiary but . . . . that there being a record of legal marriage it is the presumption that the marriage is legal." The effect of the presumption was to throw on those who wished to separate Mrs. Johns from Mr. Johns the burden of proving that the marriage was not legal by proving that Mr. Johns's first wife was still living and that he had never divorced her. (See Elliot, *A Treatise on the Law of Evidence*, sec. 2867; see also *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 38, sec. 75.) Probably the essential difficulty was the remoteness with which the visitors had always regarded the Mohammedan law under which a husband, admonished by the Koran (Sale, *The Koran*, p. 78) either to "retain his wife with humanity or to dismiss her with kindness," may divorce his wife at his pleasure without assigning any reason (Wilson, *Digest of Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, chap. iii, sec. 60).

The visitor accepts the statements of the clergyman who had married Mr. and Mrs. Johns (entry of February 17, 1917) and of Mr. Johns's brother (entry of February 20, 1917) but makes no further inquiry. The Superintendent of the Legal Aid proposes a divorce and an injunction against Mr. Johns (entry of May 19, 1921, p. 802), the Children's Friend Society accepts the view that there had been no divorce (pp. 808–9) though Mr. Johns, while he had not claimed divorce in speaking to the Family Welfare visitor (February 6, 1921), gives the Children's Friend visitor a picturesque account of the ceremony with which he had divorced her (May 27, 1921) and, while the judge speaks of the presumption of legitimacy, he appoints the Children's Friend Society guardian with power to consent to the adoption of Margaret Grace on the basis of the mother's consent only, without obtaining the consent of the father. The Court record reads "Mother present in open court and consenting."]

Home. Mrs. Johns's cheeks were somewhat flushed. Throughout the interview she sat in a rocking chair, rocking violently. Showed visitor pictures of her children and her first husband, which were very attractive.

*February 16, 1917.*—Letter, dated February 15, 1917, received from Welfare Agency, Dayton, Ohio:

> We called at 509 Ward Avenue and talked with Mrs. Walther. She tells us that they have not seen Mrs. Johns for some time and have not been in close touch with her. They took Mary before her mother remarried, and she has been with them about two years. Next year a grandson of Mrs. Walther's is going to be with them in order that he may be sent to school. His father is a member of the staff at the Industrial School, which does not provide any facilities for the children going to school. Mrs. Walther had planned to have Mary stay with another brother, Rev. Robert Walther, New Albany, Ohio. She feels that this brother would be willing to care for Mary as he has been taking her for two months each summer. He cannot take Joseph, however, as he had him once before. The family here feel that they have done all they can do for Mrs. Johns by taking Mary. Mrs. Walther has promised to talk with her husband and have him stop in the office for an interview. We will send a further report as soon as we have been able to see Mr. Walther.

*Later.*—Mrs. Johns in office with Joseph. Gave letters to Foundlings' Home and to Home for the Friendless.

*February 17, 1917.*—Letter received from Illinois Free Employment Agency:

> In reference to your letter of February 10, introducing Mr. Peter Johns to this office for employment, we are pleased to advise that on February 13 we were successful in securing a position for him with one of the large furniture houses of this city and we trust that same will prove both satisfactory and permanent. We thank you for your co-operation.

Letter received from Miss Sloan [reporting at considerable length the interviews with Mr. Geiger and Mrs. Schaeffer and her daughters. The significant facts are (1) Mr. Johns's failure to support his wife; (2) the fact that they had lived together before marriage; (3) Mr. Geiger's abhorrence of Mr. Johns's cruelty to Mrs. Johns, who, he says, is tubercular and probably abnormal mentally; (4) Mrs. Schaeffer's disapproval of Mrs. Johns and her distress at their present relationship; (5) the judgment of both Mr. Geiger and Mrs. Schaeffer that Joseph would be better off permanently placed away from his mother; (6) the name and address of Mr. Johns's brother, a physician].

*February 19, 1917.*—Letter received from Legal Aid Society:

In reply to your inquiry concerning Peter and Marion Johns we beg to advise that our record shows that Mrs. Johns appealed to us at a time when her personal effects were being held for a board bill and room rent. Mrs. Johns was advised in the matter, and a letter sent to the person holding the goods, asking that she retain them as long as possible to give Mrs. Johns a chance to pay off her indebtedness. This is our only knowledge of the family.

*February 20, 1917.*—Letter received from superintendent, House of Correction:

Replying to your letter of recent date in which you make inquiry regarding one Peter Johns, will say that he was committed to this institution on November 20, 1915, for failure to pay fine and costs amounting to $109, on a charge of disorderly conduct. He was released from here May 8, 1916, at the expiration of his time.

*Later.*—Visited Foundlings' Home. Mrs. Johns had gone to her last place of employment to collect pay check which was due her, before Mr. Johns would have a chance to go there for it. Superintendent will telephone regarding observation of her mental condition.

*Later.*—Visited Dr. H. P. Johns, brother of Mr. Johns. He has not seen his brother in some time and prefers to have nothing to do with him. Says that Mr. Johns has always been too fond of women and that he probably spends all the money he earns on other women. He had a good education in Turkey and was a teacher for a few years. After giving this up he was unable to do anything successfully. He left his wife and children in Mesopotamia when he came to America. Dr. Johns obtained many positions for him in the United States. He never kept any position long. Since Mr. Johns has been in America, his wife and daughter and son who remained behind have gone to Egypt; the daughter is now teaching and the son is employed. The son who is here seems to take after Mr. Johns. Dr. Johns has done a great deal toward supporting the wife and two children in Egypt. Dr. Johns did not have the education at home that Mr. Johns had, but since being here he has become a physician and surgeon. He is positive that Mr. Johns's mental condition is abnormal and, although he knows very little about Mrs. Johns, thinks probably she is abnormal. Was very decided in his statement that Mr. and Mrs. Johns should not be permitted to live together again and that whoever permits them to do so is countenancing a sin. Dr. Johns appears to be religiously inclined. When Mr. Johns was in the Bridewell, Mrs. Johns

wrote threatening letters to Dr. Johns telling what she would do unless he assisted her. Mr. Johns lived with his brother for a few years, and the latter is disgusted with him for having left his comfortable home for places such as those in which he has been living. Dr. Johns suggests that if after Mrs. Johns is confined she attempts to return to Mr. Johns, the Agency take the matter into court on the grounds that Mr. Johns already has a wife and children from whom he is not legally separated.

*February 27, 1917.*—Mr. Johns in office; wants help in finding a room. The landlord came to his room today while he was getting ready to go to work and told him he must leave at once. Mr. Johns has only $3.00 left until pay day, March 7, and if he pays $2.00 for room will have nothing to live on until then. Told him to go to Rufus Dawes Hotel, which he said he would do. Is working for the Lewis Clark Furniture Company, where he is paid every two weeks.

Mrs. Johns fell down five steps at the Foundlings' Home, February 21, and was taken to the County Hospital for two days. Has recovered. Her only injury was a cut on her forehead.

*March 2, 1917.*—Mrs. Johns in office asking to be placed in some other home. Does not like the long hours ironing at the Foundlings' Home.

*March 3, 1917.*—Telephoned Foundlings' Home. Superintendent says Mrs. Johns does not tell the truth. She thought the County Hospital should be responsible for her care. They took her back from the County Hospital under protest. One day she asked to go to the Home for the Friendless to see Joseph and did not return. Later she was sent to them by the Woman's Shelter, who had refused to keep her.

*Later.*—Telephoned Woman's Shelter. Mrs. Johns came to them saying that she had been sent away from Foundlings' Home; as they did not believe this, they refused to keep her.

*Later.*—Telephoned Social Service Department of the County Hospital. As Mrs. Johns is to be confined next month she can enter the hospital at any time.

*Later.*—Mrs. Johns telephoned from her sister's. Told her to go to Social Service Department of the County Hospital, asking admission.

*March 9, 1917.*—Telephoned Social Service Department of the County Hospital and asked visitor to arrange for mental examination for Mrs. Johns. She was certain this could be done.

*June 29, 1917.*—Visited Social Service Department of the County Hospital. Mrs. Johns delivered of daughter, Johanna, May 17. No examination of her mentality was made.

*July 3, 1917.*—Probation officer in office to read record.

*July 5, 1917.*—Probation officer reports that Mrs. Johns herself applied to Juvenile Court.

*June 10, 1919.*—Mrs. Johns telephones asking that Johanna be placed in a home for two weeks so that she can go to County Hospital for confinement. Referred her to Juvenile Court.

*June 11, 1919.*—Mrs. Johns in office asking to have Johanna placed in a home before the twenty-third.

*June 16, 1919.*—Visited. Mrs. Johns's son Joseph is visiting her before she goes to the hospital; he is in the Lakeside School. Mr. Johns is earning $15 a week as a garment worker, employer unknown, where he has been for one week. They are in arrears three weeks with rent and owe some friend $5.00. Her sister is unable to take care of Johanna because she has diabetes and a family of her own.

*June 18, 1919.*—Telephoned Home for the Friendless. They will be able to take Johanna on Monday, the twenty-third.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. Johns and told her that she should take Johanna, Monday, to the Home for the Friendless.

*November 18, 1920.*—Mrs. Johns in office asking work. She is seven months pregnant. Joseph works for O'Laughlin Book Shop at 862 Madison Street though he is only thirteen years old. Juvenile Court is investigating. Mr. Johns refuses to support. Stephen, one year old, was given out for adoption last summer. Johanna has been in the nursery in St. Joseph's Mission House until last week. Mrs. Johns, Joseph, and Johanna are living in furnished rooms, while Mr. Johns is in a rooming-house on North Avenue.

*November 19, 1920.*—Mrs. Johns went to the Zwingli Home Finding Society after Stephen's birth and was sent to the Deaconess Hospital for a while for care. The Sister there persuaded Mr. and Mrs. Johns to live together again; and after the baby left the hospital, they paid for him awhile in the Zwingli Home in Riverside. After Mrs. Johns became pregnant again this time, she let Stephen be placed permanently for adoption.

Joseph has been in the Lakeside School for Dependent Boys since August, 1917, until he ran away last May and came home. Mr. Johns does not like him, will not have him at home; he stayed for a few weeks

with Mrs. Johns's sister, Mrs. Schaeffer, until Mrs. Johns got rooms. Mr. Johns comes to see her now and then. Joseph has been working most of the time since he came home. They lived at first in furnished rooms on Madison Street, where they paid $5.00 a week, but moved to be closer to the nursery. They bought some second-hand furniture which is paid for. Joseph is very good about bringing his money home but is often out evenings.

Mrs. Johns is quite determined not to go back to Mr. Johns if she can keep Joseph at home to help.

*November 25, 1920.*—Joseph at the office helping deliver Thanksgiving baskets. He is a fine, big, well-developed boy, intelligent and attractive.

*November 29, 1920.*—Diagnosis received from West Side Dispensary. Mental examination indicated Mrs. Johns normal and the Wassermann test gave negative results.

*January 29, 1921.*—Visited. Learned from neighbor that Mrs. Johns went to the hospital while her sister kept Johanna. Joseph was sent back to Lakeside by the Juvenile Court just after Christmas. Mr. Johns is staying in the apartment.

*Later.*—Telephoned Social Service Department of the County Hospital. Mrs. Johns was confined January 21, and will be ready to leave the hospital the thirty-first. The baby is a girl, Margaret Grace.

*Later.*—Visited Dr. H. P. Johns. He did not know about the new baby and has not seen his brother or had anything to do with him for two or three years. Mr. Johns's wife is still living in Egypt, and Dr. Johns helps her and her children. He thinks Mrs. Johns keeps a hold over Mr. Johns by threatening him with prosecution for non-support. He feels quite sure his brother would definitely break off the affair if threatened with prosecution and perhaps deportation. Dr. Johns was willing to talk to him with visitor and help in any way necessary to break the affair up.

*January 30, 1921.*—Talked with landlord. Mr. and Mrs. Johns came here about four years ago, and after Mr. Johns left Mrs. Johns kept the same rooms until a day or two before Mrs. Johns went to the hospital this last time. He was out of a job then and gave up his rooms there to go to the North Avenue flat.

The landlord knows that Mr. Johns has at times treated Mrs. Johns cruelly, and thinks he has some peculiar hold over her. They had been married three or four years before they moved here but had no children up to that time.

*January 31, 1921.*—Talked with Mr. and Mrs. Johns at the flat where Mr. Johns had brought her from the hospital about an hour before. Mr. Johns at first denied that he had another wife living, then said that he was divorced from her as she was unfaithful to him, but he has never had any divorce papers.

He is not working, has about $14 left in cash. There are a few groceries, and there is coal enough in the house to last a few days. Mrs. Johns is afraid to stay here alone and that is the reason they give for Mr. Johns's coming to stay in the flat after Joseph was sent back to Lakeside. Mr. Johns will get Johanna today from Mrs. Schaeffer's. Mrs. Schaeffer's daughters who work at Leonard-Morton's may be able to stay with Mrs. Johns at nights.

Mr. Johns thinks he can get back his own rooms and promised to stay away.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. Schaeffer. She will have her daughters stay with Mrs. Johns tonight.

*February 3, 1921.*—Visited Mrs. Schaeffer. Mr. Schaeffer took Mrs. Johns and the baby to their home Monday night, the thirty-first. They are crowded, however, and cannot keep her. Mrs. Johns is feeling stronger, thinks she can stay alone now, and will return tomorrow morning. Johanna is a big, rugged child, and the baby seems unusually well and strong.

Mrs. Johns's sister in Denver is a widow with grown children. She is older than Mrs. Johns and has been wanting Mrs. Johns to come to live with her in Denver. Mrs. Schaeffer thinks that would be a good plan. The brother in New Albany has Mary now, as the brother in Dayton has a widowed daughter who came home to live so that he had no room for Mary. Mary is in second-year high school in New Albany, but is not so happy as she was in Dayton. Mr. Ralph Walther, the brother in Dayton, is very well-to-do, having married a wealthy wife. He is critical and unsympathetic, and both Mr. and Mrs. Schaeffer feel that he has been hard and unkind toward Mrs. Johns.

In 1913 Mrs. Johns and her first husband lost all their furniture and clothing in a fire which destroyed the building in which they lived. They went then to live with Mrs. Schaeffer, and Mr. Schmidt died at Mrs. Schaeffer's the next summer, and Mrs. Johns stayed on with her sister. She met Mr. Johns on a street downtown where he spoke to her when she was on her way home from work. He was persistent in his wooing and fitted up a flat completely

for her before they were married. He urged her to come to the flat to look it over, and she lived with him there some weeks without marrying. Mrs. Schaeffer in distress finally sent word to her brother, Robert, who immediately came to Chicago, took Mrs. Johns and the children out of the flat and home with him. He considered that she had disgraced the family, and she was very unhappy with him and left after a few weeks to return to Chicago and marry Mr. Johns. Mary has been with one or the other of her uncles ever since. Mrs. Johns did not know of Mr. Johns's first wife until she was married to him.

*Later.*—Ordered one quart of milk daily until May 1.

*February 6, 1921.*—Talked with Mr. Johns. His family for generations back belonged to the Syriac Orthodox Church, and his father was an official in the church. He and his brother were educated in an American Protestant mission school, which gave the only educational opportunity offered in that part of the country. He and his first wife later taught in a mission school in Egypt. He left her and came to this country when he discovered her with another man.

Mr. Johns works as a laborer, is making only $18 a week now, and will not give name of his employer. He pays $15 a month rent for his rooms. Promised to pay rent and gas bill for Mrs. Johns. Expresses great attachment to Johanna and does not want to lose track of her.

*February 8, 1921.*—Mrs. Johns's brother Ralph sent her $25 shortly before she went to the hospital and Mrs. Schaeffer kept this money for her. Mrs. Johns has used part of it for her living expenses.

Mrs. Johns has nothing to do with her neighbors in the building and is nervous about being alone with the babies at night.

Mr. Johns's son Eliakim has been in America for years. He contracted tuberculosis during the war and was in the County Tuberculosis Sanitarium the last Mrs. Johns heard of him. He never did anything for his father and seemed to care nothing for him.

*February 13, 1921.*—Mrs. Johns brought Johanna to office to see Mr. Johns by appointment. Mr. Johns seemed irritated at the whole arrangement, and did not stay long.

*February 19, 1921.*—Telephoned Mrs. Schaeffer. She will take Mrs. Johns and the children out with her for a week or two until definite arrangements are made for her to go West or to get another flat.

*February 21, 1921.*—Mrs. Johns in office. Joseph came home from Lakeside the night of the nineteenth, so she could not go to her sister's. He ran away from Lakeside and refuses to return.

*February 22, 1921.*—Talked to Joseph, who is an attractive boy, but stubborn and sullen. He does not like Lakeside because he "has to work as hard there as he did when he was at home working and does not get any pay for it."

Reported to office of Lakeside School.

*February 26, 1921.*—Joseph is still at home. Agent from Lakeside was to come to get him but has not yet come. Mrs. Johns wants to place the baby out and go to work.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. Schaeffer. Joseph and Mrs. Johns are out there this afternoon. She is willing to keep Joseph until school is out if the court will let him stay with her.

*March 2, 1921.*—Juvenile Court allowed Joseph to go to Mrs. Schaeffer on probation. He will be in school across the street from her house.

Mrs. Johns complains she cannot get along with the baby. It is hard for her to get out to look for flats and she is afraid to stay alone at night.

*March 9, 1921.*—Telephoned Mrs. Schaeffer. Joseph is finally started in school and seems to like it. Mrs. Schaeffer got books for him. She thinks she can make him mind.

*March 23, 1921.*—Joseph comes home over Saturday and Sunday and plays out all the time with the boys in the neighborhood. He met Mr. Johns on the street Sunday the twentieth, who asked him to bring Johanna over to see him. Mr. Johns then brought her home to the door. Mrs. Johns has had no other word from Mr. Johns. She is discouraged about finding a flat, wants to go to work. The baby is gaining and doing beautifully.

*Later.*—Visited Mr. Johns. He was sick and not working for over a week; started again this week. He cannot pay rent this month.

*April 7, 1921.*—Mrs. Johns at Infant Welfare Station.

*April 13, 1921.*—Children's Friend Society reports Mrs. Johns has applied there for a boarding-home for the baby.

*April 22, 1921.*—Telephoned Mr. Johns. He has no steady work yet and cannot pay rent this month.

*Later.*—Joseph comes home each week-end from Mrs. Schaeffer's and is out most of the time playing with the boys in the neighborhood. He has only the one suit of clothes which he is wearing to school and it

is so shabby that he does not stay with the Schaeffers over Sunday. Mrs. Schaeffer will keep him only until school is out, and Mrs. Johns is worried about what will happen then. She would like to get out of the city and is thinking of going to New Albany where she will be near Mary.

*April 30, 1921.*—Mrs. Johns is looking badly. Is nervous and wrought up and insists that she cannot keep both Joseph and the baby. Joseph will not be willing to work and help her with the younger children when she has "neglected him all these years."

Ordered one quart of milk daily until June 1.

*May 14, 1921.*—Mrs. Johns is more restless than ever and finally acknowledged with agitation that Mr. Johns has been bothering her. He was in last week and once or twice before that—"laughs at her because she is such a fool as to listen to those people"—told her he had $40 in his pocket, etc. She is very bitter that he should be able to escape responsibility for the care of the children, and yet she fears him and would like to get entirely away.

*May 15, 1921.*—Talked with Mr. Johns. He says he has been at the house only two or three times for a few minutes to see Johanna. He still holds that he is married to Mrs. Johns; that he obtained a release from his first wife through a Committee of the Officials of the Native Protestant Church, and that the only motive for keeping him away from Mrs. Johns is "revenge." He does not care to have her back, however, and promises to stay away.

*Later.*—Mrs. Johns answered advertisement in the paper for a baby. However, she does not like the looks of the wife. The man advertising is an ambulance driver for an undertaker.

*May 19, 1921.*—Superintendent, Legal Aid, advises action for divorce with injunction restraining Mr. Johns from visiting the place.

*May 21, 1921.*—Telephoned employer for Mr. Johns's work record. He was laid off the last week in November, 1920, and went back to work January 24, 1921. He has lost just three days since January 24.

*Later.*—Ordered one quart of milk daily until July 1.

*June 14, 1921.*—Probation officer telephoned that Children's Friend Society have this case in court today for adoption of the baby. The judge does not wish to give the child in adoption and has held the case for further information, which was given.

*June 17, 1921.*—Attended hearing at Juvenile Court. The judge appointed the Children's Friend Society guardian, with power to consent to adoption. When the case was in court before, the judge

questioned Mrs. Johns at length in regard to her divorce, but she said she would not accept a divorce. This information will be forwarded to general office.

*Later.*—Talked with Legal Aid who will drop divorce case of Mrs. Johns.

*June 21, 1921.*—Judge decided to allow Mrs. Johns to give baby to Children's Friend Society for adoption.

[The Family Welfare Record closed at this point. The following record of the Children's Friend Society carries the story on from the point at which Mrs. Johns asks the help of that agency in placing Margaret Grace.]

*April 8, 1921.*—Mrs. Johns in office asking for a boarding-home for her little daughter, Margaret (born January 21, 1921) at Chicago. Mrs. Johns was previously married on October 6, 1904, to her first husband, Joseph Schmidt, who died August 19, 1913, from paralysis. She married again on June 24, 1915, at Chicago, a Peter Johns, and for three years they lived at 831 North Avenue. Shortly after this baby was born she was compelled by the Welfare Agency to leave her husband, as his brother stated that he already had a wife in Europe. Then Mrs. Johns left her husband in June, 1920, and went to live at 127 Hunt Street, second floor. While living here the Welfare Agency has given relief to her. Another child by the second marriage, Johanna (born May 17, 1917), is also living here with the mother. Stephen Johns (born July 19, 1919) was given to the Zwingli Home Finding Society for adoption five weeks after his birth. Mary Schmidt, who is fifteen years of age, is living with Mrs. Johns's brother, Rev. Robert Walther, New Albany, Ohio. For one year, her brother, Ralph Walther, who lives in Dayton, Ohio, looked after Mary, and then it was necessary to transfer her to her Uncle Robert. There are two married sisters, Mrs. Ada Schaeffer, in Chicago, and Mrs. Jane Evans, 1812 Lincoln Street, Denver, Colorado. The latter is a widow and has six children. She expects to inherit some money within a short time, and it is Mrs. Johns's intention to go to Denver as soon as this inheritance is received by her married sister. Her husband's brother, Dr. H. P. Johns, lives at 2173 West Street, Chicago.

Mrs. Johns said that she does not want to continue to receive relief from the Welfare Agency, and if the child is placed in a boarding-home she can go to a factory and earn $18 a week and keep Johanna in a day nursery during the day.

*April 10, 1921.*—See Johns boy case, dated August 18, 1919. On that date Mrs. Johns was in the office asking a boarding-home for her little boy, whom she now calls Stephen Livingston. She said then that her husband did not earn enough to support her and she had left him several times. This time she has been away from him from October to March. After talking the situation over she decided to place Johanna in a day nursery.

*April 13, 1921.*—Called at Welfare Agency and talked with worker on the Johns case. She says Mrs. Johns is a very restless individual. She is at present receiving a cash grant from the Welfare Agency, and they are also paying her rent. They see no reason why she should not be contented to stay where she is and keep the baby with her until a definite plan can be agreed on. They would like to have her move so as to be as close as possible to her sister, Mrs. Schaeffer. Mrs. Johns married Mr. Johns, a Turk, who has a wife in Europe. The Welfare Agency knows this to be a fact as they were notified by his brother, Dr. H. P. Johns. Mr. Johns beats his wife and leaves her when she is about to be confined in destitute circumstances and stays away for some time, returns and lives with her until she is pregnant again. The Welfare Agency notified him if he returned to Mrs. Johns they would have him arrested and punished for bigamy, so they think this time he has left for good. This is one reason why they would like to have Mrs. Johns move to be near her sister. The visitor thinks that if she places the baby to board and puts Johanna in a day nursery and earns money again, she will become quite independent and probably go around with Mr. Johns again. They therefore advise us to stay off the case until their definite plans are formed.

*Later.*—County clerk verifies marriage of Marion Schmidt and Peter Johns, June 24, 1915.

*April 22, 1921.*—Telephoned Welfare Agency. Visitor says Mrs. Johns has been into their office since the thirteenth. They are still giving her the cash grant and paying the rent. Visitor told Mrs. Johns that they had recommended our not giving her a boarding-home for the baby as they feel she should stay at home and care for her children. Visitor thinks Mrs. Johns will do this and will not try to board the baby until she takes the matter up again with the visitor. Case in conference and closed.

*April 23, 1921.*—Letter written Mrs. Marion Johns:

We have talked with visitor of the Welfare Agency and are very glad indeed to learn you have decided to stay at home for the time being and

take care of your baby yourself. We think you are very wise in coming to this decision. As the little girl seems to be so well taken care of, it would be rather a pity to change her at present. If at any time in the future we can be of service to you, we would be very glad to have you call on us.

*April 26, 1921.*—Mrs. Johns in office in response to letter of April 23 written her. She stated that she did not decide to stay home and take care of the baby. She is, in fact, very averse to that plan and would much prefer going to work. A few days ago she learned from her sister, Mrs. Schaeffer, who has her son, Joseph, that she does not want to keep him any longer than the school period. This sister fully expected the mother to be working by this time and to care for Joseph herself. Explained to her that it is her place to stay at home and care for the baby, but she could not concede to this plan and she further stated that if she could not go to work and put the baby in a boarding-home she then is willing to give up Margaret for adoption. She talked with the Charitable Corporation about giving up the baby for adoption but they advised that they cannot interfere with the Welfare Agency.

Mrs. Johns said that she cannot sleep at night as the welfare of the children seems to prey on her mind to a great extent. She said she is forty-one years of age and is fully aware that she cannot do justice by keeping the baby. She said that Joseph ran away on two previous occasions and stated to her that she has never done anything for him. If she can return to work she will be able to take care of Joseph and Mary Elizabeth. Promised her that our visitor would call to see her in reference to the adoption of Margaret.

*May 2, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Johns says the reason she wants to give Margaret Grace for adoption is because she feels she cannot possibly care for her. Her sister, Mrs. Schaeffer, who has Joseph, a child by a former marriage, will keep him only until school closes. Then Mrs. Johns will have to take him, and she will have to fit him out in clothes as he has very little. She also wants to keep Johanna, and as she cannot, and in fact does not want to live with Mr. Johns any more, she will have to work to earn her own living, so she could not give the baby the proper care. She says she has given all of herself to this new baby and is thoroughly exhausted and feels determined to give it for adoption, and would feel much happier if we would take it and find it a good home. The baby is still nursing, and Mrs. Johns will nurse her for awhile longer and will then wean her if we accept her for adoption. She seemed to be very fond of the baby and regretted

giving it up, but thinks it is the very best for the child. She has given the baby very good care as both of them look very well cared for. She says we can find Mr. Johns at 831 North Avenue, where he has a furnished room with a Mrs. Shaker, and she is sure he would sign the papers as he really never cared as much for Margaret Grace as he does for Johanna.

Chicago Health Department cannot verify birth of Margaret Grace Johns.

*May 8, 1921.*—Wrote requesting Mr. Johns to call at office.

*May 17, 1921.*—Mrs. Johns in office with following unsigned letter:

CHICAGO ILLINOIS
May 15, 1921

DEAR MRS. JOHNS:

I phoned visitor this evening in regard to adopting your baby girl and she said that she could not investigate our home, that it would have to be turned over to the Children's Friend Society, and she also said that you could not place the baby out for adoption. I should dearly love to adopt your sweet baby but you see how much trouble there would be over it, unless you gave her to me the way others have wanted you to give the baby up. If things should develop so that you could give me your baby you can phone me, Douglass 8755, Tuesday, and I will call and see you. Sincerely yours.

She received this letter yesterday but does not want to give up the baby for adoption to anybody except through the Children's Friend Society. She has made her mind up fully to give up the baby for adoption, as she says she knows she cannot keep it, and requested us to hurry our investigation, as she is anxious to get to work.

*May 18, 1921.*—Called at 831 North Avenue and visited Mr. Johns's landlady. She says Mr. and Mrs. Johns have lived with her about five years and, if anybody ever held a hypnotic power over anyone, he held it over his wife. She says Mrs. Johns worked to keep the family going and when she came home at night she worked for the children. After each child was born she would stay home only a short period, then she worked almost up to the time of her confinement. Mrs. Johns is a very handy woman with a needle and can make over clothes for the children and herself. On Sunday Mr. Johns would insist she sew for him; even if he tore the collar-band off his shirt he would insist that she sew it back in order to keep her in the house. Only once did he take Mrs. Johns and the children out. While he was not cruel, he was rough and Mrs. Johns seemed to fear him, although she had a great deal of affection for him. He is not a man

that drinks or carouses, is very quiet in his room and attends strictly to his own business. He is working at present, but the landlady does not know where. Visitor left her card with a notation on it for Mr. Johns asking for an interview.

*Later.*—Mr. Johns in office. He stated that he left Turkey twenty-three years ago. That previous to this he had been married six or seven years. He has three boys and one girl by this marriage, and says that he left his wife because she was not faithful to him. He says his present wife wishes to give their baby for adoption. He could only stay a few minutes as he was on his way to work. Arranged to have visitor call at his home.

*May 20, 1921.*—Telephoned Mr. Johns's landlady and made an appointment to meet him Sunday morning at 11:00. Mr. Johns waited until 11:30 and when visitor did not come he would not wait any longer. Visitor then asked landlady to have Mr. Johns telephone her when he would see her. Visitor is now to see him Saturday evening, the twenty-eighth, at 7:30.

*May 26, 1921.*—Letter received from Mrs. Johns:

> Will you please let me know about how long it will take you to find a home for my baby as I would like to make arrangements to move just as soon as I give up the baby. The rent will be due here again the first of June and if you think you can find the home by that time I will look for flat and make arrangements to move also please tell me how soon I should wean baby I am hoping and trusting she will get into a good home where she will get kind treatment and Christian training above all things.

*Later.*—Letter written to Mrs. Johns:

> We are going to ask you to be as patient as you possibly can. Visitor is to see Mr. Johns Saturday or Sunday, May 28 or 29, which will determine how quickly we will see you for the final word. As long as the Welfare Agency is helping you and it is well for you to nurse the baby, do not be impatient. If we accept the baby, you may rest assured she will receive a very good home.

*May 27, 1921.*—Mr. Johns in office. Says he does not know what Mrs. Johns ought to do about giving up baby for adoption, but he feels she cannot care for it at the present time. She hopes to work and put Johanna in a day nursery. The Welfare Agency does not give her enough to support her, and he is giving her several dollars a week unknown to the other organizations. He insists that the statement that he is not legally married to Mrs. Johns is utterly false. He says that in Turkey he found his wife in adultery with another man.

He went before his wife's two uncles who are connected with the Mohammedan church and related the circumstances and swore on the Koran that he told the truth. Then in the presence of these uncles he took three bubblestraws and threw them over his shoulder. This constituted divorce, but papers were not made out there, so of course he had none. Says that he is fond of Johanna and of the baby; but the Welfare Agency insists that he has no legal right to have a deciding voice in the fate of either.

*June 4, 1921.*—Conference with supervisor. It was decided to accept Margaret Grace for adoption. Made papers out and filed them at court.

*June 14, 1921.*—Johns case in court—parents and baby present. The judge tried to work out some plan for baby to remain with mother. He suggested that Mr. Johns be made to pay $7.00 a week for baby's care and the baby be placed in a good boarding-home. After learning, through Mrs. Johns, that Mr. Johns was paying rent and gas bill, he realized that if Mr. Johns failed to pay the board and was placed in jail the rent and light would also be unpaid. After considerable discussion and a great deal of wavering by Mrs. Johns, the judge, even though the mother consented to give the baby for adoption, continued the case to June 17 to give the mother more time to think it over.

[The following record of the Juvenile Court hearing brings out the reluctance of the judge to fall in with the mother's plan.]

*In re* Margaret Grace Johns—*parents and child in court*, Chicago, Illinois, June 14, 1921, 52898.

DEPENDENT

JUVENILE COURT COOK COUNTY

Visitor, Children's Friend Society: Your honor, this is the case of baby Margaret Grace Johns. The father and mother are present and the baby Margaret Grace Johns.

Q. Judge: Is this Margaret (indicating baby in arms of mother)?

A. Yes, sir; this little girl has been with the mother. Mr. Johns is alleged to have been married in Turkey over twenty years ago and has never been divorced from his wife; that is, the Welfare Agency has been unable so far to verify it. The Welfare Agency insisted that this woman and this man separate; he is not divorced from his first wife. Mr. Johns has children by his first wife. She (indicating mother) thinks it would be best to give this child out for adoption because she cannot earn enough to care for it.

Mr. Johns contributes irregularly and she wants to give the baby away for adoption—

Q. Does she want to give the baby away for adoption?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, have they been living together?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And this (indicating baby) is the result of that?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How old—how long have you been living together?

A. Mrs. Johns: We married about six years ago; we lived together then.

Q. Were you married before the baby was born?

A. Oh, yes!

Q. How long have you been married?

A. Six years and over now.

Visitor: The Welfare Agency does not recognize their marriage because the man has not been divorced from his first wife.

Q. Judge: Well, have you been separated?

A. Mrs. Johns: Yes, sir.

Q. Judge: Well, there has been a marriage here and this man assumes responsibility—

Visitor: He has a wife and is not divorced from her.

Q. The Court: Then he has committed bigamy and could be sent to the penitentiary. Do you know whether or not he was divorced?

A. Mrs. Johns: Well, when he married me, he said that he was divorced.

Q. The Court: You don't know, do you?

A. No; only what he said.

Q. What did he say?

A. Well, he claims he was divorced.

Q. Do you know?

A. No, sir; only just what he said. We were married six years ago.

Q. How long has he been in this country?

A. Twenty-four years.

Q. Is he a citizen?

A. No, sir.

Q. When did you separate?

A. Seven months before this baby was born.

Q. The Court to probation officer, head of Investigation Department: Do you understand about this case, Miss Clarke?

A. Yes, sir; we know about the case.

Q. The Court: From the impression given me this morning, the Welfare Agency does not recognize marriage between this man and this woman, but they are married, so far as I can understand; but there is a question of divorce, which is in Turkey; she claims to be married to him for over six

years; there is a legal marriage so far as the records are concerned; it is the presumption that this marriage is legal.

Miss Clarke: If your honor will pass it, I will get in touch with the Welfare Agency.

Q. The Court: Yes, I can pass it for a while.

Miss Clarke: I talked with Welfare visitor and she said that they had a long record on this case and that a divorce is now pending.

Q. Where?

A. That is, she is going to start divorce proceedings; she said that this man had never been divorced from his wife.

Q. He says that he has.

A. Well, she told them that he had not and that she now wanted to get a divorce from him, because he is cruel to her.

Q. Well, that's different.

A. They were afraid that she would change her mind again, as she has done before. I knew of this case in 1919. There is another child that she gave away for adoption.

Q. Does the husband consent to this adoption?

A. She signed her appearance and consent.

Q. Mrs. Johns, have you started divorce proceedings against your husband?

A. I haven't started anything yet—

Q. Have you started anything—

A. They asked me to—

Q. Do you want a divorce?

A. Well, we are separated.

Q. Why?

A. Well, I separated from him, my husband—

Q. Why, was he cruel to you?

A. Well, he has not done what he could. We don't get along very well.

Q. Well, what do you want to do?

A. What do I want to do?

Q. Yes?

A. Well, he don't want to work steady.

Q. I know; do you feel that he is not taking care of you properly?

A. Yes.

Q. And your plan is to get a divorce?

A. Well, they talked to me of it.

Q. No; what is your plan?

A. Well, I thought I would do better by adopting it out.

Q. Why?

A. Well, he has a wife.

Q. Well, what else?

A. He don't work steady; I have to work; my boy is coming home and he don't get along well with him.

Q. Well, what do you want to do? I want to get an impression from you; I want to know what your plan is. (No reply.)

Q. Do you think it would be better to have him pay for the child?

A. I don't know.

Q. Let's see what the father has to say. Are you the father of this child?

A. Mr. Johns: Yes, sir.

Q. Do you speak English?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you the father of this baby (indicating Margaret Grace Johns)?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. If this child is placed in a private home where it will be cared for and you pay $7.00 per week—

A. I don't know, you see I don't work steady all the time; but sometimes I do.

Q. How many children have you in Turkey?

A. All my children are grown up now; I have had one brought here.

Q. When?

A. Within the last few years; I don't know the date.

Q. How old is he?

A. About thirty-one or thirty-two, something like that.

Q. Who brought him here?

A. He was brought over here.

Q. How old was he when you left there?

A. How old?

Q. Yes?

A. I have been here since 1897—

Q. 1897?

A. Yes; I think I have been here about twenty-three and a half years and this boy was six then.

Q. And did your wife come with you here?

A. No, sir; I come here alone.

Q. Did your wife ever come to America?

A. No.

Q. And since you have come here to America your wife has been over there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did she want to come?

A. I don't know.

Q. How old is your other child, your youngest child?

A. About twenty-two now; it was a baby when I left.

Q. It was?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you divorced from your wife?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long were you divorced?

A. I am divorced, I asked the church there and I have two uncles there and they said I was divorced because it come from the church.[1]

Q. Who sent you notice?

A. The uncles.

Q. Well, this was after you came here; you don't know for yourself?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were married again here in America?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have been married twice?

A. Yes, sir; but only once in the church.

Q. The Court: Now what is your plan in reference to your husband?

A. Mrs. Johns: Well, he don't take care of us; I thought I would get my little boy from my first marriage and work and take care of us.

Q. What is your plan in regard to the child?

A. Well, my plan was to give the child away.

Q. Let me ask you this question?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you going to live with this man?

A. I don't care anything about the divorce, but I don't want to live with him.

Q. Well, do you want to divorce him?

A. I would rather not, but I want to get the support through the Welfare Agency.

Q. The Court: This woman does not wish to divorce her husband and there is no influence that should be urged upon her to divorce him, if the man has been divorced. You are going back to work are you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now what about this other child?

A. I will work and take care of it.

Q. Did you give a child away for adoption before?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How old was it?

A. Well, that child was given away a short time before this child was born.

Q. How old was it?

A. It was about a year and a half old.

Q. Why did you give it in adoption?

A. Well, I gave the other one away on account of this one (indicating Margaret).

[1] [See above, p. 792, note.]

Q. I know, but why?

A. On account of the father's support; he couldn't take care of it, so I gave it away. There was no way to care for the baby.

Q. Well, you had a baby before that time, didn't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I asked you how long after this baby came before you gave the other one out for adoption?

A. Well, just about a month, I gave it away; because I didn't really know myself.

Q. Well, is that the reason you gave the other baby away because you were going to have this one?

A. Well, I had the boy in Lakeside and they couldn't keep him there; they couldn't keep my boy and I took him out.

Q. Why did you give the other baby away for adoption?

A. Because I couldn't take care of it.

Q. Didn't you expect to live with your husband?

A. No.

Q. The other child is being taken care of by someone else; somebody else?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, do you want to give this child away for adoption?

A. Well, I considered that would be the best where it would get a home; he don't support me and my plan was to give it up for adoption.

Q. Do you want to give this little baby away in adoption?

A. I don't think I could give it the proper care—

Q. You don't answer my question; say—you will have to say yes, or no. Do you want to give it away in adoption? You have not answered me.

A. I don't think I can care for it properly.

Q. You have signed this paper here; do you know what that paper is?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that your signature (showing witness appearance and consent)?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You signed that, is that right?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you understand this is?

A. Well, I understand that I have signed away my rights to the child and not the father's rights.

Q. Now, tell me what you have signed; you have signed this paper (indicating). You have entered your appearance in this case. I want this to go on record in this case of Margaret Grace Johns. Do you consent to give her away for adoption? If a decree of adoption is signed, why! you will never again see Margaret and you will never have anything more to do with her or have any right to her custody. Now is that what you want

to do, because in substance that is what you have signed. Do you still wish to do it?

A. Yes, sir; I will; I will decide right now.

Q. You still wish to give it in adoption; if you want further time to answer it, I will give you more time.

A. I would like to have a week.

Order: I will continue it more than a week—June 28. Let the records show in this case that the mother—

Mother: Well, I will decide it right now; I will let her go as it has been decided before.

The Court: Let the records show that the mother wants to let it go, as she has decided, but the court of its own motion continues the case until next Friday—

Clerk of the Court: June 17.

Judge: Continued to June 17.]

*June 15, 1921.*—Report of National Pathological Laboratories, blood tests on Mrs. Johns and Margaret Grace, results negative.

*June 17, 1921.*—Case in court. Family Welfare visitor, Mrs. Johns, Margaret Grace, and Children's Friend visitor present. Judge again questioned Mrs. Johns as to whether she wished to place the baby for adoption. She stated that she did and that she was doing it for the child's good, because she had no means with which to rear it properly. The Children's Friend Society was appointed guardian with right to consent to the adoption of Margaret Grace.

Wrote Cook County Hospital for birth certificate.

*June 28, 1921.*—Letter received from Mrs. Johns inclosing a picture of Margaret Grace and $1.00 in money:

> I don't like to bother you too much but I would like so much to know how my baby is by this time. I did not intend to write till I could send $5.00 but just can't this week so will send the small sum of $1.00 till I can do better. I could not wait any longer as I have no rest and cannot sleep till I find out that she is getting along all right, if her food agrees with her and if the same people have my last baby. I will so gladly send every dollar I can spare to the Children's Friend Society even though you don't require it just to know once in a while how she is.

Took case up with supervisor and she advised returning the $1.00 to Mrs. Johns because she is largely supported by the Welfare Agency. Visitor had already explained to Mrs. Johns that no money was needed, but the day of court proceedings she said she was going to send the money to us.

*July 1, 1921.*—Letter written to Mrs. Johns, returning $1.00:

I was very glad to hear from you the other day and hope that you have been successful in finding work. It was nice of you to send a picture of Margaret Grace, which is certainly very good of her. I am returning the $1.00 you sent us. We thank you very much, but want you to keep your money and use it to care for yourself and Johanna. We could not think of your not having this money. The baby is getting along splendidly and has every care and attention. I am sure you need never have a moment's worry over her. She is exceedingly well cared for. Thank you again for the picture.

*July 17, 1921.*—Margaret Grace Johns given into care of Mr. and Mrs. David Hart. [The facts about this family appear from the few letters given below.]

*July 22, 1921.*—Letter received from Mrs. David Hart, who had taken Margaret Grace:

I am returning a little dress that somehow escaped the big package I sent a short time ago.

I am sure you will be pleased to learn that our little girl is doing very nicely. She is growing and can almost sit alone. We have named her Faith Hart. Have we a legal right to change her name? Her birth is registered under one name and I wondered, if when we adopted her, we could give her the above name.

We should be very glad to get all the data concerning our little girl that you can give us. You remember I read over the history of her case, but one important thing has slipped my mind and that is the date of her birth. Could this history be forwarded to us for us to copy or could you send us a carbon copy?

Mr. Hart is intensely interested in our baby and already considers her as our very own. We shall be glad when we can legally adopt her.

*July 23, 1921.*—Letter written Mrs. David Hart:

I am very glad to know that you are happy in the possession of your baby girl. I was sure that you would not be disappointed if you took her into your home. She is really an adorable baby.

We wish to thank you for sending the clothing so promptly. You would be surprised how often these little garments are used for just the same purpose as you have had them.

With best wishes to you and Mr. Hart.

*September 8, 1921.*—Letter from Mrs. Marion Johns to the Children's Friend Society:

I received your kind letter of July 1, and was so relieved to know that the baby was getting along all right. I could not help thinking I had made

a mistake for a while after I gave baby up but found out I have all I can do to look after the two I have with me. I have managed to find employment enough to make a living for us and am thankful for that now. I don't want to bother you people too much as I know your time is valuable and I realize that the baby is no longer mine, but it would be such a relief to know if the people who first took her still have her and care for her or if she has had to change from one home to another. I shall be so happy when I know she has a permanent home with people who love her, so please I beg you let me know this one thing. It has been over two months now since I inquired about her. The next time I write I hope to have some money to send as I am so thankful to the Society for what they have done for me.

*September 9, 1921.*—Letter from the Children's Friend Society to Mrs. Johns:

I was very glad indeed to receive your letter today and to know that you have received employment and are getting along nicely.

You will be happy to know that Margaret Grace is doing splendidly. She is in the same good home that we first placed her and she will always be there. These people are giving her every attention, every care, and a great deal of love, and I am sure you could wish for nothing better for this baby than the home in which she is placed.

I shall be glad to hear from you at any time you care to write.

*November 5, 1921.*—Mrs. David Hart, foster-mother of Margaret, called at the office to learn facts concerning the baby's history. She seemed anxious to read the record and, as there seemed to be no reason for her not knowing the facts on the case, I allowed her to have the record to read. She asked that we send her facts concerning history. Promised to write her a letter giving history. Also promised to secure birth certificate, for which she paid 50 cents.

Mrs. Hart states that the baby is getting along in a splendid manner. She now weighs twenty-one pounds and is able to walk around her little baby coop. Mr. and Mrs. Hart are anxious to adopt the baby. Asked her to remind us when the six months' period has elapsed. She wishes to employ Society's lawyer and would like to have the proceedings arranged for on a Saurday morning, as that is the only day which is convenient for Mr. Hart. Gave new address. Brought photograph of baby for our files.

*November 12, 1921.*—Letter written Social Service Department, County Hospital:

Margaret Grace Johns was born at County Hospital on January 21, 1921.

On June 17, 1921, she was committed to the Children's Friend Society with right to consent to adoption.

We are desirous of having a certified copy of the birth certificate. I called at the City Hall to obtain this and discovered that her birth has never been registered.

Would you kindly look this matter up for us and see that the birth is registered so we may secure the copy necessary.

*November 15, 1921.*—Letter received from warden of County Hospital:

In reply to your inquiry regarding birth certificates of Margaret Grace Johns wish to state that our records show that a baby girl was born to Marion Johns at this institution on January 21, 1921. This birth was reported to the Health Department as this name appears in a book in which we keep a copy of all birth certificates sent to the Health Department.

After receiving letter from Cook County Hospital, visitor called at Board of Health and advised them that Cook County Hospital claimed to have registered the birth of Margaret Grace Johns. The clerk made a second search and discovered that the child was registered without a first name, simply, Baby Johns. Gave visitor supplementary report of birth which is to be signed by the mother and returned to their office. After this is done, a certificate of birth can be secured.

*November 18, 1921.*—Memorandum from supervisor to district visitor:

Will you please call on Mrs. Marion Johns, the mother of Margaret Grace, and ask her to sign the attached report of birth.

The people who have taken the baby for adoption are anxious to have a certified copy of the birth record. We have had some difficulty in securing this, and it seems it is now necessary to have the mother sign this slip in order that the birth may be registered properly. The child's birth was registered under the name of Johns only, as possibly the child was named after the mother left the hospital.

*Later.*—Letter written Mrs. David Hart:

Please do not think that we have forgotten about our promise to get a birth certificate of your baby for you. We have had a great deal of difficulty in trying to secure it. When our visitor called at the office of the county clerk, he told her it was not registered. Upon looking the matter up at the Cook County Hospital, she found it was registered under the name of Johns only, as possibly the baby was named after the mother left the hospital. They have now given us a supplementary birth record, which we have to have the mother sign, in order that the birth may be recorded properly.

As soon as we are able to secure this record, we will write you giving the full history.

I wish to thank you for the beautiful picture which you left at the office when you called. With best wishes to you.

*December 11, 1921.*—Letter received from Mr. David Hart, Margaret Grace's foster father:

Regarding the legal proceedings necessary for the adoption of our baby will you kindly arrange for those items, if any, which must originate from your office? We will have had this baby in our care six months on the 17th instant, and wish to enter the necessary court proceedings on that date or as soon thereafter as possible.

Mrs. Hart tells me that she was informed by your office that you can obtain the services of an attorney, who has given special attention to such cases, for us for a fee of approximately twenty-five dollars. If this is correct, will you kindly retain him for our services?

Also I understand that both Mrs. Hart and I should appear in court to obtain the adoption papers but that the child's presence is not required. We have not as yet obtained the birth certificate from your office and do not know whether or not such is necessary for the court.

Will you kindly inform us as to what steps we should take in addition to those we authorize you to take in our behalf? In all preparations for the court proceedings please bear in mind that I can much more conveniently attend such on Saturdays or during the Christmas holidays, December 23–January 2.

*December 13, 1921.*—Memorandum from supervisor to investigator of foster homes: "Please call at your earliest convenience on Margaret Grace Johns placed with David Hart. The Harts wish to adopt little Margaret during the Christmas season."

*Later.*—Letter to Mr. David Hart, foster father of Margaret Grace:

I was very glad indeed to receive your letter in which you stated that you are so well pleased with your little daughter that you wish to take her under charge permanently and bring her up entirely as a member of your family.

One of our representatives will call on you soon and make a final visit to your house and recommend to me that the baby be adopted by you and your wife. I, in turn, after reviewing the entire situation, make recommendation to the superintendent, who gives his consent in writing and turns over to the attorney of your selection the certified copy of the court decree, declaring the baby dependent and the superintendent of our Society her guardian.

An attorney, who is employed by this Society to do the necessary legal work for us, has agreed to take care of the wards of this Society who are adopted by foster parents with whom they have been placed. He does this more cheaply than any other attorney. He charges for a case, such as Margaret's, only $25. He has doubtless had more experience than any other attorney in handling adoptions, and as he is a very precise and careful worker, he is a very desirable person to take charge of such matters of importance. We will turn over to him at your request the necessary papers, and no doubt you will hear from him within a short time.

I trust you and your family will have a very happy Christmas time.

### 42. The Family of Alexander Caterigian

*(An Armenian Weaver Who Attempts to Give Away His Infant Daughter and Is Enabled to Keep Her)*

*January 2, 1924.*—Miss Baker, a visitor for the Cook County Agent, reported case to Family Welfare Agency. Family from Armenia—Mr. Caterigian born in 1891, Mrs. Caterigian in 1905, and two children, Nourise (born July 14, 1922) and a baby daughter only ten days old—is staying at 521 Katherine Street, but is said to have a home at 160 Robey Avenue. Mr. Caterigian had a store there, for which he paid $75 rent a month. He has had no work for three months and went to County Agent to give away the baby recently born—said he could not take care of her. Miss Baker telephoned Juvenile Court and two ministers. But all refused to consider the care of the baby with two parents living.

*January 3, 1924.*—Visited. Mr. Caterigian was not home. Mrs. Caterigian, who is very young, was taking care of the children. She is unable to speak any English. Mr. Hanjian, who has taken the Caterigians into his home temporarily, gave most of the information and interpreted what few words Mrs. Caterigian could be persuaded to say.

Mr. Hanjian has a nice flat, which is fairly well furnished, and has only two children of his own. Both he and his wife come from the same part of Armenia from which Mr. and Mrs. Caterigian come. Most of the families living in the building and the neighborhood are Armenian and among them will care for the Caterigians as long as possible. Mr. Caterigian came to America in 1913 and worked in some woolen factory for seven years. At the end of that time he had saved about $700, and he decided to go into business for himself. As he was unmarried and needed a wife, he wrote to friends in Armenia

asking them to send him a girl. Mrs. Caterigian was recommended by friends. Mr. Caterigian sent her transportation, and married her in Chicago on July 5, 1921. He then set up a factory making woolen sweaters at 160 Robey Avenue. Business has been very poor since. He feels there is no use, however, of looking for other work as he has a lease on his factory and if he gave it up and went to work his wages would be garnisheed for the rent.

The Caterigians have been living in the rear of the factory. He owns some machinery and probably has $600 invested in the business. They have only one room in which they can live and that is a very poor one. They have no way of heating the room, and Mrs. Caterigian could not be allowed to go to such a place with a small baby. Mr. Hanjian said that Mr. Caterigian wants someone to give a home for the baby. He does not want it himself. Evidently neither Mr. nor Mrs. Caterigian nor Mr. and Mrs. Hanjian sees anything out of the ordinary in giving the baby away. Mr. Hanjian explained they must get rid of the baby because Mr. Caterigian cannot take care of it. "Anyway, they have one baby." When told that Mr. Caterigian can be helped to secure a job and make arrangements so that he can care for his children, he explained that they have no room for her; that they have only one room, one bed; that they have one baby and cannot take care of two. Through Mr. Hanjian, Mrs. Caterigian was asked whether she was anxious to give up the baby, and she looked at the child as she was nursing her in a very uninterested manner and said, "Yes, we cannot keep her; we've got the other baby." Mr. Hanjian says that photographers from the *Chicago Daily Mail* were there taking Mrs. Caterigian's picture with the baby, and they think that they may get a home for her through the newspaper.

*January 5, 1924.*—Miss Berry of the *Chicago Daily Mail*, Central 1400, telephoned and asked that she be notified what arrangements are made for the family. She says a Mrs. Murry, 4730 Dearborn Avenue, Lawndale 2891, telephoned the *Mail* saying that she would give a partially furnished flat to the Caterigian family for the winter if that would help them take care of the baby and keep her with them. Miss Berry says that Mrs. Caterigian was not particularly enthusiastic about such a plan. Mr. and Mrs. Caterigian still want to give the baby away.

*January 11, 1924.*—Miss Berry of the *Chicago Daily Mail* telephoned saying that she saw Mrs. Caterigian several days ago and was told that Mr. and Mrs. Caterigian were planning to leave the

baby somewhere and let someone find her if no one offered to adopt her. In all $30 was contributed by readers of the *Mail*, and Miss Berry gave that to the family The family is planning to return to the factory at 160 Robey Avenue.

*January 12, 1924.*—Visited at 160 Robey Avenue. Mr. and Mrs. Caterigian were there with Nourise. The baby had been left with Mrs. Hanjian at 521 Katherine Street. Mr. Caterigian, however, was starting after her as they had just been notified that Mrs. Hanjian was ill and could not keep her longer. The factory actually is a very small shop in which Mr. Caterigian has one machine, on which he knits the sweaters, and shelves where they are stored, and a counter over which they are retailed. They have nothing for sale except sweaters. Mr. Caterigian was a sweater-maker in the Old Country and followed his trade here for seven years. He has considerable stock on hand and has not made up any sweaters for the past months until he can get rid of the ones he has. He started in business in May, 1923, having put all his savings in it; and it so happens that this has been a light winter and that orders have been very few. Also, because his establishment is so small, he is unable to make prices to dealers, wholesale, as low as larger factories can do. He says he really does not sell one sweater a week and everything they have has had to be paid out for rent each month and for yarn, etc., with nothing coming in. At the same time he hates to give up the business, because he knows if he does he will never start again, and as he is getting older, he will save very little working for someone else. At the present time it is impossible to secure work at all with a knitting company as the season is bad and men are being laid off. He has, however, tried and would be willing to go out and work leaving Mrs. Caterigian to fill any orders that might come in at the store. He is willing to have visitor try to get orders for him, but is not willing to have Agency write or communicate with the knitting mill where he previously worked, as he thinks it might even destroy his chances there. He says he is a good worker and if men were needed he would be taken on on his own record without any assistance.

Mr. Caterigian is very peculiar; he talks in a monotone and a very low voice. He has to be asked to repeat practically everything he says because he does not say it loud enough to be heard and he seems to be unable to raise his voice, even when asked to repeat. He is very gloomy; could not be made to smile once; nor does Mrs. Caterigian appear at all pleasant or cheerful. Mr. Caterigian seemed to think

that it was necessary to answer questions asked him, even when he did not want to do it. It seems that he is suspicious now of everyone, as he resents the publicity that was given his affairs through the newspaper. He says the only place he went was to the County Agent's office to ask if they could have the baby adopted for him; the next day when he got home he was told by the people with whom he was staying that Mrs. Caterigian's picture had been taken. He did not expect what followed. He says there was a large photo on the front page of the *Mail* and a long story about their affairs; their correct address and name were given and also the address of the shop. He did not like that at all. He says he appreciates the money he received and the expressions of sympathy from a great many people—it has helped him in all to pay one month's rent—making the rent for the shop paid up to February 1; but he wishes that it could have been done in some way without giving the name and the address. He resents having all the other storekeepers up and down Robey Avenue point to his place as they go by and mention what they saw in the newspaper.

Now that the January rent is paid, there are only two more months left on his lease. He had been forced to pay the rent of the last month on the lease, which is April, leaving February and March only unpaid. He has been advised that if he gives up the place now the landlord can attach his stock, and he would have to sell it for practically nothing. He does not want to do this; prefers sticking it out if possible and getting rid of it by degrees. The store itself was frigid. The room in which the family is supposed to live in the rear is not partitioned off from the store itself except by a cretonne curtain. The place was very neat. Mr. Caterigian explained that he cannot heat the rear without heating the whole store, which is not very large, and he cannot do that on less than a ton of coal a month. He could not afford to buy a ton. Mr. Caterigian seemed sincere in wanting to give up the baby because he really does not think that she will live through all their troubles. He says that Nourise has got a good start and can stand the cold, but that the baby will die. He also says that Mrs. Caterigian does not really want to give the baby up but feels that she must do so. As soon as she decided this, she found she was unable to nurse the baby longer as the shock to her system was too great. They had to put her on a bottle, and she feels that that is enough in itself to kill the child.

*Later*—Ordered a ton of coal.

*January, 1924.*—Mr. Caterigian in the office several times to discuss his business enterprise. He still refuses to tell where he was employed before going into business for himself. He seems to be very sincere about not wanting his employer to know of his failure. He has secured through the Welfare Agency an order from the Nelson Knitting Mills and through his own efforts an order for 1924 from Kensington and Brothers of Jefferson Street. This does not help him any because, before he can fill the orders, he must have yarn; and he cannot pay for yarn and has no credit. He is not sure that the orders themselves, in written form, would be good for the yarn, because any company is privileged to cancel an order if the work is not satisfactory. He has been unable to sell very many sweaters from his present stock, which is the thing he particularly wanted, to get rid of the odds and ends on hand, because his model is considered old fashioned, and Klein and others felt that they could not buy sweaters without cuffs, as his are made. Nelson did, however, guarantee him the order, and Klein has also given him a future order.

He seems willing to do anything suggested to him. He is willing to give up the store in May and go to work for someone else. In the meantime he is willing to do any other kind of work that can be secured for him. He has never done manual labor; is small and delicate looking, very thin, always appears very solemn; thinks that the world is as bad as it could possibly be, and shows no enthusiasm over any plan. Admits that everything suggested "might be the best thing." He suggested himself that even if he could get a loan of $25, which would be necessary for the supply of yarn in order to get out the small order for Kensington and Brothers it would help them for a few weeks but it would not solve their problem; the order Nelson has given would mean that he would need $500 worth of yarn instead of $25 as that is a large order; he and his wife would have to work day and night to get the order out; it is impossible to do business with no money.

Wrote Kahn's Department Store, Greenleaf's Department Store, and Klein's Department Store asking if they had any demand for sweaters like Mr. Caterigian's. Also wrote to Marshall Field's, and to Carson Pirie and Scott, asking if they would place an order with Mr. Caterigian for sweaters.

*February 6, 1924.*—Letter received from B. K. Nelson of the Nelson Knitting Mills.

*February 12, 1924.*—Telephoned Mr. B. K. Nelson of the Nelson Knitting Mills in response to his letter of February 4, 1924. Mr.

Nelson says that he knows some of Mr. Caterigian's co-workers and friends and other people in the knitting business who know him very well, that Mr. Caterigian has no liabilities and does not owe any money, that his stock is worth quite a sum of money, and that the two machines he has are also valuable. Mr. Nelson does not feel that Mr. Caterigian is really so bad off as he says because he had worked for many years for the King Knitting Mills under Mr. Henry Newfield. Mr. Nelson happens to know Mr. Newfield and was recently in his office. He found that during the time Mr. Caterigian was there he often earned as much as $80 a week. Also some of the workers at the King Mills told him that Mr. Caterigian had been there recently looking for work and had been told that they could take him back in a few weeks' time. He had mentioned to some of the employees that he has quite a bit of cash at the present time. Mr. Nelson thinks it may be possible that the cash he was talking about is that which he either has received or is to receive from one of the orders he has been given.

*February 13, 1924.*—Mr. Caterigian in the office. He has been to the King Knitting Mills for work and has been told that they can take him in about three weeks' time. He wants work immediately and is willing to go to the Illinois Free Employment Bureau and will take anything he can get for the weeks intervening. He himself now tells of his work at the King Mills, saying that while sometimes he earned $80 a week at certain periods of the year he only earned $25, that his average earnings would not be over $40. He has received an order for eighteen dozen sweaters at the rate of $31 a dozen. This order included a letter to a yarn company asking them to give him credit for the yarn. Mr. Caterigian has also received a check for $445 for another order of goods he had in stock. He has decided to give up his shop as he feels that he will do better by working in a larger mill. He now wants Welfare Agency to find out whether he can break his lease without trouble.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mr. Askounis, Mr. Caterigian's landlord. He says that Mr. Caterigian has not told him that he is not getting along well and making money. He is willing to release him from his contract if possible. He thinks that he may be able to rent the place immediately and that there will be no difficulty. Mr. Caterigian's last month's rent on the lease is paid, and Mr. Askounis will accept that for the month of February and will allow Mr. Caterigian to move the first of March if possible.

Gave Mr. Caterigian letter to Illinois Free Employment Bureau for temporary employment. He will try to find a flat for the family to move into.

*March 7, 1924.*—Letter written to Assistant County Agent:

You and Miss Baker will be interested to know the outcome of our work with the Caterigian family. This family you will recall, was reported to us on January 2 by you because of the man's appeal to give away his three-weeks-old baby.

Mr. Caterigian, we found, had a small knitting factory, was tied up with a $75 lease, and was without trade. He had quite a stock of inexpensive sweaters on hand, and we set out immediately to interest some of the knitting companies in his goods. Within a few days we succeeded in getting from one department store an order for $400. This amount was paid him within ten days. A second order for $500 was secured from another store, as well as one or two smaller orders.

We supplied a ton of coal to the family, so that they could go back to the room behind the store. They felt that they were burdening their friends at 521 Katherine Street, but they dared not take the new baby into the cold flat.

I am very sorry that Mrs. Caterigian's picture got into the newspaper. Her husband was embarrassed and upset. He was not at home when the reporter arrived, and, I think, he is not the sort of person who would seek newspaper publicity. A number of strangers called to see him; many others wrote to him. He rather resented their interest in his private affairs.

Mr. Caterigian is convinced, after talking to some of the business men to whom we sent him, that he might better return to his work in a knitting factory. He was earning as much as $80 per week, and is to go back this week to the King Knitting Mills. His landlord was willing to let him give up his lease.

Not a word has been said further about giving away the baby. Mr. Caterigian apparently needed only a little help in getting rid of his stock and in adjusting himself to a salaried job. I am glad that you reported him to us and regret only that his case got into the newspaper first.

### 43. The Family of Marcus Jackson

*(An Able-bodied but Unskilled Negro Worker to Whom the County Agent Grants Rations Because His Earnings Are Insufficient for the Support of His Family, a Wife and Seven Children)*

[This fragment of a record sets out some of the difficulties confronting the Welfare Agency where there is in the family a supposedly able-bodied man. It will be noticed that the County Agent gives material relief and the private agency secures medical aid for Mrs. Jackson, some slight industrial service for Genevieve, and general friendly counsel.]

*October 24, 1921 (Monday).*—Miss Fleming, principal of the Garfield School, reports the Jackson family in need. The father, a negro man of forty years of age, is working now but has recently been out of work. Mrs. Jackson has been sick. Besides Mr. and Mrs. Jackson there are in the family seven children: Genevieve (born January 15, 1905), sixteen years old, who does not attend school and who has not been able to find work; Mattie (born June 27, 1907), Pearl (born June 21, 1909), Polly (born July 28, 1911), and Ben (born October 18, 1913), who go to school; and Lillie (born February 11, 1915) and Bonaparte (born August 6, 1918). They are fairly clean, but their clothing is very poor and ragged. Pearl is out of school because she has no shoes. Children are frequently late or absent. A baby died last March. Miss Fleming asks that the Agency investigate.

*October 26, 1921.*—The School Children's Aid Society (January 28, 1920), Visiting Nurse Association (September 13, 1920), West Side Dispensary and County Agent (September 17, 1920; January 15, 1921) were registered. [Letters were written to the first three.]

Visited. Mrs. Jackson, Genevieve, Lillie, and Bonaparte were at home. Mrs. Jackson says that they have had the hardest year they have ever known but she is quite sure that they will get their debts paid (they owe about $100) if Mr. Jackson can only keep at work. He is a laborer earning $3.00 a day when he works; but he finds it very difficult to get steady employment. Just now they have no money to buy clothing for the children and Lillie cannot go to kindergarten because she does not have clothing enough. Genevieve is not a strong girl and has been unable to get a job at anything except nursemaid because she is so small and frail looking. Mrs. Jackson is pregnant and is going to the West Side Dispensary for an examination in the Pre-natal Clinic (she had the Out-Patient Depart-

ment, Knox Hospital, for her last delivery) and she will take Genevieve with her for an examination.

Mrs. Jackson, who is thirty-six years old, had lived all her life in Fayette County, Mississippi, where she worked in the cotton fields on a large plantation. Her father and mother died when she was quite young, and she made her home with her older brothers and sisters until she married Mr. Jackson. Since they moved to Chicago, four years ago, they have been quite successful; and Mrs. Jackson says she is so happy to give her children an education, a thing which neither she nor her husband had. She says their home here is so much better than it ever was in the South that she is hoping that they will never again be so poor as they were in Mississippi. The home is fairly well furnished. There are no carpets, but the beds are clean and the little furniture they have is good. They have an old-fashioned square piano which Mrs. Jackson says they were able to buy cheaply. Genevieve plays a great deal and fairly well. The house is in good repair and has evidently been cleaned recently.

Lillie and Bonaparte are well-behaved little children. They answer very politely when spoken to. Lillie wants to go to school very much and cries almost every day when the other children go without her. Mrs. Jackson has not been strong since her last baby came. It died in March at the age of six months, Mrs. Jackson thinks, because of her condition. About two weeks after her confinement she became so ill that she was taken to the Knox Hospital and was there a long time. She was very weak for a long time after her return home, and then the baby's sickness and death helped to distress her. She is hoping to get along better this time and is considering hospital care for her delivery. She has a sister, Mrs. Campbell, and two brothers, James and William Brown, in Chicago and a brother, Joseph Brown, in Mississippi. Mr. Jackson's father and cousin are in Mississippi. Mr. and Mrs. Jackson were married by a Methodist minister in 1904, but they have joined the Holiness Communion. All members of the family are insured (the Metropolitan Bankers' and Globe Company). [Two previous addresses and the name of Mr. Jackson's employer were obtained.]

*November 10, 1921.*—Visited. Mrs. Campbell, Mrs. Jackson's sister, was not at home, but her three daughters, one married, and two about twenty years of age, spoke of the Jacksons as having had a hard time for a long time. Mr. Jackson has had trouble finding steady work, and it has not always been easy to keep his family going.

For a time they all lived together, but this was unsatisfactory and the Jacksons moved away. They spoke of Genevieve as being "no count" because she is not strong. She has tried to work again and again, but has been discharged because she was not strong enough to do what was required.

Visited. Mrs. Harris, a former neighbor, states that she knew the Jacksons very well and that while Mr. Jackson was out of work the family was assisted by the Sanctified Church and the County Agent. Mrs. Jackson was not well, and several of the children were sick. Mrs. Harris felt very sorry for them when the baby died, as they were completely discouraged. They were finally forced to move for non-payment of rent.

Visited. Mrs. Orr, the former landlady, spoke very well of the Jackson family. She was very certain that Mr. Jackson did his best to pay his rent and care for his family. She let them stay just as long as she could afford to, but she found that it was impossible to let them continue into the sixth month without payment of rent.

The County Agent reports that aid was first given January 15, 1921, for two weeks and shoes February 3, 1921. He describes the family as being the "better class of negro." Genevieve, according to his record, was refused a working certificate. On November 4, 1921, Mrs. Jackson again applied for aid, and they were given Rations No. 3, as Mr. Jackson's income is insufficient for the support of the large family.

*November 11, 1921.*—Genevieve was diagnosed by West Side Dispensary "migraine." Mrs. Jackson is eight months pregnant.

*November 17, 1921.*—All the Jackson children attend school very regularly. Mattie, who is in the VI A grade, used to stay out frequently until the teacher got in touch with Mrs. Jackson. Since then there has been no trouble. She is a bright girl, but lazy. Pearl, who is in the IVB, is very intelligent but sullen, and the others in her grade are afraid of her. She is not lazy like Mattie and Ben. All the children are clean looking except Ben, who is in the IA grade and does not do very well in his work. Lillie is absent only when she has no clothing. Mattie and Lillie look undernourished.

*Later.*—Genevieve will take steps at once to get her working certificate as Mrs. Jackson feels that Mattie and Pearl can manage the home when she goes to the hospital. The Knox Hospital has arranged for her confinement there because she had trouble when the last baby was born.

### 44. Mrs. Katie O'Callaghan

(*An Eighty-Year-old Widow Aided to Find Her Sixty-Year-old Son*)

*August 22, 1911.*—Mrs. O'Callaghan, an Irish woman of Scotch descent, in the office. She is eighty-one years of age[1] and she has been living with Mrs. Keegan (see case). She says Mrs. Keegan promised to pay her $2.00 a week for work she did for her but has not paid her for the last four months, but she didn't blame Mrs. Keegan as she said she couldn't pay when she hadn't any money herself. Mrs. Keegan's sister-in-law, Mrs. Flannery, has offered to pay her $1.25 a week if she comes to live with her. When Mrs. Keegan found Mrs. O'Callaghan would go to live at Mrs. Flannery's, she said she didn't want her any more, which forced Mrs. O'Callaghan on Sunday to go to live with Mrs. Tumulty, who is an old acquaintance of hers. She can live with these people until she gets work at Mrs. Flannery's, but is responsible for her eatables. Mrs. Flannery will move in a week and then wishes Mrs. O'Callaghan to come to her. Mrs. Flannery has stored Mrs. O'Callaghan's trunk and boxes and will move them with her furniture. Mrs. O'Callaghan was trying to pawn some handmade muslin underwear to get enough money for food but had been unable to do so. Gave her $1.00 cash for food.

*December 17, 1912.*—Mrs. O'Callaghan in office; had card to a doctor downtown. Asked for car tickets. Gave her car tickets.

*December 31, 1912.*—Visited Mrs. O'Callaghan at Mrs. Mason's (case). She asked visitor for $1.00 to pay her for taking care of the Mason children. Told her this could be arranged. Gave $1.00 cash.

*January 8, 1913.*—Visited. Gave Mrs. O'Callaghan $1.00 in cash, as promised before; also told her we had some clothing for her, which Mrs. Mason can come and get Saturday morning.

*January 17, 1913.*—Visited. Gave Mrs. O'Callaghan $1.00 for staying with Mrs. Mason's children.

[1] [In connection with the discussion of this record, attention should be briefly directed to the old-age pension schemes already effective in other countries and to the old-age pension laws recently enacted or proposed in several American commonwealths. For example, in 1923, old-age pension laws were enacted in Alaska, Montana, Nevada, Pennsylvania. In 1924 bills were introduced into the legislature in Kentucky, Massachusetts, Virginia, Maryland, and Rhode Island. In New Jersey such a bill passed the lower house. Commissions to study the question were created in Massachusetts in 1923 and in New York in 1924. But see, for a reference to a decision of a Pennsylvania court holding the Pennsylvania Act unconstitutional and for a review of the situation, Epstein, "Present Status of Old Age Pension Legislation in the United States," *United States Monthly Labor Review*, XIX (October, 1924), 760.]

*January 23, 1913.*—Visited. Gave Mrs. O'Callaghan $1.00 for taking care of the Mason children.

*January 28, 1913.*—Paid Mrs. O'Callaghan $1.00 for taking care of the Mason children.

*February 6, 1913.*—Visited. Gave $1.00 for taking care of the Mason children.

*February 12, 1913.*—Visited. Paid Mrs. O'Callaghan $1.00 for work taking care of the Mason children. Mrs. Mason, with whom she stays, says Mrs. O'Callaghan is getting very weak and finds it very hard to take care of the children. Thinks she should go to the County Infirmary or to a hospital.

*February 27, 1913.*—See write-up on Mason record. Gave $1.00 cash.

*December 26, 1913.*—Mrs. O'Callaghan in office. Said she was married on May 2, 1913, to Mr. Tumulty. Said Mrs. Tumulty (an old friend) died last year, and she married Mr. Tumulty to keep house for him and to keep him from going to the Old Soldiers' Home, where he properly belongs. They have been receiving Bogardus [i.e., special rations for old soldiers under the Poor Law] rations for one and cannot live on that. Asked that we try to secure double rations for them. Said that Mr. Tumulty is very poorly, sick in bed most of the time, and in need of medical care. Prefers to have the Old Soldiers' doctor come to see him. They live in a four-room flat, for which the rent is $6.00. Said Mr. Tumulty has notified the local G.A.R. of his marriage on the postal card sent them acknowledging receipt of rations.

Telephoned Mr. Moore, inspector for G.A.R. He said there had been no formal announcement of Mr. Tumulty's remarriage and it was not the policy of the organization to encourage it as a rule. Said the only reason single rations had been continued to Mr. Tumulty, instead of insisting that he go to the Home, was that he had been ill. Said, however, that he would send a visitor to investigate conditions now and advised that Mr. Tumulty send announcement of the marriage, reporting when and where, and to whom he was married.

Reported above to Mrs. Tumulty.

*January 15, 1914.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office. She said inspector came, but they had done nothing for Mr. Tumulty. Supplies were due on the tenth. Told her to write office or to get pastor to telephone. Sent her to County Agent.

*January 16, 1914.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office; was given comfortable waist from stock; she said County Agent would give supplies.

*January 27, 1914.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office, was given good suit of underwear, and good clothing from stock.

*February 5, 1914.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office to report death of Mr. Tumulty at noon today. Did not know what to do about funeral.

Telephoned Mr. Moore, who said that they would send investigator this afternoon and, if Mr. Tumulty had no insurance, county would pay $50 toward the funeral. Gave Mrs. Tumulty good black coat from stock and told her to go home and wait for investigator. Gave two cans of beans from donation.

*Later.*—Mr. Moore telephoned to say that they have found that Mr. Tumulty carried insurance, amounting to about $120 (Prudential). County therefore will do nothing. Asked that visitor notify Mrs. Tumulty to make her own funeral arrangements, being careful to keep within $50, as in case there is trouble in collecting insurance, she may have to fall back on County Agent. If Mr. Tumulty belonged to a G.A.R. post, they will take charge of services; in case he did not, Mr. Moore will do so if notified.

*Later.*—Visited. Mrs. Tumulty asked visitor to mail a letter to Mrs. Jennie Pope, Mr. Tumulty's daughter in California, notifying her of her father's death. He has a son living in Chicago, who has been notified of the death. This son is a teamster, working for a wholesale drug company. Mrs. Tumulty does not know his address; he is a cripple. The colored minister, by whom Mr. and Mrs. Tumulty were married, was at the bedside when Mr. Tumulty died; his name is Mr. Watson, of the Bethel Methodist Episcopal Church. Mrs. Tumulty said that three months' pension, $57, is due soon. Left address of Western Casket Company and told her to have son call up Welfare Agency in the morning. Several neighbors were there with her. She asked that visitor call up Commander Doane of the Old Glory Post No. 897, to which Mr. Tumulty belonged.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mr. Doane and he will take charge of the funeral.

*February 9, 1914.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office with Mr. Jackson (friend), asking Welfare Agency to furnish railroad fare to cemetery for Mrs. Tumulty. G.A.R. post has taken charge of funeral, which occurs at 1:00 today. Undertaker is M. J. Dailey. She thinks that the insurance will not be paid, as premiums have not been kept up. County is paying funeral expenses.

*Later.*—Telephoned County Agent, who said that "A contributor" has charge of all funeral arrangements for Mr. Tumulty and Mrs.

Tumulty's fare will be taken care of. Urged Welfare Agency to do nothing about it.

Gave report to Mrs. Tumulty, who said that she would go to undertaker's.

*April 15, 1914.*—A friend of Mrs. Tumulty's who refused to give name telephoned that she is about to be evicted. Three months' rent is due. Asked visit.

*April 16, 1914.*—Visited. Mrs. Tumulty had expected to receive pension after Mr. Tumulty's death, but the matter has not been yet arranged. Has put it into the hands of Mr. Baker, 500 Dearborn Street, and is a little worried about it. Landlord has threatened eviction, but has served no papers as yet. Mrs. Tumulty has a roomer, who pays her $1.00 a week and extra for suppers. He will advance one month's rent if she can raise another. Told her not to worry until landlord sent her notice. Visitor promised to take up matter of pension and see what chance there is for her getting it.

*April 17, 1914.*—Telephoned Mr. Moore, who stated that Mrs. Tumulty would probably get about $19 of the pension coming to Mr. Tumulty at the time of death, but he doubts whether she will receive any further pension. The law cuts out all widows of old soldiers who married them after 1890, unless the man died as a direct result of wound or disease incurred in the service.

*April 18, 1914.*—Telephoned Mr. Brewer, the landlord. He has served a five-day notice, which will expire next Wednesday, but agreed to delay further action until the following Saturday, April 25.

Telephoned Mr. Baker, in whose hands Mrs. Tumulty has placed her case. The clerk said that he had not yet written Washington about the matter, but she would urge him to do so at once.

*April 22, 1914.*—Advisory Committee decision: Place Mrs. Tumulty temporarily in Home for the Friendless. Mrs. Fairfax will take up matter of getting one of the endowed beds in Old Ladies' Home, through Mothers' Relief Society.

*April 23, 1914.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office; she has found two rooms with Mrs. Cravens, an old friend of hers, at $3.00 a month. She wants to move at once as she says she has never been put into the street in her life and does not want the landlord to do it this time. Thinks she is sure to get the $19 back pension due her and says that she hopes to be able to collect a back debt of $72 due Mr. O'Callaghan, her second husband, by a farmer in Dakota. She has written this man and thinks he will send her the money, as he has sent $1.00 or $2.00 at a

time before this. She says she can get along nicely for a month on the county supplies, as she does not eat much. She is anxious to trace her only son, who left Chicago with his family for Burlington, Iowa. He has never written to her since he went away. He wanted her to go, too, but she insisted upon taking with her a fifteen-year-old girl whom she had adopted, and her son's wife objected to this. This girl died two years later of tuberculosis.

She has been married three times. Her first husband was Mr. Grenstead, and they had three sons, two of whom died before reaching maturity. Mr. Grenstead was drowned in 1862. Her second husband was Mr. O'Callaghan. She came to this country from Ireland when she was nineteen years old, with her father and mother and ten brothers and sisters. They settled in Sanalac, Michigan. She is the only surviving member of her immediate family. She has a nephew who was living in the old homestead in Michigan six years ago, but a letter sent to him was returned unopened last year.

She says that, if the Welfare Agency will help her with a month's rent so that she can settle down for a while and stop worrying, she will start a search for these relatives at once. She is sure that they will give her a home if they know that she is in want. Told her that office would guarantee her one month's rent, after inspecting her new rooms.

*Later.*—Letters written postmaster, Burlington, Iowa, asking information about the son, John Grenstead, and postmaster, Sanalac, Michigan, asking about the nephew of Mrs. Tumulty.

*April 24, 1914.*—Telephoned Mrs. Fairfax and asked her to put Mrs. Tumulty's case before the Mothers' Relief Society. She says meeting will be held a week from today and she will try to get a regular allowance for Mrs. Tumulty.

*April 25, 1914.*—Inspected the two rooms Mrs. Tumulty wants to rent. Found them very satisfactory, airy, light, and clean. Visited Mrs. Tumulty and gave her $3.00 cash for first month's rent.

*April 27, 1914.*—Letter received from postmaster at Sanalac, Michigan, giving address of nephew. Letter written to him at address given by postmaster.

*Later.*—Letter received from postmaster at Burlington, Iowa, saying that there is no such person by the name of John Grenstead in Burlington and he has no reason to think that such a person has ever lived there.

Postal directory gives a Burlington in Kansas. Letter of inquiry written postmaster, Burlington, Kansas.

*May 1, 1914.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office. Says that man who moved her furniture broke her stove and she has to buy a new one. Has found one at second-hand dealer's for $3.50 and asks office to let her have 50 cents for a deposit. Her landlady will let her have $1.00, and Mrs. Keegan will give her $2.00 next Wednesday, which she has owed her for work done some time ago. Gave 50 cents.

*Later.*—Telephoned Mrs. Fairfax. She has put matter before Mothers' Relief Society, and they will pay rent for Mrs. Tumulty.

*May 16, 1914.*—Newspaper clippings received from postmaster, Burlington, Kansas.

Extracts from *Burlington Globe:*

Does Anybody Know Where John Grenstead Is? In Chicago His Eighty-four-year-old Mother Is Waiting for Him—Came to Burlington Ten Years Ago.

The whereabouts of John A. Grenstead is sought by the Welfare Agency of Chicago, which is now caring for his mother. In a letter to postmaster, Joseph D. Kellogg, the superintendent says that Grenstead is believed to have come to this place about ten years ago with his two sons, Frederick and Leonard, and his three daughters. Mr. Grenstead is now a man about sixty-two years old.

The superintendent writes further: His mother is here in Chicago absolutely depending on charity. A year ago she married an old soldier, who died in February. She is not entitled to a widow's pension and is too old to support herself. She will be eighty-four years old on May 8. She has not heard a word from her son for years, and is not sure that he is now in Burlington. If you know of a man of that name, will you kindly notify us?

Advertisement Found the Missing Man

Story in the *Globe* Leads to the Finding of John A. Grenstead at Ventura, California

Advertising brings results in every instance. Postmaster Joseph D. Kellogg will testify to the fact. Yesterday he advertised in the *Globe* for information as to the whereabouts of one John A. Grenstead, who lived in Burlington ten years ago. Before he reached home last night the information had been telephoned there. The man sought is now in Ventura, California, where he is an assistant freight agent. His brother, Walter P. Grenstead, also lived and died in Burlington. His widow, Mrs. Martha A. Grenstead, gave Mr. Kellogg the information he sought.

*May 19, 1914.*—Letter written Mr. John A. Grenstead, Ventura, California. Letter written Mr. Joseph D. Kellogg, postmaster, Burlington, Kansas.

*May 20, 1914.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office on her way to get county supplies. Gave her information received from Burlington, Kansas, and present address of her son. She will write today.

*May 28, 1914.*—Letter received from John A. Grenstead, Box 435, Ventura, California.

Your letter of May 19 received, and in reply will state that I was very much surprised and wish to thank you for your kindness and trouble in locating me.

Have not written to Mother yet and will not until I hear from you again and do not want her to know I have written this.

When I was twelve years old I ran away from Mother and my stepfather and heard nothing from her until the fall of 1901 and in February, 1902, I went to South Dakota where she was and brought her to my home in Chicago. Everything went on O.K. until she started drinking and things then went from bad to worse. I talked to her but of no use.

I was then getting ready to move to Kansas and things were in such a state that I gave her her choice between drink and me for I was and am a temperate man and my children were small and I couldn't let things go on in that way. She chose her drink.

Your letter is the first I have heard from her and I would like for you to inquire and find out what she is doing in that line and let me know before I write to her.

I am a poor man working by the day and have no money to send Mother or pay her carfare out here though she would be more than welcome with us.

Let me hear as soon as you can write again and let me know and I will then see what arrangements can be made.

*June 4, 1914.*—Visited Mrs. Mason (case); Mrs. Tumulty lived with her for three or four months in 1912–13 and cared for her children. Mrs. Mason says that she never saw Mrs. Tumulty use liquor during her residence with her, and has never heard of such a thing.

Visited Mrs. Carey (case). She states she has known Mrs. Tumulty for eight or nine years and has never even heard of her using liquor; is sure there is some mistake about the report. Says that Mrs. Cravens, with whom Mrs. Tumulty is now living, is a drinking woman and makes life very uncomfortable for Mrs. Tumulty.

*June 5, 1914.*—Visited Mrs. Tumulty to see whether she will go to care for Mrs. Mason's children (case); she says she is not strong enough to do it; has been sick this last week and unable to attend to the matter of pension. Mr. Baker has received the papers from Washington, and she must file them at the government office with two witnesses who knew Mr. Tumulty, and can swear that his death was due to injuries

received in the service. She said that Mrs. Cravens is getting very anxious for the rent.

*June 8, 1914.*—Letter written Mr. John Grenstead, Ventura, California.

*June 11, 1914.*—Visited. Mrs. Tumulty went yesterday and filed application for pension with Mr. Moore. She will receive the $19 due her husband at the time of his death, when she receives word about the pension. She is very unhappy living with Mrs. Cravens and wants to move as soon as she has money enough. Mr. and Mrs. Cravens were divorced and are now living together again. Mr. Cravens has never supported his family and is not working now. Mrs. Tumulty has no stove and cooks her county rations on Mrs. Craven's stove, paying for the privilege by feeding the family with these rations; she says they last a very short time. She has collected small sums of money from different friends, who have known her a long time, and has managed to get enough to eat, but has not paid a cent of rent. She is having much trouble with asthma and rheumatism, and wants medical care. Her breath was very strong with liquor; asked her about it and she said that she must have a little whiskey each morning to help her asthma, she takes from one to two tablespoonfuls, and ten cents' worth lasts her four days. Mr. Cravens always gives her a glass of beer at noon. Suggested that she go to the Home for the Friendless until she hears from her son or the pension application. She absolutely refuses to consider it. Gave her card to Dispensary and 10 cents carfare.

*June 16, 1914.*—Letter dated June 12, 1914, received from Mr. John Grenstead, Ventura, California:

> Yours of the 8th instant at hand and I hasten to reply to same. I tell you it lifted a very heavy load off of my heart and I do sincerely hope she has forsaken it for her and everyone else's sake. No, she has not written me yet. I have written her this eve and tried in my weak way to welcome her here to spend the rest of her days with us. Now I wish you would go to her and persuade her that it will be for the best all around.
>
> As I told you, I have nothing ahead to send to her to come on. I will see what I can do after I hear from you and her. If she comes the best way will be on the Santa Fe for she can come through without changing cars. She can come to Empire and I will meet her there. Now I leave it with you and when I hear from you again, I will then see what I can do.

*June 18, 1914.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office with letter from her son John Grenstead, urging her to come to California to spend the rest of

her life. She was much excited and anxious to go. Says she does not feel well enough to travel yet but, if she could have medical care and medicine, thinks she would be all right. Says that she has taken liquor only as a medicine and would give it up if she goes to her son, as he objects to it. Says he is the best man that ever lived, but his wife is mentally deficient and a trouble-maker. Gave her card and note of introduction to Dispensary.

*Later.*—Visited old neighborhood of Mrs. Tumulty, and inquired from colored woman living in house in front, concerning Mrs. Tumulty. She stated that Mr. O'Callaghan had had drinking carousing friends who came to the house, but that Mrs. Tumulty was not a drinking woman and did not like it.

*June 19, 1914.*—Letter written to Mr. John A. Grenstead, Ventura, California:

We have received your letter of June 12, stating that you are willing to give your mother a home. Yesterday morning she came into the office to show us a letter she had received from you; she was very much excited, as she had not known before for a surety that you were alive, and her eagerness to go out to California to see you is quite pathetic.

At present she is not very strong and hardly in shape to take a long journey. We have turned her over to a skilful and kind physician for treatment and prescription, and trust in a short time that she will be strong enough to travel.

After writing you on June 8, our visitor called to see Mrs. Tumulty, and detected an odor of liquor on her breath. On being questioned about it, she stated she occasionally took a tablespoonful in the morning to help her asthma, but she was not addicted to drink, and would find it easy to give it up, if she had the proper medicine to take its place. Suspicious of this, our visitor again undertook a thorough investigation, inquiring of the neighbors at her former residence, and others, who had known her before—they all agreed that she is not a drinking woman.

She is living at present in very undesirable quarters, occupying two rooms in the house of a drinking family. We feel that this fact, combined with her ill health, are sufficient to account for the liquor she had had that day. Our visitor had a serious talk with her yesterday about the matter, and she declares that if she went out to your home, she would give up the use of any stimulants at all. Personally, we feel that with sufficient food and care, she will not feel the need of anything of that kind.

It is quite probable we will be able to secure a half-fare ticket to California for Mrs. Tumulty. You stated in your letter, that upon hearing from us, you would know what you would be able to do. Will you inform us at your earliest convenience, how much money you can contribute toward your mother's fare?

*June 29, 1914.*—The following letter from John A. Grenstead, received:

Yours of the 19th inst. at hand and in reply will say I cannot see where I can get anything to send to pay Mother's way. I am working for $1.75 per day, there is six now in the family, my house is in the Building Loan and costs me $20 per month and it takes all I can raise and scrape to meet that. I am perfectly willing to take my mother and give her a home as long as she or I live, but I cannot send anything to pay her way. I am writing you this only as the truth and if I could do anything I would willingly do it. As to the other thing I wrote you, I think myself she would stop that if she was away from the influence of it. She wrote me a letter a few days ago and I wrote her and insisted on her coming out here but have not heard from her yet. Hope to by the time this reaches you.

*Later.*—Letter written to postmaster, Ventura, California, inclosing letter to pastor of Methodist Episcopal Church asking about Mr. John Grenstead's ability to care for his mother. Similar letters written to Mr. W. F. Rawlings, attorney, and Mr. Y. P. Allen, citizen of Ventura, California, asking about Mr. Grenstead's character and his ability to take care of his mother.

*Later.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office with letter from son. Said she had a friend who might be willing to keep her until time for her to leave. She is getting her clothes in shape.

*July 3, 1914.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office with letter from her son who wants her to come. She asked about pension; told her Mr. Moore would notify her. Asked her to go to Home for the Friendless until she gets transportation. Said they worked her too hard there and she could rest better where she is.

*July 15, 1914.*—Visited. Took instructions to Mrs. Tumulty from son in California. She thinks she cannot leave present address until she receives $19 from Washington, D.C. Mrs. Cravens says, if Mrs. Tumulty wishes, she may stay with her until she goes to California. Mrs. Tumulty seemed to prefer to go to her friend Mrs. Foster, as soon as the $19 comes.

*July 20, 1914.*—Following letter, dated July 15, 1914, received from Rev. Edward Kennedy, pastor Methodist Episcopal Church, Ventura, California:

Mr. Grenstead and family are good members of my church. I have had a talk with him and he wants his mother to come to Ventura. He thinks he can care for her when she arrives. Some of the older children work and help support the family.

*July 29, 1914.*—The following letter, dated July 25, 1914, received from W. F. Rawlings, Ventura, California:

Replying to your letter, herewith inclosed, I am sorry to report that in my opinion Mr. Grenstead is not able to furnish any money for his mother's transportation from Chicago to Ventura, and I doubt very much whether he will be able to support her if she should come. He is working as a day laborer, has recently purchased a small house in this city on which there is a heavy mortgage and he is paying monthly on this debt, besides supporting his wife and one child all the time, and another child a large portion of the time, besides having the burden of supporting a married daughter about three to six months each year.

Mr. Grenstead is an exemplary man. A perfect sober gentleman, and I would be much pleased to see him have his mother with him, but I fear he will not be able to support her, as he is an aged man himself and may lose his job anytime.

I trust this will be treated confidentially.

*August 19, 1914.*—Visited. Talked with little boy, who said Mrs. Tumulty had moved somewhere about five blocks away. Said she had gone a long while—about a month.

*August 20, 1914.*—Visited in neighborhood of Parker School. After numerous inquiries in neighborhood, finally located Mrs. Tumulty at Mrs. Foster's. Said she had not been to office because she was suffering greatly with rheumatism and the warm weather exhausted her. Has been at this address six weeks. Said Mrs. Foster works in some small park, and Mrs. Tumulty cooks for the children, washes dishes, and sweeps the floors—says she is not able to pay anything for her room. Has received county supplies once since living here. Said she had been to see Mr. Moore, of Pension Department, a couple of weeks ago, and he had not yet sent her papers to Washington; she was very much disappointed. Hopes to go down to see him again, as soon as she feels a little stronger, to learn if the pension will be granted.

Spoke to her about going to her son's in California—said she is very anxious to go, but cannot without a little cash. Said she received a letter from her son about two weeks ago.

Told her to come to office and see visitor.

*August 24, 1914.*—Mrs. Tumulty in office with very nice letter from her son, and also one from her granddaughter, urging her to come as quickly as possible. Telephoned Mr. Moore, who said that the process of securing the accrued pension due Mr. Tumulty at his death ($19)

will take as long a time as a new application, and that if we could send Mrs. Tumulty to California, not to delay on that account, as she would receive it there just as well as here. Told Mrs. Tumulty to get her things ready and collect $2.00 due her, and try to leave about September 15, when Miss Cochran, a visitor in the office who is going to California for her vacation, will be leaving.

*September 4, 1914.*—Visited. Mrs. Tumulty said she could not go until her trunk was brought over from Mrs. Cravens'. She did not feel able to go herself—was suffering from dysentery. Mrs. Foster's boy can bring it over on a wheel barrow but knows that Mrs. Cravens would not let him have it. Mrs. Tumulty is very anxious to go but cannot get ready for another week and does not want to go without some money. She said she had some money to collect.

*Later.*—Visited. Found Mrs. Tumulty under the influence of liquor. She seems very weak and feeble. Told her we would send woman to pack her trunk and go with boy to Mrs. Cravens' to get the other. Promised to send county doctor.

*September 5, 1914.*—Telephoned county doctor.

*Later.*—Mrs. Perkins (case) in office. Gave her address of Mrs. Tumulty for packing her things and assisting her in getting ready to go.

*Later.*—Mrs. Perkins in office. Said she had packed one trunk but Mrs. Tumulty was not able to go for the other and would not let Mrs. Perkins go after it. She bought three clothes lines at 10 cents each to rope the two trunks. Gave her 30 cents cash. Mrs. Perkins will go back and insist on getting trunk from Mrs. Cravens. They leave tonight from Polk Street Depot at 10:00. Miss Cochran has secured ticket and will call for Mrs. Tumulty.

Gave Miss Cochran $2.00 for lunches, etc., for Mrs. Tumulty.

*Later.*—Telephoned O'Connell, expressman, to call for trunks.

*Later.*—Miss Cochran reports that Mrs. Tumulty will not leave before the seventh, Monday.

*Later.*—Telephoned, inquiring about ticket. It is good for thirty days and Monday night will be all right.

*Later.*—Miss Cochran reports that Mrs. Tumulty will leave with her Monday, and she will wait until then.

*September 8, 1914.*—Telephoned Miss Cochran's home. She left Monday, the seventh, for California.

*September 9, 1914.*—Letter received from Miss Cochran, en route. She had to pay $7.00 for excess baggage for Mrs. Tumulty and 75 cents for telegram to Mr. Grenstead, telling him that his mother was leaving.

*September 12, 1914.*—Paid O'Connell, expressman, $1.50 expressage.

*September 15, 1914.*—Letter received from Miss Cochran, reporting safe arrival.

*September 17, 1914.*—Letter received from Mr. Grenstead reporting arrival of his mother but saying that he cannot refund money spent on her journey.

*October 8, 1914.*—Letter written Miss Cochran, remitting amount expended for Mrs. Tumulty.

*October 19, 1914.*—Letter received from Miss Cochran with picture of Mrs. Tumulty inclosed.

*October 20, 1914.*—Letter written to Mr. J. A. Grenstead, sending picture of Mrs. Tumulty and telling of Miss Cochran's expenditures for the baggage.

*November 4, 1914.*—Letter from Mrs. J. A. Grenstead, Ventura, California:

Your letter at hand and I will endeavor to answer. Yes, Mr. Grenstead is working again for the very large sum of $1.75 a day and is trying to feed a family of eight beside paying $20 per month on our home which we are striving to keep. Our son who has helped us some is out of work and has been since August, so you can judge for yourself. I am very sorry about this matter, but there is no use talking about it any more, we simply cannot pay it. In the first place there should have been someone to look out for her and see what she was bringing. Her trunks and all there was in them was hardly worth $7.00, which consisted principally of second hand clothing, mostly coats and jackets which she or no one else will ever be able to wear. If she had brought her bedding, instead, it would have been far better.

Now, I am very sorry to write you this and hope you will pardon me. I would rather send you the money if I could but we just cannot do it. It is entirely out of the question. Our mother seems to enjoy California very much but is hardly climated yet. Her rheumatism bothers some and she has a cold. Still we think she is pretty well and strong for a person of her age. We live about a mile from the stores and church but she has walked there and back four times. We think the picture very nice. Many thanks and thank you very much for all you have done for her and now repeating our invitation to you to visit us if ever convenient, and wishing you well, I remain

*December 12, 1914.*—Telephoned Mr. Moore, giving Mrs. Tumulty's California address.

# APPENDIX

# STATUTES AND ANNUAL REPORTS SHOWING WORK OF PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES

## SECTION I

## THE POOR LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

### 1. The Pauper Act of Illinois[1]

1. *Who liable to support.*] § 1. *Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly:* That every poor person who shall be unable to earn a livelihood in consequence of any bodily infirmity, idiocy, lunacy, or other unavoidable cause, shall be supported by the father, grandfather, mother, grandmother, children, grandchildren, brothers or sisters of such poor persons, if they, or either of them, be of sufficient ability: Provided, that when any persons become paupers from intemperance, or other bad conduct, they shall not be entitled to support from any relation, except parent or child.

2. *Who first called on.*] § 2. The children shall first be called on to support their parents, if there be children of sufficient ability; and if there be none of sufficient ability, the parents of such poor person shall next be called on if they be of sufficient ability; and if there be no parents or children of sufficient ability, the brothers and sisters of such poor person shall next be called on, if they be of sufficient ability; and if there be no brothers or sisters of sufficient ability, the grandchildren of such poor person shall next be called on, if they be of sufficient ability, and next the grandparents if they be of sufficient ability: Provided, married females, while their husbands live, shall not be liable to contribute for the support of their poor relatives, except when they have separate property in their own right, out of which such contributions can be made: Provided, further, that when the county in the first instance shall furnish support to such persons as are mentioned in Section 1 of this act, that the county can sue the relatives mentioned in this section, in the manner provided in this act, for any sum or sums paid by the county for the support of such person mentioned in Section 1 of this act.

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 107.

3. *Complaint by State's Attorney.*] § 3. Upon any failure of any such relative, or relatives, to support such poor person as provided by this act, it shall be the duty of the State's Attorney to make complaint thereof to the county court of his county, against all the relatives of such pauper in this state, liable to his support, and prosecute the same.

4. *Complaint by overseer.*] § 4. The complaint provided for in the preceding section may also be made by the overseer of the poor of the town or precinct where the poor person may reside, and it shall be the duty of such overseer to make such complaint in all cases where there may not be a county agent or State's Attorney, or when the county agent or State's Attorney shall refuse or neglect to make the same.

5. *Summons.*] § 5. At least three days' notice of such application shall be given to the defendant, by summons, requiring him to appear and answer the complaint.

6. *Trial—Judgment.*] § 6. The defendants, being duly notified, the court shall proceed in a summary way to hear the proofs and allegations of the parties, without further written pleadings, and if satisfied by the allegations and proofs that the defendants, or any of them, are not supporting such poor person, or contributing their proper share for such support, in a manner suitable to the situation of such poor person, taking into account the ability of such defendants, then the court may at the time of giving judgment in the case, and from time to time thereafter, make any and all necessary orders in regard to the custody of such poor person, and for the payment weekly to the overseer of the poor of the town or precinct, or to such other person as the court shall direct, of such sum, to be applied in the support of such poor person, as in the opinion of the court is necessary to so properly support such poor person, taking in view the ability of the defendants to furnish such support. The court may discharge any defendant that may appear not to be liable for such support, or who is contributing his fair share therefor.

7. *Contribution.*] § 7. If it shall appear that the relatives of a certain degree are unable wholly to maintain such poor person, but are able to contribute towards his support, the court may, in its discretion, direct two or more relatives of different degrees to maintain such poor person, and shall prescribe the proportion which each shall contribute for that purpose.

8. *Partial support.*] § 8. If it shall appear that the relatives liable, as aforesaid, are not of sufficient ability wholly to maintain such poor person, but are able to contribute something, the court shall

direct the sum, in proportion to their ability, which such relatives shall pay weekly for that purpose. . . . .

11. *How payments enforced.*] § 11. Payment of the several sums under such order as they fall due may be compelled by attachment as for contempt against the persons of the defendants, or by execution against their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, or both, in like manner as other judgments at law or decrees in chancery. . . . .

13. *Bringing pauper into county—Penalty.*] § 13. If any person shall bring and leave any pauper in any county in this state, wherein such pauper is not lawfully settled, knowing him to be a pauper, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of $100 for every such offense, to be sued for and recovered by and to the use of such county by action of debt, before any justice of the peace in the proper county.

14. *Support by county.*] § 14. Every county (except those in which the poor are supported by the towns) shall relieve and support all poor and indigent persons lawfully resident therein, except as herein otherwise provided.

15. *Support by towns.*] § 15. Every town in counties in which the poor are supported by the towns (as provided by law) shall relieve and support all poor and indigent persons lawfully resident therein, except as herein otherwise provided.

16. *Removal of pauper not resident of county or town.*] § 16. If any person shall become chargeable as a pauper in any county or town, who did not reside therein at the commencement of twelve months immediately preceding his becoming so chargeable, but did at that time, reside in some other county or town in this State, it shall be the duty of the county or the town clerk, as the case may be, to send written notice by mail or otherwise, to the county clerk of the county in which the pauper so resided, or if he then resided in a town supporting its own poor, to the town clerk of such town, requesting the proper authorities of such county or town to remove said pauper forthwith, and to pay the expenses accrued and to accrue in taking care of the same; and such county or town, as the case may be, where such pauper resided at the commencement of the twelve months immediately preceding such person becoming chargeable as a pauper, shall pay to the county or town so taking care of such pauper, all reasonable charges for the same, and such amount may be recovered by suit in any court of competent jurisdiction.

17. *"Residence" defined.*] § 17. The term "residence," mentioned in this act, shall be taken and considered to mean the actual

residence of the party, or the place where he was employed, or in case he was in no employment, then it shall be considered and held to be the place where he made it his home. . . . .

20. *Duties of overseers.*] § 20. The overseers of the poor shall have the care and oversight of all such persons in their town or precinct as are unable to earn a livelihood in consequence of any bodily infirmity, idiocy, lunacy or other unavoidable cause, and as are not supported by their relatives or at the county poor house, and shall see that they are suitably relieved, supported and employed, subject to such restrictions and regulations as may be prescribed by the county board, or in case the poor are supported by the town, subject to such restrictions and regulations as may be prescribed by such town. . . . .

24. *Temporary relief.*] § 23. When any poor or indigent person does not require to be supported wholly by the county, the overseer of the poor may, subject to such limitations as may be prescribed by the county board, render him temporary relief without his being committed to the care of any such person, or being sent to the county poor house: Provided, that when the county shall furnish such poor or indigent person temporary relief, that the county shall recover from the relatives of such poor or indigent persons in an appropriate action as provided by this act.

25. *Aid to non-resident poor—Burial.*] § 24. When any non-resident, or any person not coming within the definition of a pauper, of any county or town, shall fall sick or die, not having money or property to pay his board, nursing and medical aid or burial expenses, the overseer or overseers of the poor of the town or precinct in which he may be shall give, or cause to be given to him such assistance as they may deem necessary and proper, or cause him to be conveyed to his home, and if he shall die, cause him to be decently buried; and the county shall pay the reasonable expense thereof, which expenses of board, nursing, medical aid and burial expenses, may be recovered from the relatives of the said pauper, or from the county of which he is a resident, in an appropriate action. . . . .

29. *Powers of county board.*] § 28. The county board of any county in this state in which the poor are not supported by the towns thereof, as provided by law, shall have power—

(1) To acquire, in the name of the county by purchase, grant, gift or devise, a suitable tract or tracts of land upon which to erect and maintain a county poor house, and other necessary buildings in connection therewith, and for the establishment and maintenance of a farm

for the employment of the poor, and to erect and maintain such buildings and establish and maintain such farm; but they shall not expend for the purchase of any such land or the erection of any such buildings a sum exceeding three thousand ($3,000) dollars without a two-thirds majority vote of all the members of the county board. . . . .

(2) To receive, in the name of the county gifts, devises and bequests to aid in the erection or maintenance of a poor house, or in the care and support of poor and indigent persons. . . . .

(3) To make all proper rules and regulations for the management of the county poor house and poor farm and of the inmates of the poor house.

(4) To appoint a keeper of the poor house and all necessary agents and servants for the management and control of the poor house and farm, and prescribe their compensation and duties.

(5) To appoint a county physician and prescribe his compensation and duties.

(6) To appoint an agent to have the general supervision and charge of all matters in relation to the care and support of the poor, and prescribe his compensation and duties.

(7) To make all proper and necessary appropriations out of the county treasury for the purchase of land and the erection of buildings, as authorized by this Act, and to defray the expenses necessary in the care and maintenance of the same, and for the support of the poor, and to cause an amount sufficient for said purposes to be levied upon the taxable property of the county, and collected as other taxes.

(8) Upon a two-thirds majority of all the members of the board to sell and dispose of the whole or any part of the poor farm of the county in such manner and upon such terms as they may deem best for the interest of the county, and to make and execute all necessary conveyances thereof, in the same manner as other conveyances of real estate may be made by a county. . . . .

34. *Poor to be kept at poor house.*] § 33. When any county shall have provided a suitable poor house for the accommodation of the poor of the county, and the same is ready for the reception and care of the poor, all poor persons requiring the care and support of the county shall be cared for and supported at such poor houses, and not in the several towns and precincts in the county, except when they cannot be received in the poor house, and except as herein otherwise provided. . . . .

### 2. Outdoor Relief in Illinois Outside of Cook County[1]

The September, 1917, appropriations for out door relief in ninety-seven counties of Illinois totaled $1,123,374. (This does not include Cook County.) This means almost exclusively help outside of institutions, such as groceries, fuel, clothing, rent, etc., given to families.

| | |
|---|---|
| To this | $1,123,374 |
| Add appropriation for physicians | 46,780 |
| Add appropriation for hospitals | 10,500 |
| Add appropriation for burials | 1,200 |
| Add appropriation for quarantine cases | 11,450 |
| Add appropriation for miscellaneous charitable purposes | 19,830 |
| Total charitable appropriations (exclusive of blind pensions, mothers' pensions, almshouse, county hospital, and expenses for state institutions and children's institutions) | $1,213,134 |

With $1,213,134 to be expended in these counties, and all the many hundreds of supervisors and overseers and commissioners to spend it for the poor people, it is not strange that much of it should be wasted. Back of the different men (and two or three women) that are administering this relief to the poor are the great differences in the counties themselves. We could not expect the same kind of care of the poor in rich Boone County as in poor Pope County. Nor is it just differences in the financial resources of different counties. The relief given to the poor is influenced by all the various elements that make up the social and industrial and political background, that is so different in each county.

One of the most marked contrasts in the poor relief in the different counties is the amounts given. Of course, the amount of relief is unrelated to the social conditions or the special needs of the different localities.

Alexander County (population 22,641), gives one of the smallest per capita amounts in relief of the state. In September, 1917, this county appropriated $4,500 for out door relief, but this is used almost entirely for hospital service, railroad fare ("passing on"), institutional care of children and quarantine cases. Almost none of it is used for what is technically called out door relief—provisions, clothing, fuel, etc., used in the homes of the people. Private charities of Cairo must give necessary relief to the poor in their own homes.

Lawrence County (population 22,661 in 1910) appropriated $16,000 and spent approximately $19,000. This is one of the highest

[1] Extract from the *Institution Quarterly*, XI (June–September, 1920), 85–86.

per capita rates of the state. (The increase in population lowers this somewhat.)

Monroe County (population 13,508) spent $585 in relieving the county poor in one year (among the lowest per capita poor relief). Schuyler County (14,852 population) spent $6,531.19 the same year. DeKalb County (33,457 in population) appropriated $15,000. McHenry County (population 32,509) appropriated $2,500.

St. Clair County, the largest in population outside of Cook County, appropriated $25,830, while Peoria appropriated $40,500, Sangamon $40,000, LaSalle $31,800, Kane $32,000.

This contrast in the amounts appropriated is typical of differences in the ways the hundreds of relief-administrators are doing their work in the various counties. Each county has its own ideas about who should be aided, and what character of relief should be given.

Just as there is no underlying principle that relates one county to another, so often each township differs within a county. In St. Clair County the county auditor published for the year 1918 a very interesting report on the "Pauper Claims," giving the name of the township and its supervisor or overseer of the poor, its population, its equalized valuation, the total amount spent for its pauper claims, and the per capita pauper claim, with a statement showing the increase or decrease as compared with the preceding year. The highest per capita amount given was in Stites Township (population of 1,822, almost entirely colored people)—$0.80 per capita. The three next highest per capita were $0.34, $0.26 and $0.21, all in rich agricultural communities. East St. Louis and Belleville, the largest industrial centers, spent respectively $0.13 and $0.14 per capita. In five townships no county relief was given. The average for the year was $0.12 per capita. The total decrease, as compared with the preceding year, was $4,456.72.

### 3. Outdoor Relief in Cook County: The County Agent[1]

The most important officer connected with the care of dependents by the County is the County Agent. He is the representative of the County to whom all applications for County Aid must be made. In this work he is governed by the provisions of the so-called "Pauper Law" which requires recipients of aid to have been residents of the

[1] Extract from *A Study of Cook County*, issued by the Cook County Board of Commissioners, 1914, pp. 22–24. For the corresponding items at the present time, see the annual *Charity Service Reports* of the Board of Commissioners of Cook County.

State and County for at least one year, and which provides, within certain degrees of kinship, that, when possible, relatives shall support relatives.

The County Agent also co-operates with the federal authorities, giving them the names of persons liable to be deported under the United States Immigration Law, which provides that immigrants who have become public charges within three years after admission from causes existing before admission, and immigrants who were admitted although they, as a matter of fact, might have been discovered to be liable to become public charges, may be returned to their former home.

The County Agent's representatives must therefore make sufficient inquiry to determine whether the applicant should be helped by Cook County, or should be returned to another county, or is ineligible for aid because of relatives able to contribute to his support. In 1913, 168 cases were investigated of non-residents who were thought properly to be charges upon other counties, resulting in 85 persons being actually returned to the county from which they emigrated; 83 applications were made by the authorities of other counties to return residents to Cook County, of which 50 were accepted and 33 rejected. The transportation of applicants from Cook County to the county of their residence, and from other counties to Cook County in 1913, cost $1,117.14, and the sum of $2,000.00 was appropriated for this purpose for 1914.

When it has been determined after investigation that the applicant is eligible, the County Agent must either himself, or through his assistants, determine whether help shall be given in the home of the applicant (Outdoor Relief), or in one of the County Institutions (Indoor Relief), or admission secured into an institution appropriate to the applicant's needs. If the application is accepted and outdoor relief decided upon, aid of various kinds is given.

1. Medical aid: Certain kinds of illness are treated and certain forms of medical care are given in the home. For this purpose, a staff of 16 County Physicians is maintained, and an appropriation of $15,000.00 was made for 1914 to cover medical service connected with the County Agent's office, at the rate of $1.00 per visit. In 1913, 18,005 persons were given treatment in their homes; 1,389 cases were given preliminary treatment and then sent to the County Hospital for further attention. Eye glasses, artificial limbs, braces, and other needed appliances are also given, and mention may be made at this time of the burial of those who die destitute, who are interred in the

County burial ground: 182 burials were provided in 1913 through the office of the County Agent.

2. Food and other material aid: The 1913 report of the County Agent shows that 10,064 family groups (9,487 civilian and 577 families of old soldiers), 42,002 persons in all, were given material relief in their homes. The heads of 4,246 of these families were widows or deserted women, with a total of 10,835 children to care for; 2,585 of these families received aid for only one month; 4,007 families were aided from one to two months while only 643 families had to be aided throughout the entire 12 months.

The food is distributed in proportions known as "Rations," which are graded to suit the size of the family. The following description of rations allowed in 1913 is interesting:

| No. 1 Ration<br>One Person | No. 2 Ration<br>2 or 3 Persons | No. 3 Ration<br>4 or 5 Persons |
|---|---|---|
| 1 lb. Soap | 1 lb. Soap | 2 lbs. Soap |
| 2 lbs. Beans | 5 lbs. Beans | 5 lbs. Beans |
| 2 lbs. Rice | 4 lbs. Rice | 6 lbs. Rice |
| 2½ lbs. Rolled Oats | 2½ lbs. Rolled Oats | 5 lbs. Rolled Oats |
| ½ lb. Coffee | 1 lb. Coffee | 2 lbs. Coffee |
| ½ lb. Tea | ½ lb. Tea | 1 lb. Tea |
| 1 Sack $\frac{1}{16}$ Flour | 1 Sack ⅛ Spring Flour | 2 Sacks ⅛ Flour |
| 2½ lbs. Corn Meal | 2½ lbs. Corn Meal | 5 lbs. Corn Meal |
| 2 lbs. Sugar | 3 lbs. Sugar | 5 lbs. Sugar |
| 2½ lbs. Syrup | 3 lbs. Lard | 3 lbs. Lard |
| | 2½ lbs. Syrup | 2½ lbs. Syrup |
| Cost per Ration, 91 cts. | Cost per Ration, $1.77 | Cost per Ration, $2.81 |

| No. 4 Ration<br>6 or 7 Persons | No. 5 Ration<br>8 or more Persons |
|---|---|
| 2 lbs. Soap | 2 lbs. Soap |
| 5 lbs. Beans | 5 lbs. Beans |
| 6 lbs. Rice | 6 lbs. Rice |
| 5 lbs. Rolled Oats | 5 lbs. Rolled Oats |
| 2 lbs. Coffee | 2 lbs. Coffee |
| 1 lb. Tea | 1 lb. Tea |
| 2 Sacks ⅛ Flour | 3 Sacks ⅛ Flour |
| 1 Sack $\frac{1}{16}$ Flour | 5 lbs. Corn Meal |
| 5 lbs. Corn Meal | 8 lbs. Sugar |
| 7 lbs. Sugar | 3 lbs. Lard |
| 3 lbs. Lard | 2½ lbs. Syrup |
| 2½ lbs. Syrup | |
| Cost per Ration, $3.13 | Cost Per Ration, $3.39 |

During 1913, in addition to food, 15,603 pairs of shoes,[1] 16,733 tons of coal, 59,576 quarts of milk and 172,210 pounds of ice were distributed.

The staff of the County Agent for 1914 included a first assistant and seven second assistant county agents, a deporting agent and from 15 to 45 relief investigators, as the demands upon the office fluctuated. The appropriation for salaries of this office for 1914, including besides the staff mentioned above the necessary clerical, storeroom and janitor service, was $107,861.85.

For the purpose of convenience to the poor, as well as economy and efficiency of service, the County Agent has districted the city, and maintains a branch in each of eight districts. Outdoor relief in towns lying outside of the city limits is administered by the town supervisors. $23,075 were appropriated for 1914 for relief to be granted in the respective towns, including payment at the rate of $1.00 a day to the supervisors while acting as overseers of the poor.

### 4. Indoor Relief[2]

#### INSTITUTIONAL CARE

In case relief and treatment in the home are not appropriate forms of service, the County Agent admits the applicant to the County Hospital, the County Psychopathic Hospital, the Oak Forest Infirmary, or the County institution for tubercular patients (located also at Oak Forest) as the case may demand, or supervises the examination which is the basis for admission to the state institutions for the blind and deaf (at Jacksonville), the feeble-minded (at Lincoln), and the insane (at Kankakee, Elgin, Dunning, Peoria and Watertown). In 1913 there were 2,306 such examinations resulting in 1,756 commitments to state insane hospitals, 30 admissions to the Illinois Asylum for Feeble-minded Children and 2 admissions to the school for the deaf.

### 5. The County Infirmary[3]

The institution in which Cook County cares for its infirm and aged has been given the name Oak Forest Infirmary in the hope that it may lose some of the horror attached in the minds of the decent poor to the "Poor House," "Almshouse," or simply "House." It has been

[1] Given school children on receipt of a note from the principal after investigation.

[2] Extract from *A Study of Cook County*, p. 26.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 28–32.

located for the past three years on the beautiful county farm of 340 acres at Oak Forest, which is twenty miles southwest of Chicago on the Rock Island railroad.

The two institutions at Oak Forest are the Infirmary, where the feeble, aged, chronically sick, and a few imbecile or physically handicapped children[1] are cared for, and the Tuberculosis Hospital. In 1913, the county spent approximately $350,000 for the support of the two institutions and cared for 4,000 persons, the number present at any one time varying between 1,600 in the summer and 2,100 in the winter months. The corresponding appropriation for 1914 is $400,085.

Naturally a large proportion of the inmates are aged, 50 per cent in 1913 being over 60 and 70 per cent over 50 years of age, which is old age among the poor, who have gone to work very young and whose lives of hardship bring them to an early old age. Five hundred were irresponsible, feeble-minded, imbecile or even idiotic. The patients in the Infirmary come, of course, from every kind of family and represent every kind of experience. Thirty-one nationalities besides American were represented among them in 1912, and occupations as varied as brick layers, carpenters, engineers, shoemakers, teamsters, cabinet makers, architects, and actors were found in their midst. The great number of men are, however, unskilled laborers and of the women, housekeepers. Many have lived in earlier days in the country or in smaller towns and have done outdoor tasks. All have worked, although some have spent years in more or less dissipated ways. There are aged and infirm men whose women-folk are dead and feeble old women whose men-folk have died or deserted long ago. There are a few couples passing their last years together there.

The staff of employes to care for so large and so feeble a population is necessarily large, comprising, besides the general and assistant

| | Boys | Girls |
|---|---|---|
| [1] Population, December, 1911 | 38 | 18 |
| Admitted, 1912 | 51 | 36 |
| Discharged | 51 | 26 |
| Died | 6 | 5 |
| Population, December, 1912 | 31 | 23 |
| Tubercular: | | |
| Admitted | 37 | 28 |
| Discharged | 20 | 14 |
| Died | 3 | 5 |
| Population, December, 1912 | 14 | 9 |

superintendent, five senior and ten junior physicians, a chief and four assistant engineers, three housekeepers, a head cook, a director and two assistant directors of nurses, 62 nurses, and approximately 50 assistants in the various departments connected with the infirmary. For consideration both of economy and of kindness, those who can work should be given the opportunity to do so. This means a very considerable amount of supervision; it also requires the exercise of great ingenuity. They must not be overworked, and their tasks should be so assigned as to give them variety and interest and incidentally reduce the cost of their care. They have in the past been occupied at tasks adapted to their strength, such as making brooms, whisk brooms, mattresses, pillows, overalls, and jumpers besides many other articles. During 1914 the superintendent has, with great benefit to their health and with profit to the institution, undertaken to give them light work about the grounds. One venture has resulted in a phenomenally successful chicken farm which supplies chickens and eggs to the tuberculosis patients, and another in the direction of gardening has added variety to the diet and given wholesome occupations to old persons who have been used to doing things with their hands on the land. The question of developing or at least keeping alive such skill as they possess, of possibly finding a market for some of their products, and possibly of paying for certain kinds of tasks are problems to be worked at as the service of this appealing group of dependents grows more intelligent and skillful.

It may be said now that these pathetic charges on the bounty of the state are assured of clean and adequate lodging accommodations, of wholesome food, of comfortable clothing, of light and air, and the sight of beautiful stretches of country, of the reasonable chance to exercise their feeble powers. When one recalls the circumstances from which many of these patients have come, a reasonable hope of further raising the standard of care does not seem groundless.

### 6. Summer Outings[1]

Attention has been called to the fact that the daily population of the Oak Forest Infirmary is much larger in the Winter than in the Summer. It is possible for many aged or infirm persons either to care for themselves in the Summertime, or to find support with relatives when fuel is not needed and lighter food will prove adequate than in the Winter. The unoccupied space at the Oak Forest Infirmary has

[1] Extract from *A Study of Cook County*, p. 38.

been utilized during the Summers of 1913 and 1914 to give Summer outings to women with children who are usually in receipt of outdoor relief from the office of the County Agent. For 1914, an appropriation of $2,500 was made for salaries of those in charge of this outing camp and for incidental expenses. The general cost of maintenance is borne from the regular institution funds. During the night these women and children sleep in those portions of the Infirmary which would otherwise be vacant at that time of year. They eat in the general dining room at a time when the patients are not being served, and portions of the grounds not frequented by inmates of the institution are likewise set apart for their play and recreation. For their care, their guidance in recreation and amusement, and for their instruction, persons are employed who are trained in the direction of supervising the play of older and of little children and of counseling the women. As has been said, this opportunity for outing is limited to those families who are the recipients of the outdoor relief from the County Agent. Should the experiment finally justify itself, undoubtedly further provision of a more suitable and appropriate kind will be made.

### 7. Bureau of Public Welfare[1]

The purpose of all the expenditure of money, strength and skill in the charity service is that the misery of the community may be lessened, the health of the public safe-guarded, the earning capacity of the able-bodied conserved. If the spirit of the law is observed, it means the gradual development of a charity service able to render the aid offered in such a constructive and intelligent manner as to make it really effectual and, so far as possible, preventive of needless poverty, sickness and wretchedness. Even with the service as it has developed, the foot ball often of political parties, the plaything for political ends, there is in the ordinary performance of duty an enormous amount of simple, humble, unrecognized devotion and kindness. The attendants at the Infirmary, the nurses in the hospital, the other members of staff, give not only the service for which they are paid, often most inadequately, but genuine human sympathy. But their duties often become a routine matter, and when hundreds are cared for it is difficult to remember always that each has his own problem of misery and need. Often the patient is reluctant to confide in the attendant or nurse with whom he comes in frequent contact. The necessity of devising ways of discovery when the especial services should

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.

be offered has, therefore, been apparent to many who are concerned with the more efficient administration of the County Charity Service.

Moreover, the same necessity which has arisen in the County Hospital and in the County Court for supplementing the ordinary machinery of the institution by the creation of a Social Service Department has been recognized in connection with Oak Forest, the Jail and various institutions for children. Therefore, in 1914 the Bureau of Public Welfare was created to render such services as these in connection with the institutions named.

There is a Director of the Bureau, two Welfare Workers are in service at Oak Forest, two at the County Jail, and two in connection with the institutions to which children are committed by the Juvenile Court. In the first six months after the organization of the Bureau, 711 cases were handled, of which 308 were at Oak Forest, 238 at the jail and 168 in connection with the children's institutions.

The circumstances of 180 patients at Oak Forest have been inquired into minutely, resulting in 24 per cent of these patients being returned to normal life or removed to hospitals for treatment of their ailments or placed in special institutions more suited to their needs. Thus Oak Forest has been relieved of their care, the patients have been given the chance of normal living and recovery, and, merely as a byproduct, Cook County has been saved an annual expenditure of $6,336. At the suggestion of the Bureau, the County Board has appointed a psychologist to examine into the mental condition of all patients who appear to be inadvisably held in the Infirmary. A statement has been prepared of the condition of 78 blind inmates of the Infirmary, and submitted to a leading oculist, who will make examinations in all cases where the patient desires it.

Not only the circumstances incident to the crimes committed by 238 boys have been reviewed by the two workers assigned to the jail, but an inquiry has been made into the boys' home surroundings, work record and previous court records, if any, to determine what kind of boys they are. These findings are submitted to the judge at the time of the boy's trial, and furnish a basis for his decision, and often prevent injustice. The work has resulted in many boys profiting by an early hearing of their cases, a mitigation of sentence, a commitment to Pontiac rather than the House of Correction, return to parents in other states, or trial on probation.

The parents and relatives of 165 children who are supported by the county in orphanages have been searched out, and a re-examination of

the circumstances of these families instituted. As a result some children are living now in normal homes, and others who were formerly dependent upon the county have been given a greater sense of independence, their board now being paid out of their rightful heritages. Eighteen per cent of these children have been removed from County support, and other cases are now being investigated, with a probable total annual saving to the county of $6,610. This, however, is a result and not the purpose of the work. The Bureau is doing much to humanize the charity service.

For the members of the investigating staff and the necessary clerical aid there was appropriated (for 9 months) for 1914, the sum of $8,325.

### 8. Support Department of County Court[1]

The obligation placed by the pauper act on relatives to support their kin is enforced by the State's Attorney by action brought in the County Court. Before bringing action, the State's Attorney must convince himself that the relatives are really able to render the support or at least to make a contribution. Frequently appeal to the county is made only after all resources have been exhausted, and the relatives of the destitute, while not destitute, may be very near the poverty line. And as it would be wasteful to require contributions from one to the support of another which would render the contributor likely to become dependent, the court has been authorized to use investigators to secure the data necessary for really intelligent decisions. Frequently it is possible to secure the payments without court action, and often the payments are made under order of the court to the Clerk of the Court and distributed through the State's Attorney's office.

In 1913, there were 922 suits commenced and tried, involving 3,827 persons, and $94,286.00 was collected by the Clerk of the County Court and paid over to the beneficiaries.

### 9. The County Hospital[2]

The County Hospital is the second largest hospital in the world. It is a general hospital, including departments of surgery, medicine, obstetrics, gynecology, nervous and mental diseases, children's diseases, tuberculosis, diseases of the eye, ear, nose and throat, skin and venereal diseases, contagious diseases, orthopedic surgery, pathology and pathological chemistry.

[1] Extract from *A Study of Cook County*, p. 44.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

27,887 persons having an acute illness (an average daily population of from 1,300 to 1,700 men, women and children) were admitted to the County Hospital as patients during 1913 and 21,281 out-patients with minor injuries not serious enough to require hospital care were given attention in the dressing room. The total cost of running the hospital for 1913 was $159,059.37, which averages $1.31 per capita per day. . . . .

The chief executive officers of the hospital are a warden, two assistant wardens and a superintendent of nurses. There is also a consulting staff of 22 physicians and an attending staff of 78 physicians; 60 internes; and nearly 300 nurses supplied on yearly contract by the Illinois Training School, a volunteer body of public spirited women, who for thirty-four years have supervised the training of nurses and supplied skilled service to the sick and poor of Cook County.

The present medical staff, secured through Civil Service examinations, is said to be superior to that of any private hospital in Chicago. The efficiency of the medical work has been greatly increased by newly prescribed hours and standards of service; by a system of measuring and recording the service rendered by each chief physician and his assistants; and by holding each chief responsible for the work of his entire department.

The efficacy of treatment and rapidity with which a cure may be effected, depends in part on the mental condition of the patient. . . . . Furthermore, an effectual cure may prove very transitory if a patient goes back into the very conditions which gave rise to the earlier illness. In large numbers of cases, to render service given at such cost in the hospital of permanent value, other forms of aid must be available for the patient on leaving. . . . . The recognition of the wastefulness of leaving undone these services without which the others seem so much less effectual is being more and more recognized. The Illinois Training School has therefore maintained a Social Service Department, through which such assistance as has been described is offered to the patients in the hospital and to those leaving. Special provision for this department is included in the contract between the County and the Training School.

## SECTION II

## THE CARE AND TREATMENT OF PERSONS ILL WITH TUBERCULOSIS

### 10. Public Tuberculosis Sanitariums[1]

542. *May establish public tuberculosis sanitariums—Tax levy.*] § 1. That the city council of cities and boards of trustees in villages of this State shall have the power, in the manner hereinafter provided, to establish and maintain a public sanitarium and branches, dispensaries and other auxiliary institutions connected with same within or without the limits of such cities and villages, for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of such city or village for the treatment and care of persons afflicted with tuberculosis, and shall have the power to levy a tax not to exceed two-thirds of one mill on the dollar annually on all taxable property of such city or village, such tax to be levied and collected in like manner with the general taxes of the said city or village and to be known as the "Tuberculosis Sanitarium Fund," which said tax shall be in addition to all other taxes which such city or village is now or may hereafter be authorized to levy upon the aggregate valuation of all property within such city or village, and the county clerk, in reducing tax levies under the provisions of section two (2) of an act entitled, "An Act concerning the levy and extension of taxes," approved May 9, 1901, in force July 1, 1901, as subsequently amended shall not consider the tax for said tuberculosis sanitarium fund authorized by this act as a part of the general tax levy for city or village purposes and shall not include the same in the limitation of two (2) per cent of the assessed valuation upon which taxes are required to be extended.

543. *Petition—Election.*] § 2. When one hundred legal voters of any such city or village shall present a petition to the city council or board of trustees of such city or village, as the case may be, asking that an annual tax may be levied for the establishment and maintenance of a public tuberculosis sanitarium in such city or village, such city council or board of trustees, as the case may be, shall instruct the city or village clerk to, and such city or village clerk shall,

[1] "An Act to Enable Cities and Villages to Establish and Maintain Public Tuberculosis Sanitariums" (Approved March 7, 1908. In force July 1, 1908), *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 24, secs. 542–61.

in the next legal notice of the regular annual election in such city or village, give notice that at such election every elector may vote "For the levy of a tax for a public tuberculosis sanitarium," or "against the levy of a tax for a public tuberculosis sanitarium," and if the majority of all the votes cast upon the proposition is, that such city or village shall be "for the tax for a public tuberculosis sanitarium," the city council or board of trustees of such city or village shall thereafter annually levy a tax of not to exceed two-thirds of one mill on the dollar, which tax shall be collected in like manner with other general taxes in such city or village and shall be known as the "Tuberculosis Sanitarium Fund," and thereafter the city council or board of trustees, as the case may be, of such city or village shall include and appropriate from such fund in the annual appropriation bill such sum or sums of money as may be deemed necessary to defray all necessary expenses and liabilities of such tuberculosis sanitarium.

544. *Appointment of directors.*] § 3. When any such city council or board of trustees shall have decided to establish and maintain a public tuberculosis sanitarium under this act, the mayor of such cities and the president of the board of trustees of such villages shall, with the approval of the city council or board of trustees, as the case may be, proceed to appoint a board of three directors, one of whom, in cities or villages having a board of health, shall be from such board of health, and the other two from the citizens at large and shall be chosen with reference to their special fitness for such office.

545. *Terms of office—Removal.*] § 4. Said directors shall hold office one-third for one year, one-third for two years and one-third for three years from the first of July following their appointment, and at their first regular meeting shall cast lots for the respective terms; and annually thereafter the mayor or president of the board of trustees, as the case may be, shall, before the first of July each year, appoint as before, one director to take the place of the retiring director, who shall hold office for three years and until his successor is appointed. The mayor or president of the board of trustees, as the case may be, by and with the consent of the city council or board of trustees, as the case may be,.remove any director for misconduct or neglect of duty.

546. *Vacancies—Not to be interested in contracts.*] § 5. Vacancies in the board of directors, occasioned by removal, resignation or otherwise, shall be reported to the city council or board of trustees as the case may be, and be filled in like manner as original appointments, and no director shall receive compensation as such and shall not be inter-

ested, either directly or indirectly, in the purchase or sale of any supplies for said sanitarium.

547. *Organization—Control of funds, etc.*] § 6. Said directors shall, immediately after appointment, meet and organize by the election of one of their number president and one as secretary and by the election of such other officers as they may deem necessary. They shall make and adopt such by-laws, rules and regulations for their own guidance and for the government of the sanitarium and the branches, dispensaries and auxiliary institutions and activities connected therewith as may be expedient, not inconsistent with this act and the ordinances of such city or village. They shall have exclusive control of the expenditure of all moneys collected to the credit of the tuberculosis sanitarium fund and of the construction of any sanitarium building or other buildings necessary for its branches, dispensaries and other auxiliary institutions and activities in connection with said institution, and of the supervision, care and custody of the grounds, rooms or buildings constructed, leased or set apart for that purpose: Provided, that all moneys received for such sanitarium shall be deposited in the treasury of said village or city to the credit of the tuberculosis sanitarium fund, and shall not be used for any other purpose and shall be drawn upon by the proper officers of said city or village upon the properly authenticated vouchers of the sanitarium board. Said board shall have the power to purchase or lease ground within or without the limits of such city or village, and to occupy, lease or erect an appropriate building or buildings for the use of said sanitarium, branches, dispensaries and other auxiliary institutions and activities connected therewith, by and with the approval of the city council or board of trustees as the case may be; and shall have the power to appoint suitable superintendents or matrons or both and all necessary assistants and other employees and fix their compensation, and shall also have the power to remove such appointees, and shall in general carry out the spirit and intent of this act in establishing and maintaining a public sanitarium, and one or all of said directors shall visit and examine said sanitarium at least twice in each month and make monthly reports of its condition to the city council or board of trustees, as the case may be. In any city which has adopted or hereafter shall adopt the civil service law for cities entitled, "An Act to regulate the civil service of cities," approved March 20, 1895, all appointments with the exception of superintendents and all removals of all matrons and other assistants shall be made pursuant to the

provisions of said civil service law and not otherwise: Provided, that where in any city any persons are occupying any of said positions pursuant to appointment and certification thereon by the civil service commission of such city made after examination, such persons shall hold said positions as though duly appointed after examination under the provisions of said civil service law, and all other matrons, and assistants not so appointed after examination shall have the status of temporary appointees under said civil service law. All officers and employees of any such public tuberculosis sanitarium shall severally be deemed officers or employees as the case may be, of the city or village in which such sanitarium is established.

548. *Sanitarium to be free to inhabitants—Regulation—Extension of benefits.*] § 7. Every sanitarium established under this act shall be free for the benefit of the inhabitants of such city or village who may be afflicted with tuberculosis, and they shall be entitled to occupancy, nursing, care, medicines and attendance according to the rules and regulations prescribed by said board. Such sanitarium shall always be subject to such reasonable rules and regulations as said board may adopt in order to render the use of said sanitarium of the greatest benefit to the greatest number, and said board may exclude from the use of said sanitarium any and all inhabitants and persons who shall wilfully violate such rules or regulations: Provided, however, that no person so afflicted shall be compelled to enter such sanitarium or any of its branches, dispensaries or other auxiliary institutions without his consent in writing first having been obtained, or in case of a minor or one under a disability the consent in writing of the parents, guardian or conservator, as the case may be.

Said board shall, upon request or by consent of the party afflicted or the legal guardian, conservator or parents thereof, have the power to extend the benefits and privileges of such institution, under proper rules and regulations, into the homes of persons afflicted with tuberculosis and to furnish nurses, instruction, medicines, attendance and all other aid necessary to effect a cure, and to do all things in and about the treatment and care of persons so afflicted which will have a tendency to effect a cure of the person or persons afflicted therewith and to stamp out tuberculosis in such city or village.

And said board may extend the privileges and use of such sanitarium and treatment to persons residing outside of such city or village in this State so afflicted, upon such terms and conditions as said board may from time to time by its rules and regulations prescribe.

549. *Donations—Monthly and annual reports.*] § 8. Said board of directors, in the name of the city or village, may receive from any inhabitant or person any contribution or donation of money or property and shall pay over to said city or village treasurer all moneys thus received as often as once in each month and shall take the receipt of such treasurer therefor; and shall also, at the regular monthly meeting of the city council or board of trustees, report to such city council or board of trustees the names of such persons or inhabitants from whom any such contribution or donation has been received and the amount and nature of property so received from each and the date when the same was received. And said board of directors shall make, on or before the second Monday in June of each year, an annual report to the city council or board of trustees, as the case may be, stating the condition of their trust on the first day of June of that year, the various sums of money received from the "Sanitarium Fund" and from other sources and how such moneys have been expended and for what purposes; the number of patients and such other statistics, information and suggestions as they may deem of general interest.

550. *Rules.*] § 9. When such sanitarium is established, the physicians, nurses, attendants, the persons sick therein and all persons approaching or coming within the limits of the same or grounds thereof, and all furniture and other articles used or brought here, shall be subject to such rules and regulations as said board may prescribe; and such rules and regulations shall extend to all branches, dispensaries and other auxiliary institutions located within or without such city or village and to all employees in same and to all employees sent to the homes of the afflicted as herein provided for. . . . .

552. *Equal privilege to physicians.*] § 11. All reputable physicians shall have equal privileges in treating patients in said sanitarium.

553. *Discontinuance of sanitarium.*] § 12. Whenever the board of directors of any public tuberculosis sanitarium, established and maintained under this act, shall recommend, in writing, to the city council or board of trustees, as the case may be, the discontinuance of any public tuberculosis sanitarium, stating in said report the reasons therefor, the said city council or board of trustees, may pass an ordinance for the discontinuance of such public tuberculosis sanitarium.

554. *Submission to voters.*] § 13. Whenever such ordinance is passed for the discontinuance of any such sanitarium, the said ordinance shall be submitted to the voters of such city or village, as the case may be, at the next succeeding general or special election, or at

any special election called for that purpose, and the said ordinance shall become operative, effective and valid if approved by a majority of such voters voting upon the question. . . . .

556. *If ratified, debts to be paid and surplus moneys transferred.*] § 15. Whenever such ordinance shall have been ratified, and made effective, operative and valid by vote, as provided in the last preceding section, the city council or board of trustees of such city or village, may after having discharged all financial obligations of such tuberculosis sanitarium by appropriate ordinance, transfer any moneys then in the "tuberculosis sanitarium fund" from such fund into any other lawful appropriation or appropriations of such city or village.

557. *Tax levy to maintain sanitarium.*] § 16. Where a tuberculosis sanitarium, organized under the provisions of this act, is being maintained in any city, or village of less than one hundred thousand inhabitants, the tax levy for the support of such sanitarium, so maintained may be increased to a sum not to exceed one and one-third mills on the dollar, and when so increased shall be levied and collected as hereinbefore provided.

558. *Board to determine necessity of increased tax levy.*] § 17. The board of directors of such tuberculosis sanitarium so maintained, shall determine the necessity of such increased tax levy; and when the same is deemed necessary the board shall recommend in writing to the city council or board of trustees, as the case may be, the necessity of such increased tax levy and the number of mills tax desired to be levied.

559. *Tax levy.*] § 18. Whenever the board of directors of any sanitarium so established and maintained, shall recommend in writing an increased tax levy to the city council or board of trustees, as the case may be, the city council or board of trustees shall pass an ordinance for the establishment and levy of such increased tax so recommended.

560. *To be submitted to voters.*] § 19. Whenever any ordinance is passed to increase the tax levy for any sanitarium so maintained, the said resolution shall be submitted to the voters of such city or village, as the case may be, at the next succeeding general or special election, or at any election called for that purpose, and the said ordinance or resolution shall become operative, effective and valid if approved by a majority of the voters voting upon the question.

561. *Form of ballot.*] § 20. Such ordinance shall be printed on a ballot in full, which shall be separate, and distinct from the ballot for candidates for office. . . . .

## 11. The Control of Tuberculosis

### A. RULES OF CITY AND STATE HEALTH DEPARTMENT RE TUBERCULOSIS[1]

Regarding tuberculosis as a contagious or infectious disease, the Health Department, through legislative power vested in it, makes tuberculosis a reportable disease, and provides penalties for failure to report cases of the disease. All cases of tuberculosis should, therefore, be reported to that Department, for to it is the physician legally responsible. The Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium in cooperation with the Health Department, supervises the control of tuberculosis in the City of Chicago. It has control not only over those patients that come to the clinic of their own volition, but also of the patients reported by private physicians as being tuberculous, or suspected of being tuberculous.

The Health Department when it receives the report of a new patient, refers the report to the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, where it is filed as a "Private Physician's Case," and where it is districted to one of the eight local dispensaries, according to the location of the patient's abode. The dispensary physician or the tuberculosis nurse, at stated intervals, makes a tour of inspection of the homes of the various tuberculous individuals in his district, including in his calls those cases that are on file, termed "Private Physicians' Cases," inspecting the premises and determining whether proper instructions have been given the patient, and whether the patient is carrying out these instructions properly.

In the event that the private physician's case is a careless tuberculous individual, information is sought as to whether the patient is still supervised by the private physician that reported the case, . . . . and if not, the patient automatically comes under the active supervision of the dispensary staff. If, however, the patient still remains under the care of the private physician, he, the doctor, is informed as to the home conditions and asked to render better supervision.

The dispensary physician, in his visit to the home, also instructs that all contacts must visit their family physician or the dispensary, in order that their physical status may be determined.

#### DISPENSARY CO-OPERATION WITH THE PRIVATE PHYSICIAN NURSING SERVICE

The private physician may call on the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium for nursing service in his bedridden cases of tuberculosis, or

[1] Extract from *Bulletin of the City of Chicago Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium*, II, No. 2 (October, 1920), pp. 11–15. See *Report, Department of Health, City of Chicago*, 1911–18, pp. 3–13.

for nurse's visits to the home of the patient, so that the patient may receive detailed instructions as to establishing a proper tuberculous therapeutic régime in the home. Before nursing service can be rendered, however, the dispensary physician makes a call at the home and determines the advisability of such service, making any other recommendations necessary.

### ADMISSION TO THE CITY SANITARIUM

Admission to the City Sanitarium is made only through one of the eight dispensaries of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. The patient is referred by the private physician to the dispensary for an examination, when his application is filled out. In cases where it is necessary, a home visit is made by the dispensary physician. A history chart is filed at the dispensary for these patients as for all other patients under actual dispensary supervision, recording the findings for future reference when the patient returns to his home.

Dispensary supervision consists of:

1. Complete physical examination and diagnosis (form card being sent to the physician informing him of diagnosis made).
2. Frequent return to the dispensary for examination, advice and medication.
3. Nurse's visits to the home for instruction.
4. Porch equipment supplied where outdoor sleeping is considered essential and where the patient cannot provide the same.
5. Additional tuberculosis food rations, requisitioned through the County Agent's Department. . . . .

Because of the marked susceptibility of children to tuberculosis, the Health Department enforces the rule that there shall not be present in the home of a positive sputum case of tuberculosis any children. Either the tuberculosis individual must leave that home and enter an institution for the treatment of his disease or segregate himself from children in some other abode or the children must be removed from that home.

### HOSPITALIZATION

Hospitalization of the tuberculous patient is of two types:

*Willing*, where the patient, an open or closed case of tuberculosis, has agreed to enter an institution for his treatment and goes there or is taken there by an ambulance.

*Forcible*, Section 1190 of the Municipal Code of the City of Chicago gives the Commissioner of Health power to remove any

individual suffering from a contagious or infectious disease from his home to a sanitarium for the isolation and treatment of that disease. Acting under this authority, the Health Commissioner of Chicago applied this rule to tuberculosis, where the individual involved, after instructions had been given, refused to carry them out; continued careless as to the disposal of his sputum and living conditions; and was a menace to those about him, especially in families where children of immature age resided. A recommendation for forcible hospitalization is sent to the Supervisor of Field Quarantine of the Department of Health, usually by one of the dispensary physicians of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, who has inspected the home personally, which inspection was preceded or followed by close observation and inspection by field nurses and quarantine officers. The patient is then removed, forcibly if necessary, by one of the City Health Department ambulances to an institution for the treatment of tuberculosis. In the majority of cases, at present, the institution selected is the Cook County Hospital. No tuberculous patient, who has entered an institution for the treatment of tuberculosis, whether he be an open or a closed case, is allowed to leave that institution until permission for release has been granted by the Department of Health. This permission is given usually based on an investigation of the home conditions of the individual and on evidence that the patient is a conscientious adherent to the rules laid down for the control of the disease.

### B. RULES FOR CONTROL OF PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS AS ENFORCED BY THE CITY OF CHICAGO DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH[1]

In 1908 tuberculosis was made a reportable disease in the city of Chicago.

The following rules and regulations for the control of cases of pulmonary tuberculosis or consumption must be enforced by the local health authorities. Health and other officials who fail to enforce these rules and all persons who violate them subject themselves to a fine of not to exceed $200 for each offense or imprisonment in the county jail, or both. . . . .

Rule 12. Permission of the State Department of Public Health and the consent of the health authorities at the place of destination must be obtained before a person suffering from open pulmonary tuberculosis can be removed from one health jurisdiction to another.

[1] *What You Should Know about Tuberculosis or Consumption*, pamphlet published by Department of Health, City of Chicago.

### 12. The County Tuberculosis Hospital[1]

This hospital is located on the County Farm at Oak Forest, but entirely detached from the Infirmary, both physically and in management, except that the superintendent of Oak Forest is superintendent of both institutions.

The main building of the hospital contains administrative offices, physicians' offices, wards for the advanced patients and private rooms for the dying patients. The building is provided with sun parlors and porches and is entirely modern.

Adjacent to this main building is the general dining hall located on a rise of ground extending north and south with an east view over miles of farm lands, hills and woods. The first floor of this building is devoted to the kitchens, store rooms, refrigerators; the second floor to the refectory. The building is equally attractive without and within, the entire construction being economical, but in good taste as to lines, selection of colors for decoration and utilization of every detail.

South of the dining hall, flanked by cherry trees and maples, are six open air cottages which accommodate 20 adult patients each. These cottages are of attractive design with the long apex extending east and west. The sleeping quarters are in two wings, the north side having a window for each patient, and the entire south side open to the air but protected by canvas curtains. In the center of each cottage is an enclosed room with a cheery fire place, library table, and books and games for entertainment. Back of this central room are the toilet, bath and locker rooms. These rooms are heated and provide in the coldest weather for comfort while dressing and undressing and during recreation periods. There are two cottages of similar construction at the foot of the hill devoted to the exclusive use of the children, thereby separating the children from the adult population. An open-air school is located nearby.

There are still in use about 80 tents which will gradually be abandoned as they become unusable, the open-air cottage having proven better adapted to the treatment of tuberculosis.

The chief aim of the Oak Forest Tuberculosis Hospital is to "cure the patient and return him to normal life." The entire life of the men, women and children is therefore ordered with this in view. A hospital régime is maintained. The patient's diet, rest, recreation and work hours are regulated according to his physical strength. Every

[1] Extract from *A Study of Cook County*, p. 34. See also current annual *Charity Service Reports* of the Board of Commissioners of Cook County.

effort is put forth to induce the patients to become partners with the hospital in this effort to cure them. Visits to the city which result in fatigue hostile to their recovery are therefore discouraged.

A system of careful examination has been inaugurated; a record of each patient is kept, showing the physical findings, the results of the laboratory tests of sputum, blood and urine, statement of his social state, history of his disease, his response to treatment, and other significant facts.

The staff for the Tuberculosis Hospital includes: a business manager, one director and one assistant director of nurses, three senior and six junior physicians, and a teacher for the children who are able to attend the open air school.

## SECTION III

## THE COMMITMENT AND CARE OF THE INSANE AND FEEBLE-MINDED

### 13. The Commitment of Lunatics[1]

1. *Term "insane" defined.*] § 1. *Be it enacted, etc.:* That the word insane in this act shall be construed to mean any person who, by reason of unsoundness of mind, is incapable of managing and caring for his own estate, or is dangerous to himself or others, if permitted to go at large, or is in such condition of mind or body as to be a fit subject for care and treatment in a hospital or asylum for the insane: Provided, that no person, idiot from birth, or whose mental development was arrested by disease or physical injury occurring prior to the age of puberty, and person who is afflicted with simple epilepsy shall be regarded as insane, unless the manifestations of abnormal excitability, violence, or homicidal or suicidal impulses are such as to render his confinement in a hospital or asylum for the insane a proper precaution to prevent him from injuring himself or others.

2. *Not restrained of personal liberty unless adjudged insane.*] § 2. Except as hereinafter provided, from and after the passage of this act no insane person, or person supposed to be insane, but who shall not have been legally adjudged to be insane, shall, by reason of his insanity or supposed insanity, be restrained of his liberty: Provided, that this section shall not be construed to forbid the temporary detention of an alleged lunatic, for a reasonable time, not exceeding ten days, pending a judicial investigation of his mental condition.

3. *Declaration of lunacy—Medical examination.*] § 3. When any person shall be, or be supposed to be, insane, any reputable citizen of the county in which such patient resides or is found may file with the clerk of the county court of said county, a statement, in writing, under oath, setting forth that the person named is insane and unsafe to be at large, or suffering under mental derangement, and that the welfare of himself or others requires his restraint or commitment to some hospital or asylum for the insane; the said statement must be accompanied by the names of the witnesses (one of whom at least must be a physician

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 85.

having personal knowledge of the case), by whom the truth of the allegations therein contained may be substantiated and proved: Provided, that when it shall appear by such statement the person alleged to be insane has not been examined by a physician, the judge may appoint a qualified physician of the county to make such examination and allow him compensation therefor, not exceeding five dollars, which shall be taxed and collected as is herein provided in respect to other costs in proceedings in inquest of lunacy.

4. *Hearing upon declaration—Writ.*] § 4. Upon the filing of the statement aforesaid, unless the person alleged to be insane shall be brought before the court without a writ, or unless an affidavit of some credible person shall be filed setting forth that, in the opinion of the affiant, the physical or mental condition of the said person is such (stating the same) as to render it manifestly improper that such person be brought before the court, the judge of the county shall direct the clerk to issue a writ, directed to the sheriff or to any constable or to the person having custody or charge of the person alleged to be insane, commanding such person to be brought before the court at such time and place as the judge may appoint for the hearing and determining of the matter; and in no case shall such hearing take place until the person alleged to be insane shall have been notified as the court shall direct.

5. *Inquest shall be by jury.*] § 5. Inquests in lunacy shall be by jury or a commission of two licensed physicians engaged in active practice in said county, as hereinafter provided.

6. *Commission in certain cases.*] § 6. When no jury is demanded and the circumstances of the case are such that there appears to the judge to be no occasion for the impaneling of a jury, or that a trial by jury would for any reason be inexpedient or improper, the judge shall appoint a commission of two qualified physicians in regular and active practice who are residents of the county, to be chosen by himself, on account of their known competency and integrity, who shall make a personal examination of the patient and file with the clerk of the court a report in writing verified by affidavit, of the result of their inquiries together with their conclusions and recommendations. The commissioners herein provided for shall have power to administer oaths and take sworn testimony.

7. *Jury trial.*] § 7. In all cases of inquest by jury the jury shall consist of six persons, and one of the jurors at least must be a qualified physician, and the proceedings shall conform in all respects, as nearly

as may be, to the ordinary practice of the county court. The rights of the person whose mental condition is inquired into shall be the same as those of any defendant in a civil suit.

8. *Where inquests may be held—Proceedings.*] § 8. Inquests in lunacy may be in open court or in chambers, or at the home of the person alleged to be insane, at the discretion of the court. The judge shall preside whether the inquest is by jury or a commission, and the presence of the patient shall be indispensable, and no proceedings can be had in his absence, unless otherwise provided in this act. The judge may require all persons other than the patient, his friends, witnesses, licensed attorneys and officers of the court to withdraw from the room during the inquest. . . . .

12. *Conservators of estates—Contracts void.*] § 12. If any person alleged to be insane shall be possessed of any estate, real, personal or mixed, it shall be lawful for the person filing application for an inquest in lunacy in his case to make at the same time application for the appointment of a conservator of such alleged lunatic. And if such alleged lunatic shall be adjudged insane, or if it shall appear to the court that any person has been adjudged insane by the court without application for a conservator having been made, and that such lunatic is possessed of any estate, real, personal or mixed, and is still insane, in either case it shall be lawful for the court, upon petition filed for that purpose, to make an appointment of a conservator upon the same judgment without further proceedings, and exercise in respect thereto all the power contained in an act entitled, "An Act to revise the law in relation to lunatics, idiots, drunkards and spendthrifts," approved March 26, 1874, in force July 1, 1874, and all amendments thereto: and such conservator shall perform the duties and incur the liabilities imposed by said act upon conservators appointed thereunder: Provided, That in any county wherein a probate court has been or may hereinafter be established, upon the filing in such court of the proper petition, together with the duly certified copy of the record and the verdict of the jury, or the report of the commission of physicians, and the judgment of the county court thereon finding such person insane, such probate court may, in its discretion, without further inquest, by jury or commission of physicians, appoint such conservator; and every note, bill, bond or other contract by any person adjudged insane under the provisions of this act, shall be void as against such lunatic and his estate, but a person making any contract with such lunatic shall be bound thereby.

13. *County courts—Jurisdiction.*] § 13. Jurisdiction over the persons of insane persons not charged with crime is vested in the county courts.

14. *Dockets, files, and record.*] § 14. Each county judge shall keep a separate docket of proceedings in inquisitions of lunacy, upon which shall be made such entries as will, together with the papers filed, preserve a perfect record of each case. The original statements and applications for inquest, writs and returns made thereto and reports of commissions or verdicts of juries, shall be filed with the clerk of the court, and a copy of the finding, whether the person alleged to be insane be found to be insane or sane, and, if found to be insane, a copy of the medical certificate also shall be in each case furnished to the State Commissioners of Public Charities.

15. *Patients in hospitals—Treatment and maintenance.*] § 15. All insane persons admitted to any state hospital or asylum for the insane shall be maintained and treated, while in the institution, at the expense of the state, but the cost of clothing, transportation and other incidental expenses not constituting any part of the maintenance or treatment, shall be defrayed at their own expense, or that of the county from which they were admitted.

16. *"Private" and "county" patients.*] § 16. It shall be the duty of the county judge, at the time of each inquest in lunacy, to inquire into the pecuniary condition of the person alleged to be insane and that of the relatives who are bound by law to maintain him. Patients committed to any state hospital or asylum for the insane shall be designated as private or county patients. Private patients are such as are of sufficient pecuniary ability to pay for their own clothing and incidental expenses while in the institution, and all others shall be entered upon the docket as county patients.

17. *Admission of patients to hospitals.*] § 17. Upon the entry of an order of commitment of any insane person to a hospital for the insane, the clerk of the county court shall send a copy of the finding of the jury or commission and of the medical certificate provided for in section 9 of this act to the superintendent of the hospital for the insane to which such insane person is ordered to be committed, and such superintendent shall, without delay, admit such insane person as a patient in said hospital: Provided, that if there is no room in such hospital for the admission of the person committed thereto, and that such county shall have its full quota of patients in said hospital, the superintendent thereof shall return to said county one quiet, harmless chronic patient,

but should said county not have its full quota of patients in said hospital, the superintendent shall return one quiet, harmless chronic patient to any county which may be in excess of its quota; and should no county be in excess of its quota, the superintendent shall select the most quiet, harmless chronic patient in said hospital and return him to the county from which he was committed, in order to make room for the patient recently adjudged insane: Provided, further, if a hospital or asylum for the chronic or incurable insane shall be established, such chronic patient may be sent to such hospital or asylum for the chronic or incurable insane: Provided, further, that in case it shall not be found possible to admit such patient to a state hospital or asylum for the insane, the court where such inquest is had may make such further order in the matter as may be requisite and lawful.

18. *Conveying patients to hospitals.*] § 18. For the conveyance of any patient to a hospital or asylum for the insane, the clerk shall issue a warrant, in duplicate, directed to the sheriff or any suitable person, preferring some relative of the insane person, when desired, commanding him to apprehend such insane person and deliver him to the superintendent. When necessary, the clerk may authorize the employment of one or more assistants; but no female patient shall thus be taken to the hospital or asylum by any person not her husband, father, brother or son, without the attendance of some other female of reputable character and mature age. Upon receiving the patient, the superintendent shall indorse upon the warrant his receipt, naming the person or persons from whom the patient was received, and one copy of the warrant, so indorsed, shall be returned to the clerk, to be filed with the other papers relating to the case, but the other shall be left with the superintendent, and the person delivering the patient shall indorse thereon that he has so delivered him, and said duplicate warrant shall be prima facie evidence of the facts set forth therein and in said indorsement.

19. *"Private" patients—Bond for clothing and expenses.*] § 19. No private patient shall be received into any state hospital or asylum for the insane, unless at or before the time of his admission there shall have been filed with the superintendent a bond, with two good and sufficient sureties, approved by the county judge, executed to the trustees of the institution, and conditioned that the obligors shall find the patient in suitable and sufficient clothing, while he may remain in the institution, and promptly pay for any articles of clothing furnished or other necessary incidental expenses incurred by the institution on

account of said patient, and remove him when required by the trustees; and in case of failure upon the part of the trustees to recover upon any bond as approved by the county judge, the county shall become liable to the institution for the amount due from the said obligors. . . . .

22. *Discharge—Parole—Exceptions.*] § 22. Authority to discharge patients from either of the state institutions for the insane is vested in the trustees, but may be delegated, by a formal vote, to the superintendent, under such regulations as they may see fit to adopt. Discharges may be made for either of the following causes, namely: Because the person adjudged to be insane is not insane, or because he has recovered from the attack of insanity or because he has so far improved as to be capable of caring for himself, or because the friends of the patient request his discharge, and in the judgment of the superintendent no evil consequence is likely to follow such discharge, or because there is no prospect of further improvement under treatment, and the room occupied by an incurable and harmless patient is needed for the admission of others who are unsafe to be kept at large or probably curable. Authority is also vested in the trustees to release the patients on parole for any term not exceeding three months; and, if not returned to the institution within that period, a new order of commitment from the county judge shall be necessary in order to the readmission of any such paroled patient to the institution: Provided, That the court may make such order upon the old verdict, if satisfied that the patient in question is still insane. But no patient who is violent, dangerous or more than usually troublesome or filthy, shall be discharged from any state institution and sent back to any county farm, almshouse or insane department thereof. And no patient who has not recovered his reason or who is charged with crime shall be declared discharged until at least ten days after notice shall have been given to the judge of the county court having jurisdiction in the case, in order to enable the said judge to make some proper order as to the disposition of the said patient, when so discharged, which order shall be entered of record, and a copy thereof furnished to the superintendent, and to the State Commissioners of Public Charities.

23. *Patients upon discharge must be provided with clothing and funds.*] § 23. No person shall be discharged from a state hospital or asylum for the insane without suitable clothing and a sum of money, not exceeding twenty dollars, sufficient to defray his expenses home, which shall be charged to the patient, if a private patient, and if a

county patient, to the county, and collected as other debts due the institution are collected.

24. *Habeas corpus.*] § 24. Every person confined as insane shall be entitled to the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, and the question of insanity shall be decided at the hearing, and if the judge shall decide that the person is insane such decision shall be no bar to the issuing of the writ a second time whenever it shall be alleged that such person has been restored to reason; and if said person shall be adjudged sane, on presentation of a certified copy of said judgment to the county court where the inquest was had, such court shall rescind and set aside the judgment of insanity.

25. *Notice of discharge of "county" patients to county court.*] § 25. Whenever notice shall have been given to the judge of any county court that any patient committed to any hospital or asylum in this state, under the order of said court, has been discharged cured, upon receipt of such notice signed by the superintendent the judge shall enter an order restoring the patient in question to all his rights as a citizen, and, if a conservator of his estate shall have been appointed, the said conservator shall be removed. At any time, subsequent to the discharge of any patient, the judge of the county court may hear evidence tending to show that said patient has been restored to reason and, if satisfied of his recovery, may make and enter a similar order, and thereafter the said patient shall not be liable to be again committed to any hospital or asylum for the insane without a new inquest in his case.

26. *Escaped patients.*] § 26. If any patient shall escape from the hospital it shall be the duty of any sheriff or officer of the peace in any county in which he may be found to apprehend and detain him, and to report the same to the county judge of said county, who shall return him to the institution at the expense of the county from which he was committed.

27. *Sudden deaths—Inquest—Notice.*] § 27. In the event of a sudden or mysterious death of any inmate of any public or private hospital or asylum for the insane, a coroner's inquest shall be held, as provided by law in other cases. Notice of the death of a patient and the cause thereof shall, in all cases be given to the judge of the court having jurisdiction over such patient, and the fact of his death, with the time, place and alleged cause shall be entered upon the docket. . . . .

30. *Criminal insane.*] § 30. Nothing in this act shall be construed to apply to insane persons, or persons supposed to be insane, who are in custody on a criminal charge. . . . .

33. *Administration and enforcement of laws.*] § 33. The administration and enforcement of the laws relating to the insane of this state and their treatment, in or out of hospitals or asylums for the insane, is entrusted to the State Commissioners of Public Charities, who shall have power, from time to time, with the approval of the Governor and Attorney General, to make rules and regulations on the following matters, so far as the same are not inconsistent with any laws of this State.

1. The licensing of all houses or places in which any person can be lawfully detained as insane or of unsound mind, and the withdrawal of licenses granted by them for cause shown, and the approval of the Governor and Attorney General.

2. Regulation of the forms to be observed relating to the commitment, transfer of custody and discharge of lunatics not in conflict with the provisions of this act.

3. The visitation and inspection of all houses or places in which any persons are detained as insane and of all persons detained therein.

4. Reports and information to be furnished by the managers or trustees and medical superintendents of all houses or places subject to the provisions of this act, and by the boards of auxiliary visitors herein provided for. . . . .

35. *Record of insane kept by Commissioners of Public Charities.*] § 35. The State Commissioners of Public Charities shall keep a record of the names of all persons adjudged to be insane, and of the orders respecting them by the judges of the county court, copies of which orders shall be furnished by the county clerk upon their application. . . . .

37. *Voluntary patients.*] § 37. Any person who may be in the early stages of insanity who may desire the benefit of treatment in a state or licensed private hospital for the insane as a voluntary patient, may be admitted to such hospital on his own written application, accompanied by a certificate from the county court of the county in which such applicant resides, stating that such person is a private or county patient, as the case may be, and such person shall, if admitted to a state or licensed private hospital for the insane, have the same standing as other private or county patients: Provided, that all

voluntary patients shall have the right to leave the hospital at any time on giving three days' notice to the superintendent. . . . .

### 14. Lunatics, Idiots, Drunkards, and Spendthrifts[1]

1. *Courts of inquiry.*] § 1. When any person having any estate, real or personal, shall be, or be supposed to be, an insane person, who, by reason of unsoundness of mind, is incapable of managing and caring for his own estate, or when any person having any estate shall be, or be supposed to be a drunkard or spendthrift or otherwise incompetent, as defined in this Act, the County Court of the county wherein such person resides, or if such person resides out of this State and has an estate within this State, then, the County Court of the county where his real estate or a part thereof may lie, or if such non-resident has no real estate in this State then the County Court of the county where he may have personal property, shall, on the proper petition of any reputable citizen of such county, for the appointment of a conservator of the person or estate (or both) of such person, proceed in the manner hereinafter provided, to ascertain whether such person be an insane person, who, by reason of unsoundness of mind, is incapable of managing and caring for his own estate, a drunkard, spendthrift or incompetent as aforesaid: Provided, that in any county wherein a probate court is or hereafter may be established, such application shall be made to said Probate Court.

2. *Procedure for appointment of conservator.*] § 2. On any petition for the appointment of a conservator of any person being filed, the court shall set said cause for hearing, summons shall be issued returnable on any day of the term, and service thereof shall be had upon the person for whom a conservator is sought to be appointed, in the same manner by summons or otherwise as service is had in chancery, except ing that where personal service of such summons is had, such service shall be had at least three days before the return day of such summons. At the time fixed for the hearing, a jury of six persons (or at the request of either the petitioner or the respondent twelve persons) shall be empaneled to try the case. . . . . The court may, for good cause, continue the case from time to time. If any person be found to be an insane person, as defined in this Act, who, by reason of such condition, is incapable of managing or caring for his estate, or a drunkard, spendthrift or incompetent person, as defined by this Act, it shall be the duty of the court to appoint a conservator for such person, or his estate

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 86.

or both: Provided, no non-resident of this State shall be appointed under this Act as conservator. No petition filed under the provisions of this Act for the appointment of a conservator shall be dismissed or withdrawn without leave of the court in which such petition is filed.

The trial shall proceed in the same manner, as near as may be, as trials at law in the Circuit Court, except as otherwise provided in this Act. Upon the return of the finding of the jury, the court shall cause the same to be recorded at large by the clerk of the court, and unless the court shall grant a new trial, the court shall enter the proper order in accordance with the findings of the jury. Motions for a new trial in such causes may be made orally and when so made shall be entered upon the records. . . . .

5. *Care of estate—Custody of person—Children.*] § 5. Such conservator shall have the care and management of the real and personal estate of his ward, and the custody of his person unless otherwise ordered by the court, and the custody and education of his children where no other guardian is appointed, unless the court orders otherwise, but this act shall not be so construed as to deprive the mother of the custody and education of the children without her consent, if she be a fit and competent person to have such custody and education. . . . .

### 15. The County Psychopathic Hospital[1]

The new Psychopathic Hospital associated with, but detached from, County Hospital, was completed in June, 1914, and supplanted the Detention Hospital.

It is a brick building of pleasing appearance with ample porch space, adequate in the number of beds, and so planned as to permit of unlimited expansion. It is fireproof throughout with the necessary window bars hidden in the glass, so that it presents the appearance of an ordinary hospital. This hospital was built in record-breaking time, ground being broken in September, 1913, and patients admitted in June, 1914. It was built at a cost of $2,160 per bed, which considering the large number of private rooms and the expensive apparatus for hydro-therapeutic treatment, is a remarkably low rate per bed.

The hospital is designed for the temporary care of the mentally ill of Cook County who are held under observation pending the trial which the State Insane Law unfortunately makes necessary before

[1] Extract from *A Study of Cook County*, pp. 41–43.

commitment. Its erection gives opportunity, never before given in the county, for the scientific treatment of persons suffering from mental disorders. The hospital is equipped with all the apparatus which can mitigate the condition of these unfortunate patients. One commendable feature is that the hydro-therapy apparatus, consisting of baths, sprays, douches and showers, which not infrequently in even first-class hospitals is placed in the basement to the detriment of patients, is installed on the fifth floor, so that pleasant surroundings, light, air and sunshine make their contribution to the treatment. Another feature which adds greatly to the patients' comfort is the installation on every floor of tubs for the prolonged baths given "disturbed patients." With these baths accessible to every ward, the problem of controlling violent cases is practically solved. Violent patients remain quiet for hours under their soothing influence, and the baths thus take the place to some extent of sedatives and restraints.

2,477 patients were cared for during 1913, 787 of whom were from 10 to 30 years of age and 1,230 from 30 to 50 years of age. There is an out-patient department located in the hospital for dispensary work with these mental cases, and there is also a social service department for the precommitment or dismissed cases.

### 16. Social Service Investigation in Cases of Alleged Insanity[1]

The determination of a person's sanity is reached after a trial before the County Court. The Court's decision is based upon the conduct of the individual and the social and economic circumstances of the case. These facts are essential to a proper decision and often are the deciding factor for prescribing forms of treatment which may be secured through co-operating agencies. The mental disturbance may be incipient and yield to the brief period of rest under observation in the Psychopathic Hospital, or may be caused by some conditions of poverty, domestic mal-adjustment, wrong conditions of employment or other circumstances which can possibly be so altered as to remove all necessity of commitment of the individual to a Hospital for the Insane. If such is the result of the inquiry, it means economy for the taxpayer of the county, and it also means the prevention of incalculable misery on the part of the patient and humiliation and suffering on the part of his relatives. The County Court, therefore, avails itself of investigators, trained nurses and social workers who can obtain

[1] Extract from *A Study of Cook County*, p. 43.

and present to the court these essential facts. For the social investigators thus connected with the County Court in 1914 $11,000 was appropriated.

### 17. Care and Detention of Feeble-minded Persons[1]

346. *Definition.*] § 1. *Be it enacted, etc.:* The words "feeble-minded person" in this act shall be construed to mean any person afflicted with mental defectiveness from birth or from any early age, so pronounced that he is incapable of managing himself and his affairs, or of being taught to do so, and requires supervision, control and care for his own welfare, or for the welfare of others, or for the welfare of the community, who is not classifiable as an "insane person" within the meaning of "An Act to revise the law in relation to the commitment and detention of lunatics, and to provide for the appointment and removal of conservators, and to repeal certain acts therein named," approved June 21, 1893, in force July 1, 1893.

347. *Commitment of feeble-minded.*] § 2. From and after the taking effect of this act, no feeble-minded person shall be sent to any public institution for the feeble-minded except as hereinafter provided.

348. *Petition-Endorsements—Against whom process shall issue.*] § 3. When any person residing in this State shall be supposed to be feeble-minded, and by reason of such mental condition of feeble-mindedness, and of social conditions, such as want of proper supervision, control, care and support, or other causes, it is unsafe and dangerous to the welfare of the community for him to be at large without supervision, control and care, any relative, guardian or conservator, or any reputable citizen of the State in which such supposed feeble-minded person resides or is found may, by leave of court first had and obtained, file with the clerk of either the Circuit Court or of the County Court of the county in which such supposed feeble-minded person resides or is found, or with the clerk of a City Court, including the Municipal Court of Chicago, when the supposed feeble-minded person resides or is found in the city, a petition in writing, setting forth that the person therein named is feeble-minded, the fact and circumstances of the social conditions, such as want of proper supervision, control, care and support, or other causes, making it unsafe or dangerous to the welfare of the community for such person to be at large without supervision, control or care; also the name and residence, or that such name or residence is unknown to the petitioner, of

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 23, secs. 346–69.

some person, if any there be, actually supervising, caring for or supporting such person, and of at least one person, if any there be, legally chargeable with such supervision, care or support, and also the names and residences or that same are unknown of the parents or guardians.

The petition shall also allege whether or not such person has been examined by a qualified physician having personal knowledge of the condition of such alleged feeble-minded person. There shall be endorsed on such petition the names and residences of witnesses known to petitioner by whom the truth of the allegations of the petition may be proved, as well as the name and residence of a qualified physician, if any is known to the petitioner, having personal knowledge of the case. All persons named in such petition shall be made defendants by name and shall be notified of such proceedings by summons, if residents of this State, in the same manner as is now or may hereafter be required by law in proceedings in chancery in this State, except only as herein otherwise provided. All persons whose names are stated in the petition to be unknown to the petitioner shall be deemed and taken as defendants by the name and designation of "all whom it may concern." The petition shall be verified by affidavit, which shall be sufficient if it states that it is based upon information and belief. Process shall be issued against all persons made parties by the designation of "all whom it may concern" by such description and notice given by publication as required in this act, shall be sufficient to authorize the court to hear and determine the suit as though the parties had been sued by their proper names.

349. *Summons—Publication—Default.*] § 4. The summons shall require all defendants to personally appear at the time and place stated therein, and to bring into court the alleged feeble-minded person. No written answer shall be required to the petition, but the cause shall stand for trial upon the petition on the return day of the summons. The summons shall be made returnable at any time within twenty days after the date thereof, and may be served as summons in chancery is served by any officer authorized by law to serve processes of the court issuing such summons. No service of process shall be necessary upon any of the defendants named, if they appear or are brought before the court personally without service of summons. . . . .

350. *Warrant—Temporary detention.*] § 5. Upon the filing of the petition, or upon motion at any time thereafter, if it shall be made to

appear to the court by evidence given under oath that it is for the best interest of the alleged feeble-minded person and the community that such person be at once taken into custody, or that the service of summons will be ineffectual to secure the presence of such person, a warrant may issue on the order of the court, directing that such person be taken into custody and brought before the court forthwith or at such time and place the judge may appoint, and pending the hearing of the petition, the court may make any order for the detention of such feeble-minded person, or the placing of such feeble minded-person under temporary guardianship of some suitable person, on such person entering into a recognizance for his appearance, as the court shall deem proper. But no such alleged feeble-minded person shall, during the pendency of the hearing of the petition, be detained in any place provided for the detention of persons charged with or convicted of any criminal or quasi-criminal offense.

351. *Continuation—Examination by psychologists—Interrogatories.*] § 6. At any time after the filing of the petition and pending the final disposition of the case, the court may continue the hearing from time to time, and may order such alleged feeble-minded person to submit to the examination of some qualified physician or psychologist, and the court may also require by rule or order that the petitioner answer under oath such interrogatories as may be propounded, in a form to be prescribed by the Board of Administration.

352. *Hearing by commission—Evidence—Report and recommendations.*] § 7. The hearing on the petition shall be by the court and a commission to be appointed by the court, of two qualified physicians or one qualified physician and one qualified psychologist, residents of the county, to be selected by the judge on account of their known competency and integrity, and evidence shall be heard and proceedings had as in any other civil proceedings.

Evidence shall also be heard and inquiry made into the social conditions, such as want of proper supervision, control, care or support, and other causes making it unsafe or dangerous to the welfare of the community for such person to be at large, without supervision, control and care. The commission shall also make a personal examination touching the mental condition of the alleged feeble-minded person. Upon the conclusion of the hearing, inquiry and examination, the commission shall file with the clerk of the court a report in writing, showing the result of their examination of the mental condition and social conditions aforesaid, setting forth their conclusions and recom-

mendations, and shall also file with such report their sworn answers to such interrogatories as may be propounded in a form to be prescribed by the Board of Administration. Such answers may be based upon their best knowledge and belief.

353. *Setting aside or overruling report—Additional evidence.*] § 8. The report shall have the same effect as reports of masters in chancery, and shall be subject to be set aside or overruled by the court the same as reports of masters in chancery: Provided, however, that there shall be no need of making objections and taking exceptions to same, and the court shall have the power to dismiss the proceedings, order a new hearing by the same or a new commission, or make such findings of fact in lieu of the findings in such report as may be justified by the evidence heard, and on the review by the court of the findings and recommendations of the commission, the court may hear such further evidence as it thinks fit.

354. *Decree—Appointment of guardian.*] § 9. If the court shall find such alleged feeble-minded person not to be feeble-minded as defined in this act, he shall order the petition dismissed and the person discharged. If the court shall find such alleged feeble-minded person to be feeble-minded, and subject to be dealt with under this act, having due regard to all the circumstances appearing on the hearing, the guiding and controlling thought of the court throughout the proceedings to be the welfare of the feeble-minded person and the welfare of the community, it shall enter a decree, appointing a suitable person to be the guardian of the person of such feeble-minded person, or directing that such feeble-minded person be sent to a private institution qualified and licensed under the laws of the State to receive such person whose managers are willing to receive him, or may direct that he be placed in a public institution for the feeble-minded and such decree so entered shall stand and continue binding upon all persons whom it may concern until rescinded or otherwise regularly superseded or set aside.

Provided, however, that any guardian appointed under this act shall be subordinate to any guardian or conservator previously or subsequently appointed, pursuant to "An Act to revise the law in relation to idiots, lunatics, drunkards and spendthrifts," approved March 26, 1874, and in force July 1, 1874, or "An Act in regard to guardians and wards," approved April 10, 1872, in force July 1, 1872.

355. *Powers of guardian.*] § 10. An order that the feeble-minded person be placed under guardianship shall confer on the person named in the order as guardian such powers, subject to the regulations of the

Board of Administration, as would have been exercisable if he had been the father of the feeble-minded, and the feeble-minded person had been under the age of fourteen. . . . .

359. *Petition for discharge—Hearing—Discharge or variation of order.*] § 14. No feeble-minded person admitted to an institution for the feeble-minded pursuant to an order of court as herein provided shall be discharged therefrom except as herein provided, except that nothing herein contained shall abridge the right of petition for the writ of habeas corpus. At any time after the admission of the feeble-minded person to an institution for the feeble-minded, pursuant to an order of court as herein provided, the feeble-minded person, or any of the relatives or friends of the feeble-minded person, or any reputable citizen, or the superintendent of the institution having the feeble-minded person in charge, or the Board of Administration, may petition the court that entered the order of admission, to discharge the feeble-minded person, or to vary the order of the court sending the feeble-minded person to an institution. If, on the hearing of the petition, the court is satisfied that the welfare of the feeble-minded person, or the welfare of others, or the welfare of the community requires his discharge, or a variation of the order, the court may enter such order of discharge or variation, as the court thinks proper. Discharges and variations of orders may be made for either of the following causes: Because the person adjudged to be feeble-minded is not feeble-minded; because he has so far improved as to be capable of caring for himself; because the relatives or friends of the feeble-minded person are able and willing to supervise, control, care for and support him and request his discharge, and in the judgment of the superintendent of the institution having the person in charge, no evil consequences are likely to follow such discharge; but the enumeration of grounds of discharge or variation herein shall not exclude other grounds of discharge or variation which the court, in its discretion, may deem adequate, having due regard for the welfare of the person concerned, or the welfare of others, or the welfare of the community. On any petition of discharge or variation, the court may discharge the feeble-minded person from all supervision, control and care, or may place him under guardianship, or may transfer him from a public institution to a private institution, or from a private institution to a public institution, as the court thinks fit under all the circumstances appearing on the hearing of the petition. The superintendent of the institution having the feeble-minded person in charge,

must be notified of the time and place of hearing on any petition for discharge or variation, as the court shall direct, and no order of discharge or variation shall be entered without giving such superintendent a reasonable opportunity to be heard; and the court may notify such other persons, relatives and friends of the feeble-minded person as the court may think proper of the time and place of the hearing on any petition for discharge or variation of prior order. The denial of one petition for discharge or variation shall be no bar to another on the same or different grounds within a reasonable time thereafter, such reasonable time to be determined by the court in its discretion, discouraging frequent, repeated, frivolous, ill-founded petitions for discharge or variation of prior order. On reception of a feeble-minded person in an institution pursuant to an order of court under this act, the superintendent of the institution under regulations of the Board of Administration shall cause the feeble-minded person to be examined touching his mental condition, and if upon such examination it is found the person is not feeble-minded, it shall be the duty of the superintendent to petition the court for a discharge or variation of the order sending him to the institution. Any person sent to an institution pursuant to an order of court under this act shall have the right to at least one hearing on a petition for discharge or variation within one year after the date of the order sending him to an institution.

360. *Communication with friends—Leave of absence.*] § 15. Every person admitted to any institution for the feeble-minded shall have all reasonable opportunity and facility for communication with his friends, and be permitted to write and send letters, providing they contain nothing of an immoral or personally offensive character and letters written by any charge to any member of the Board of Administration, or to any member of the State Charities Commission, or to any State or county official, shall be forwarded unopened. But no leave of absence shall be granted except for good cause to be determined and approved by the Board of Administration in each case who shall take appropriate measures to secure for the feeble-minded person proper supervision, control and care during such leave of absence, and no leave of absence shall be for a longer period than two weeks in one calendar year. . . . .

365. *Dependent or delinquent feeble-minded children.*] § 20. When a child is brought before a "juvenile" court as a dependent or delinquent child, if it appears to the court, on the testimony of a physician or a psychologist or other evidence that such person or child is feeble-

minded within the meaning of this act, the court may adjourn the proceedings and direct some suitable officer of the court or other suitable reputable person to file a petition under this act; and the court may order that pending the preparation, filing and hearing of such petitions, the person or child be detained in a place of safety, or be placed under the guardianship of some suitable person on that person entering into recognizance for his appearance. . . . .

369. *Escape—Duty of superintendent.*] § 24. If any feeble-minded person shall escape from an institution for the feeble-minded, it shall be the duty of the superintendent of the institution and his assistants, and of any sheriff or constable, or other officer of the peace in any county in which he may be found, to take and detain him without a warrant, and report the same at once to the county judge of said county, who shall return him to the institution at the expense of the county from which he was admitted. . . . .

## SECTION IV

## STATUTES AFFECTING FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

### 18. The Widow's Award[1]

75. *Widow's award.*] § 74. The widow, residing in this State, of a deceased husband whose estate is administered in this State, whether her husband died testate or intestate, shall, in all cases, in exclusion of all debts, claims, charges, legacies and bequests, except funeral expenses, be allowed as her sole and exclusive property forever, except as herein otherwise provided, the following, to-wit:

First—The family pictures and the wearing apparel, jewels and ornaments of herself and her minor children.

Second—Such sum of money as the appraisers may deem reasonable for the proper support of herself and his minor children for the period of one year after the death of the testator or intestate, in a manner suited to her condition in life, taking into account the condition of the estate of the testator or intestate.

Such allowance shall in no case be less than five hundred ($500) dollars, together with an additional sum not to exceed two hundred ($200) dollars, for each minor child of the testator or intestate under eighteen (18) years of age at the time of his death. The amount so allowed for the support of the minor or minors shall be, by the executor or administrator, paid to the widow in quarterly payments due and payable at the end of each quarter of the year for which the allowance is made. In case such widow dies or abandons such minor child, before the expiration of the year, the amount allowed on account of said minor and remaining unpaid to the widow shall become the property of said minor. . . . .

78. *Allowance to children.*] § 77. When the person dying is, at the time of his or her death, a housekeeper, the head of a family, and leaves no widow, or surviving husband, there shall be allowed to the children of the deceased residing with him or her at the time of his or her death (including all males under eighteen years of age, and all females), the same amount of property, and money, subject to the review of the court as provided in section 75, is allowed to the widow

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 3, secs. 75–78.

for herself and children by this Act, with the same right of selection of chattel property at its appraised value, which selection may be made by the guardian for the minors, and by the conservator for any adult female under disability. Such award may be apportioned as the court may direct.

### 19. Abandonment of Wife or Children[1]

24. *Neglect to support destitute wife or child—Penalty.*] § 1. That every person who shall, without any reasonable cause, neglect or refuse to provide for the support or maintenance of his wife, said wife being in destitute or in necessitous circumstances, or any person who shall, without lawful excuse, desert or neglect or refuse to provide for the support or maintenance of his or her child or children under the age of eighteen years, in destitute or necessitous circumstances, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not to exceed six hundred dollars or by imprisonment in the county jail, house of correction or workhouse, not to exceed one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

25. *Proceedings.*] § 2. Proceedings under this act may be by indictment or information.

26. *Temporary order for support.*] § 3. At any time before the trial, upon motion of the complainant and upon notice to the defendant, the court at any time or a judge thereof in vacation, may enter such temporary order as may seem just, providing for the support or maintenance of the wife or child or children of the defendant, or both, *pendente lite*, and may for violation of such order punish the offender as for a contempt of court.

27. *When fine imposed—To whom paid—Order of court to pay sum periodically—Release of defendant on probation.*] § 4. Whenever a fine shall be imposed, it may be directed by the court to be paid, in whole or in part, to the wife or to the guardian or custodian of the minor child or children: Provided, that before the trial with the consent of the defendant, or at the trial, on entry of a plea of guilty, or after conviction, instead of imposing the penalty provided in this act, or in addition thereto the court in its discretion, having regard to the circumstances, and to the financial ability or earning capacity of the defendant, shall have the power to make an order, which shall be subject to change by the court from time to time as circumstances may require, directing the defendant to pay a certain sum periodically

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 68, secs. 24–33.

for a term not exceeding one year, to the wife or to the guardian or custodian of the said minor child or children, or to an organization or individual approved by the court as trustee; and shall also have the power to relieve the defendant from custody on probation for the period fixed in the order of judgment upon his or her entering into a recognizance, with or without surety, in such sum as the court or a judge thereof in vacation, may order and approve. The condition of the recognizance shall be such that if the defendant shall make his or her personal appearance in court whenever ordered to do so by said court, at such period as may be fixed, within one year, and shall further comply with the terms of such order of support, or of any subsequent modification thereof, then such recognizance shall be void; otherwise in full force and effect.

28. *Violation of order—Forfeiture of recognizance.*] § 5. If the court be satisfied by testimony in open court, that at any time during said period of one year the defendant has violated the terms of such order, it may forthwith proceed with the trial of the defendant under the original charge, or sentence him or her under the original conviction, or enforce the suspended sentence, as the case may be. In case of forfeiture of recognizance, and enforcement thereof by execution, the sum so recovered may, in the discretion of the court, be paid, in whole or in part, to the wife, or to the guardian or custodian or trustee of the said minor child or children.

29. *Evidence.*] § 6. No other or greater evidence shall be required to prove the marriage of such husband and wife, or that the defendant is the father or mother of such child or children, than is or shall be required to prove such fact in a civil action.

30. *Husband or wife as competent witness.*] § 7. In no prosecution under this act shall any existing statute or rule of law prohibiting the disclosure of confidential communications between husband and wife apply. And both husband and wife shall be competent witnesses to testify to any and all relevant matters, including the fact of such marriage and of the parentage of such child or children: Provided, that neither shall be compelled to give evidence incriminating himself or herself.

31. *Actions may be prosecuted during existence of marriage relations.*] § 8. Actions against persons under this act who shall without any reasonable cause neglect or refuse to provide for the support or maintenance of his wife may be prosecuted at any time during the existence of the marriage relations.

32. *Actions may be prosecuted until child or children reach the age of eighteen years.*] § 9. Actions against persons under this act who shall without lawful excuse neglect or refuse to provide for the support or maintenance of his or her child or children may be prosecuted at any time until said child or children reaches the age of eighteen years.

33. *How offenses construed.*] § 10. It is hereby expressly declared that the offenses as herein before set forth in this Act, are and shall be so taken and construed to be continuing offenses.

### 20. Contributing to Dependency of Children[1]

100. *Dependent or neglected child defined.*] § 1. *Be it enacted, etc.:* For the purposes of this Act a dependent and neglected child shall mean any male who while under the age of 17 years or any female who while under the age of 18 years, for any reason is destitute, homeless or abandoned; or dependent upon the public for support; or has not proper parental care or guardianship; or habitually begs or receives alms; or is found living in any house of ill fame or with any vicious or disreputable person; or has a home which by reason of neglect, cruelty or depravity on the part of its parents, guardian or any other person in whose care it may be is an unfit place for such child; and any child who while under the age of ten years is found begging, peddling or selling any articles or singing or playing any musical instrument for gain upon the street or giving any public entertainments or accompanies or is used in aid of any person so doing.

101. *Penalty for contributing to dependency or neglect.*] § 2. Any parent, legal guardian or person having the custody of a male under the age of 17 years or of a female under the age of 18 years, who shall knowingly or wilfully cause, aid or encourage such person to be or to become a dependent and neglected child as defined in section 1, or who shall knowingly or wilfully do acts which directly tend to render any such child so dependent and neglected, or who shall knowingly or wilfully fail to do that which will directly tend to prevent such state of dependency and neglect shall be deemed guilty of the crime of contributing to the dependency and neglect of children and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than $200.00 or by imprisonment in the county jail, house of correction or workhouse for not more than one year or both by such fine and imprisonment:

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 38, secs. 100–102.

Provided, that instead of imposing the punishment hereinbefore provided, the court shall have the power to release the defendant from custody on probation for the space of one year upon his or her entering into recognizance with or without surety in such sum as the court may direct. The conditions of the recognizance shall be such that if the defendant shall make his or her personal appearance in court whenever ordered to do so within the year and shall provide and care for such neglected and dependent child in such manner as to prevent a continuance or a repetition of such state of dependency and neglect or as otherwise may be directed by the court then the recognizance shall be void, otherwise it shall be of full force and effect. If the court be satisfied by information and due proof under oath that any time during the year the defendant has violated the terms of such order that it may forthwith revoke the order and sentence him or her under the original conviction. Unless so sentenced, the defendant shall at the end of the year be discharged. In case of forfeiture on the recognizance the sum recovered thereon may in the discretion of the court be paid in whole or in part to someone designated by the court for the support of such dependent and neglected child.

102. *Husband or wife competent witness.*] § 3. The husband or wife of the defendant shall be a competent witness to testify in any case brought under this Act and to any and all matters relevant thereto.

### 21. Contributing to Delinquency of Children[1]

103. *Delinquent child defined.*] § 1. *Be it enacted, etc.:* That for the purposes of this Act a delinquent child is any male who while under the age of seventeen (17) years, or any female who while under the age of eighteen (18) years violates any law of this state; or is incorrigible, or knowingly associates with thieves, vicious or immoral persons; or without just cause and without the consent of its parents, guardian or custodian absents itself from its home or place of abode, or is growing up in idleness or crime; or knowingly frequents a house of ill repute; or knowingly frequents any policy shop or place where any gambling device is operated; or frequents any saloon or dramshop where intoxicating liquors are sold; or patronizes or visits any public pool room or bucket shop; or wanders about the streets in the

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 38, secs. 103–5.

night time without being on any lawful business or lawful occupation; or habitually wanders about any railroad yards or tracks or jumps or attempts to jump onto any moving train; or enters any car or engine without lawful authority; or uses vile, obscene, vulgar, profane or indecent language in any public place.

104. *Penalty.*] § 2. Any person who shall knowingly or wilfully cause, aid or encourage any male under the age of seventeen (17) years or any female under the age of eighteen (18) years to be or to become a delinquent child as defined in section one (1) or who shall knowingly or wilfully do acts which directly tend to render any such child so delinquent and who when able to do so, shall wilfully neglect to do that which will directly tend to prevent such state of delinquency shall be deemed guilty of the crime of contributing to the delinquency of children and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than two hundred (200) dollars, or by imprisonment in the county jail, house of correction or workhouse not more than one (1) year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

105. *Husband or wife competent witness.*] § 3. The husband or wife of the defendant shall be a competent witness to testify in any case brought under the provisions of this Act and to any and all matters relevant thereto.

### 22. Statutory Grounds for Divorce[1]

1. *Causes.*] § 1. In every case in which a marriage has been, or hereafter may be contracted and solemnized between any two persons, and it shall be adjudged, in the manner hereinafter provided, that either party at the time of such marriage was, and continues to be naturally impotent; or that he or she had a wife or husband living at the time of such marriage; or that either party has committed adultery subsequently to the marriage; or has wilfully deserted or absented himself or herself from the husband or wife, without any reasonable cause, for the space of two years; or has been guilty of habitual drunkenness for the space of two years; or has attempted the life of the other by poison or other means showing malice, or has been guilty of extreme and repeated cruelty; or has been convicted of felony or other infamous crime; or has infected the other with a communicable venereal disease, it shall be lawful for the injured party to obtain a divorce and dissolution of such marriage contract.

[1] *Ibid.*, chap. 40, sec. 1.

### 23. Remarriage within One Year Forbidden[1]

§ 1*a*. That in every case in which a divorce has been granted for any of the several causes contained in section 1 of said act, neither party shall marry again within one year from the time the decree was granted: Provided, when the cause for such divorce is adultery, the person decreed guilty of adultery shall not marry for a term of two years from the time the decree was granted: Provided, however, that nothing in this section shall prevent the persons divorced from remarrying each other; and every person marrying contrary to the provisions of this section shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than one year, nor more than three years, and said marriage shall be held absolutely void.

### 24. Law Prohibiting Remarriage within a Year Repealed[2]

§ 2. In all cases where a marriage has been contracted in violation of the provisions of section 1*a* of "An Act to revise the law in relation to divorce," approved March 10, 1874, as amended, except where either of the contracting parties has, subsequent to said marriage, and prior to the taking effect of this Act, entered into another marriage contract which was and is legal and binding, under the laws of Illinois, said marriages so contracted in violation of said section 1*a*, if otherwise legal, are hereby validated and confirmed, except that property rights heretofore vested shall not be affected by this Act.

### 25. Bastardy[3]

1. *Complaint by mother.*] § 1. When a woman who shall be pregnant or delivered of a child, which, by law, would be deemed a bastard, shall make complaint to a justice of the peace or judge of a court having jurisdiction herein, in the county where she may be so pregnant or delivered, or the person accused may be found, and shall accuse, under oath or affirmation, a person with being the father of such a child, it shall be the duty of such justice or judge to issue a warrant against the person so accused and cause him to be brought forthwith before him, or in his absence, any other justice of the peace or judge in such county.

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Hurd, 1921), chap. 40, sec. 1*a*.

[2] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 40, sec. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, chap. 17, secs. 1–18.

2. *Warrant.*] § 2. The warrant shall be directed to all sheriffs, coroners and constables in the State of Illinois, and may be executed by any such officer in any county.

3. *Examination—Bail—Commitment.*] § 3. Upon his appearance, it shall be the duty of said justice or judge to examine the woman, upon oath or affirmation, in the presence of the man alleged to be the father of the child, touching the charge against him. The defendant shall have the right to controvert such charge, and evidence may be heard, as in cases of trials before the County Court. If the justice or judge shall be of the opinion that sufficient cause appears, it shall be his duty to bind the person so accused, in bond, with sufficient security, to appear at the next term of a court having jurisdiction herein, in such county, to answer such charge, to which court said warrant and bond shall be returned. On neglect or refusal to give bond and security, the justice or judge shall cause such person to be committed to the jail of the county, there to be held to answer the complaint.

4. *Trial.*] § 4. The court having jurisdiction of cases coming within the terms of an Act entitled, "An Act relating to children who are or may hereafter become dependent, neglected or delinquent, to define these terms and to provide for the treatment, control, maintenance, adoption and guardianship of the persons of such children," approved April 21, 1899, in force July 1, 1899, as amended, shall with other courts of competent jurisdiction, have jurisdiction in the trial of all cases arising under the terms of this Act. The said court, at its next term, shall cause an issue to be made up, whether the person charged, as aforesaid, is the real father of the child or not, which issue shall be tried by a jury. When the person charged appears and denies the charge, he shall have a right to controvert, by all legal evidence, the truth of said charge.

5. *Continuance.*] § 5. If, at the time of such court, the woman be not delivered, or is unable to attend, the court shall order a recognizance to be taken of the person charged as aforesaid, in such an amount and with such sureties as the court may deem just, for the appearance of such person at the next court after the birth of her child; and should such mother not be able to attend at the next term after the birth of her child, the recognizance shall be continued until she is able.

6. *Parties competent witnesses.*] § 6. On the trial of every issue of bastardy, the mother and defendant shall be admitted as competent witnesses, and their credibility shall be left to the jury.

7. *When judgment is for defendant.*] § 7. If, upon the trial of the issue aforesaid, the jury shall find that the child is not the child of the defendant or alleged father, then the judgment of the court shall be that he be discharged. The woman making the complaint shall pay the costs of the prosecution, and judgment shall be entered therefor, and execution may thereupon issue.

8. *When judgment is against defendant.*] § 8. In case the issue is found against the defendant or reputed father, or whenever he shall, in open court, have confessed the truth of the charge against him, he shall be condemned by the order and judgment of the court to pay a sum of money not exceeding two hundred dollars for the first year after the birth of such child, and a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars yearly, for nine years succeeding said first year, for the support, maintenance, and education of such child, and shall, moreover, be adjudged to pay all the costs of the prosecution, for which cost execution shall issue as in other cases. And the said reputed father shall be required by said court to give bond with sufficient security, to be approved by the judge of said court, for the payment of such sum of money as shall be ordered by said court, as aforesaid; which said bond shall be made payable to the People of the State of Illinois, and conditioned for the due and faithful payment of said yearly sum, in equal quarterly installments, to the clerk of said court, which bond shall be filed and preserved by the clerk of said court.

9. *Commitment in case of refusal to give security.*] § 9. In case the defendant shall refuse or neglect to give such security as may be ordered by the court, he shall be committed to the jail of the county, there to remain until he shall comply with such order, or until otherwise discharged by due course of law. Any person so committed shall be discharged for insolvency or inability to give bond: Provided, such discharge shall not be made within six months after such commitment.

10. *Money—How used.*] §10. The money, when received, shall be laid out and appropriated for the support of such child in such manner as shall be directed by the court; but when a guardian shall be appointed for such bastard, the money arising from such bond shall be paid over to such guardian.

11. *Proceedings upon default of payment.*] § 11. Whenever default shall be made in the payment of an installment, or any part thereof, mentioned in the bond provided for in the foregoing section, the judge of the court wherein such bond is filed shall, at the request of the

mother or guardian, or any other person interested in the support of such child, issue a citation to the principal and sureties in said bond, requiring them to appear on some day, in said citation mentioned, during the next term of said court and show cause, if any they have, why execution should not issue against them for the amount of the installment or installments due and unpaid on said bond, which said citation shall be served by any sheriff or constable of the county in which such principal or sureties reside or may be found, at least five days before the term day thereof. And if the amount due on such installment or installments shall not be paid at or before the time mentioned for showing cause, as aforesaid, the said judge shall render judgment in favor of the people of the State of Illinois, against the principal and sureties who have been served with said citation, for the amount unpaid on the installment or installments due on said bond, and the costs of said proceeding; and execution shall issue from said court against the goods and chattels of the person or persons against whom said judgment shall be rendered, for the amount of said judgment and costs, to the sheriff of any county in the State where the parties to said judgment, or either of them, reside or have property subject to such execution.

12. *Contempt—Commitment—Judgment lien.*] § 12. And said judge shall also have power in case of default in the payment, when due, of any installment or installments, or any part thereof, in the condition of said bond mentioned, to adjudge the reputed father of such child guilty of contempt of said court, by reason of the non-payment as aforesaid, and to order him to be committed to the county jail of said county until the amount of said installment or installments so due, shall be fully paid, together with all costs of such commitment, and in the obtaining and enforcing of said judgment and execution, as aforesaid. But the commitment of such reputed father shall not operate to stay or defeat the obtaining of judgment and the collection thereof by execution as aforesaid: Provided, that the rendition and collection of judgment, as aforesaid, shall not be construed to bar or hinder the taking of similar proceedings for the collection of subsequent installments on said bond, as they shall become due and remain unpaid. And, provided, further, that if the judge, or any other person interested in the support of such child, still deem it necessary, in order to secure the payment or collection of judgment, that the same should be made a lien on real estate, a transcript of said proceedings and judgment shall be made by the clerk of said court, and filed and

recorded in the office of the clerk of the circuit court of said county, in the same manner and with like effect as transcripts of judgments of justices of the peace are filed and recorded, to make the same a lien on real estate, and execution and other process shall thereupon issue for the collection of said judgment as in case of other judgments in said circuit court, and the provisions of this section, as far as applicable, apply to all bonds, which have heretofore been taken in pursuance of the statutes in regard to bastardy. . . . .

13. *Custody of child.*] § 13. The reputed father of a bastard child shall not have the right to the custody or control of such child, if the mother is living and wishes to retain such custody and control, until after it shall have arrived at the age of ten years, unless, upon petition to the circuit court of the county in which the mother resides, it shall, on full hearing of the facts in the case, after notice to the mother, be made to appear to the judge of said court that said mother is not a suitable person to have the control and custody of such child.

14. *Child not born alive or dying.*] § 14. If the said child should never be born alive, or being born alive should die at any time, and the fact shall be suggested upon the record of the said court, then the bond aforesaid shall from thenceforth be void.

15. *Marriage of parents.*] § 15. If the mother of any bastard child, and the reputed father, shall, at any time after its birth, intermarry, the said child shall, in all respects, be deemed and held legitimate, and the bond aforesaid be void.

16. *Limitation.*] § 16. No prosecution under this Act shall be brought after two years from the birth of such child: Provided, that where the reputed father has acknowledged in open court the paternity of the child, then, and in such case, prosecution may be brought at any time within two years from the last time such acknowledgment of paternity by the reputed father was made: Provided, further, that the time any person accused shall be absent from the State shall not be computed.

17. *Repeal.*] § 17. Omitted.

18. *Release of reputed father by mother of child.*] § 18. The mother of a bastard child, before or after its birth, may release the reputed father of such child from all legal liability on account of such bastardy upon such terms as may be consented to in writing by the judge of the court having jurisdiction herein of the county in which such mother resides: Provided, a release obtained from such mother in consideration of a payment to her of a sum of money less than eight

hundred dollars in the absence of the written consent of the judge of the court having jurisdiction herein, shall not be a bar to a suit for bastardy against such father, but if, after such release is obtained, suit be instituted against such father and the issue be found against him, he shall be entitled to a set-off for the amount so paid, and it shall be accredited to him as of the first payment or payments. And, provided, further, that such father may compromise all his legal liability on account of such bastard child, with the mother thereof, without the written consent of such judge, by paying to her any sum not less than eight hundred dollars.

## SECTION V

## PROCEDURE IN DESERTION CASES

### 26. Fugitives from Justice[1]

1. *Warrant for arrest on requisition.*] § 1. *Be it enacted, etc.:* That whenever the executive of any other state, or of any territory of the United States, shall demand of the executive of this state any person as a fugitive from justice,[2] and shall have complied with the requisitions of the act of congress in that case made and provided, it shall be the duty of the executive of this state to issue his warrant under the seal of the state, to apprehend the said fugitive, directed to any sheriff, coroner or constable of any county of this state, or other person whom the said executive may think fit to entrust with the execution of said process.[3]

2. *Arrest—Delivery.*] § 2. Any such officer or person may, at the expense of the agent making the demand, execute such warrant anywhere within the limits of this state, and require aid as in criminal cases, and may convey such fugitive to any place within this state

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 60.

[2] [Definition of extradition: "Extradition is the surrender of fugitives from justice by one of the states of the Union to another upon its demand, in pursuance of the provisions of the Constitution and laws of the United States."—*Bouvier's Law Dictionary,* Title "Extradition, American and English."

"A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled be delivered up to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime."—*U.S. Constitution,* Art. 4, sec. 2.]

[3] *United States Revised Statutes,* 1873–4; Title 66.

Sec. 5278. Whenever the executive authority of any state or territory demands any person as a fugitive from justice, of the executive authority of any state or territory to which such person has fled, and produces a copy of an indictment found or an affidavit made before a magistrate of any state or territory, charging the person demanded with having committed treason, felony, or other crime, certified as authentic by the governor or chief magistrate of the state or territory from whence the person so charged has fled, it shall be the duty of the executive authority of the state or territory to which such person has fled to cause him to be arrested and secured, and to cause notice of the arrest to be given to the executive authority making such demand, or to the agent of such authority appointed to receive the fugitive, and to cause the fugitive to be delivered to such agent when he shall appear. If no

which the executive in his said warrant shall direct, and deliver such fugitive to such agent.

3. *Arrest of accused before requisition.*] § 3. When a person is found in this state, charged with an offense committed in another state or territory, and liable, by the constitution and laws of the United States, to be delivered over upon the demand of the executive of such other state or territory, any judge, justice of the peace or police magistrate may, upon complaint under oath, setting forth the offense, and such other matters as are necessary to bring the case within the provisions of law, issue a warrant to bring the person charged before the same or some other judge, justice of the peace or police magistrate within this state, to answer to such complaint as in other cases.

4. *Commitment or bail.*] § 4. If upon examination, it shall appear to the satisfaction of such judge, justice or police magistrate, that the said person is guilty of the offense alleged against him, it shall be the duty of the said judge, justice or police magistrate to commit him to the jail of the county; or if the offense is bailable according to the laws of this state, to take bail for his appearance at the next circuit court to be holden in that county, except that in the County of Cook the recognizance shall be for the appearance of the accused to the next term of the Criminal Court of Cook County.

*Examination reduced to writing—Copy to court and governor.*] It shall be the duty of the said judge, justice or police magistrate to reduce the examination of the prisoner, and those who bring him, to writing, and to return the same to the next term of the court at which the prisoner is bound to appear, as in other cases; and he shall also send a copy of the examination and proceedings to the executive of the state, as soon thereafter as may be.

*Governor to notify executive of other state.*] If, in the opinion of the executive of this state, the examination so furnished contains sufficient evidence to warrant the finding of an indictment against such person, he shall forthwith notify the executive of the state or territory where

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such agent appears within six months from the time of the arrest, the prisoner may be discharged. All costs or expenses incurred in the apprehending, securing, and transmitting such fugitive to the state or territory making such demand, shall be paid by such state or territory.

Sec. 5279. Any agent so appointed who receives the fugitive into his custody, shall be empowered to transport him to the state or territory from which he has fled. And every person who, by force, sets at liberty or rescues the fugitive from such agent while so transporting him, shall be fined not more than five hundred dollars or imprisoned not more than one year.

the crime is alleged to have been committed, of the proceedings which have been had against such person, and that he will deliver such person on demand, without requiring a copy of an indictment to accompany such demand.

*Warrant—Surrender—Costs.*] When such demand shall be made, the executive of this state shall forthwith issue his warrant, under the seal of the state, to the sheriff of the county where the said person is committed or bailed, commanding him, upon the payment of the expense of such proceeding, to surrender him to such agent as shall be therein named, to be conveyed out of this state. If the said person shall be out on bail, it shall be lawful for the sheriff to arrest him forthwith, anywhere within the state, and to surrender him agreeably to said warrant.

4*a*. *Transporting person through State.*] § $4\frac{1}{2}$. Any duly authorized official of another State bringing any person within this State for the purpose of transporting such person through the State, extradition warrant issued in another State shall have the same authority as to the custody and restraint of such person while in the State of Illinois, as duly constituted peace officers of this State have in making an arrest under process issued by the courts of this State.

5. *When prisoner may be discharged.*] § 5. If the accused shall appear at the court according to the condition of his recognizance, unless he shall have been demanded by some person authorized by the warrant of the executive to receive him, the court may discharge the said recognizance, or continue it, or require a further recognizance, or commit the accused on his failing to recognize as required by the court, according to the circumstances of the case, such as the distance of the place where the offense is alleged to have been committed, the time that has intervened since the arrest, and the strength of the evidence against the accused. In no case shall the accused be held in prison or to bail longer than till the end of the second term of the circuit court after his caption, except that in the County of Cook he may be held till the end of the third term of the Criminal Court of Cook County after his caption. If he is not demanded within that time he shall be discharged from prison, or exonerated from his recognizance, as the case may be. . . . .

8. *Fugitives from this state—Warrant.*] § 8. Whenever the executive of this state shall demand a fugitive from justice from the executive of any other state, he shall issue his warrant, under the seal of the state, to some messenger, commanding him to receive the said fugitive

and convey him to the sheriff of the proper county where the offense was committed.

9. *Manner of applying for requisition.*] § 9. The manner of making application to the Governor of this State for a requisition for the return of a fugitive from justice shall be by petition, in which shall be stated the name of the fugitive, the crime charged in the words of the statute defining the crime; the county in which the crime is alleged to have been committed; the time, as nearly as may be, when the fugitive fled; the state or territory to which he has fled, giving facts and circumstances tending to show the whereabouts of the fugitive at the time of the application. Such petitions shall be verified by affidavit, and have endorsed thereon the certificate of the judge of the County Court of the county in which the crime is alleged to have been committed, that the ends of justice require the return of such fugitive. In all cases when the fugitive shall be charged with the crime of neglect or refusal to provide for the support of destitute wife or child, it shall be the duty of the State's Attorney to present such petition to said judge of the County Court, who shall hear the same in a summary manner ex parte, and if, after hearing the testimony of the complaining witness and of two other creditable witnesses, such judge is of the opinion that the ends of justice require the return of such fugitive, he shall make such endorsement upon the petition. All petitions for requisition shall be filed by the Governor in the office of the Secretary of State, to remain on record in that office.

10. *Copy of indictment.*] § 10. When the application is based upon an indictment found, a copy of the indictment, certified by the clerk under the seal of the court in which the indictment was found, shall be attached to the petition.

11. *Expenses.*] § 11. When the punishment of the crime shall be the confinement of the criminal in the penitentiary, the expenses shall be paid out of the state treasury, on the certificate of the Governor and warrant of the auditor; in all other cases they shall be paid out of the county treasury of the county wherein the crime is alleged to have been committed. The expenses shall be the fees paid to the officers of the state on whose Governor the requisition is made, and not exceeding twelve cents per mile for all necessary travel in returning such fugitives. Before such account shall be certified by the Governor, or paid by the county, they shall be verified by affidavit, and certified to by the judge of the county court of the county wherein the crime is alleged to have been committed. . . . .

### 27. Extradition Costs in Cook County[1]

Excessive cost of extradition is another charge placed upon poor women who have to pay more for extradition services than Cook County pays for the same service, unless the court takes the matter under its supervision. As it is now, the woman who wants to bring her husband back to Chicago on charge of non-support is often the victim of persons who, through accident or intent, make excessive charges for their services. In many cases this service is offered—even pressed upon a woman—before it is sought. The county has made an appropriation of $2,000 to meet the expense of extradition, but as this sum must cover the entire county for one year, it is drawn on only when it is known the family of the deserter will become a public charge upon the public unless he is brought back. The interests of the poor would be served in fuller measure if the state would appropriate a fund with which to pay for the extradition of husbands charged with non-support of their families. To insure the honest disbursement of such a fund it should be placed under the supervision of the court. An investigation into the present method of making extraditions would, I believe, disclose ample proof that court supervision is needed to protect the poor from unjust charges. The county allows $31.50 for bringing a deserting husband from Detroit to Chicago. A woman who has several children depending on her for support was asked to pay $45.00 to have her husband brought from the same city. The state provides for the extradition of a forger or an embezzler without cost. It should do as much for the woman who is striving to save her family from pauperism.[2]

[1] Extract from *Tenth and Eleventh Annual Reports of the Municipal Court of Chicago for the Years December 6, 1915, to December 2, 1917*, p. 114.

[2] "Sometimes the County Agent will meet the expense if the family is likely to become a County charge. The procedure then is somewhat as follows: The private agency to which the family has applied for aid when it proceeds to secure a warrant sends to the County Agent a copy of the statement of fact sent to the court as a basis for requesting the warrant. The County Agent then makes an independent investigation and if he agrees with the agency that extradition should be resorted to he notifies the agency who proceeds with the extradition. If a conviction is secured in the form of an acceptable bond or sentence to the House of Correction the County Agent then reimburses the agency for such expenses incurred in extraditing as he thinks legitimate" (*Jewish Social Service Bureau Gray Book*, August 7, 1923).

## SECTION VI

## PROVISION FOR FAMILY WELFARE THROUGH WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACTS

### 28. Compensation for Accidental Injuries and Death[1]

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

AN ACT to promote the general welfare of the people of this State by providing compensation for accidental injuries or death suffered in the course of employment within this State: providing for the enforcement and administering thereof, and a penalty for its violation, and repealing an Act entitled, "An Act to promote the general welfare of the people of this State by providing compensation for accidental injuries or death suffered in the course of employment." Approved June 10, 1911, in force May 1, 1912. [Approved June 28, 1913.]

138. *Employer may elect to accept provisions of this act for compensation for injuries to employee—Notice—Election of employee—Notice.*] § 1. *Be it enacted, etc.* That any employer in this State, who does not come within the classes enumerated by section three (3) of this Act, may elect to provide and pay compensation for accidental injuries sustained by any employee arising out of and in the course of the employment according to the provisions of this Act, and thereby relieve himself from any liability for the recovery of damages, except as herein provided.

(*a*) Election by any employer to provide and pay compensation according to the provisions of this Act shall be made by the employer filing notice of such election with the industrial board.

(*b*) Every employer within the provisions of this Act who has elected to provide and pay compensation according to the provisions of this act, shall be bound thereby as to all his employees covered by this act until January 1st of the next succeeding year and for terms of each year thereafter: Provided, any such employer who may have once elected, may elect not to provide and pay the compensation herein provided for accidents resulting in either injury or death and occurring after the expiration of any such calendar year by filing notice of such election with the industrial board at least sixty days prior to the expira-

[1] *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Smith-Hurd, 1923), chap. 48, secs. 138–48.

tion of any such calendar year, and by posting such notice at a conspicuous place in the plant, shop, office, room or place where such employee is employed, or by personal service, in written or printed form, upon such employees, at least sixty (60) days prior to the expiration of any such calendar year.

(*c*) In the event any employer mentioned in this section, elects to provide and pay the compensation provided in this Act, then every employee of such employer, as a part of his contract of hiring or who may be employed at the time of the taking effect of this Act and the acceptance of its provisions by such employer, shall be deemed to have accepted all the provisions of this Act and shall be bound thereby unless within thirty (30) days after such hiring or after the taking effect of this Act, and its acceptance by such employer, he shall file a notice to the contrary with the industrial board, whose duty it shall be to immediately notify the employer, and until such notice to the contrary is given to the employer, the measure of liability of such employer shall be determined according to the compensation provisions of this Act: Provided, however, that any employee may withdraw from the operation of the act upon filing a written notice of withdrawal at least ten (10) days prior to January 1st of any year with the industrial board, whose duty it shall be to immediately notify such employer, by registered mail, and, until such notice to the contrary is given to such employer, the measure of liability of such employer shall be determined according to the compensation provisions of this Act.

(*d*) Any such employer or employee may, without prejudice to any existing right or claim, withdraw his election to reject this Act by giving thirty (30) days' written notice in such manner and form as may be provided by the industrial board.

[§ 2. Repealed. L. 1917, p. 505.]

139. *Act applies automatically to certain employments.*] § 3. The provisions of this Act hereinafter following shall apply automatically and without election to the State, county, city, town, township, incorporated village or school district, body politic or municipal corporation, and to all employers and their employees, engaged in any of the following enterprises or businesses which are declared to be extra hazardous, namely:

1. The erection, maintaining, removing, remodeling, altering or demolishing of any structure, except as provided in sub-paragraph 8 of this section.

2. Construction, excavating or electrical work, except as provided in sub-paragraph 8 of this section.

3. Carriage by land or water and loading or unloading in connection therewith including the distribution of any commodity by horse-drawn or motor driven vehicle where the employer employs more than three employees in the enterprise or business, except as provided in sub-paragraph 8 of this section.

4. The operation of any warehouse or general or terminal store houses.

5. Mining, surface mining or quarrying.

6. Any enterprise in which explosive materials are manufactured, handled or used in dangerous quantities.

7. In any enterprise wherein molten metal, or explosive or injurious gases or vapors, or inflammable vapors or fluids, or corrosive acids, are manufactured, used, generated, stored or conveyed in dangerous quantities.

8. In any enterprise in which statutory or municipal ordinance regulations are now or shall hereafter be imposed for the regulating, guarding, use or the placing of machinery or appliances or for the protection and safeguarding of the employees or the public therein; each of which occupations, enterprises or businesses are hereby declared to be extra hazardous: Provided, nothing contained herein shall be construed to apply to any work, employment or operations done, had or conducted by farmers and others engaged in farming, tillage of the soil, or stock raising, or to those who rent, demise or lease land for any such purposes, or to any one in their employ or to any work done on a farm, or country place, no matter what kind of work or service is being done or rendered. . . . .

144. *Amount of compensation—Fatal cases.*] § 7. The amount of compensation which shall be paid for an injury to the employee resulting in death shall be:

(*a*) If the employee leaves any widow, child or children whom he was under legal obligations to support at the time of his injury, a sum equal to four times the average earnings of the employee, but not less in any event than one thousand six hundred fifty dollars and not more in any event than three thousand seven hundred fifty dollars.

Any compensation payments other than necessary medical, surgical or hospital fees or services shall be deducted in ascertaining the amount payable on death.

(*b*) If no amount is payable under paragraph (*a*) of this section and the employee leaves any parent, husband, child or children who at the time of injury were totally dependent upon the earnings of the employee, then a sum equal to four times the average annual earnings of the employee, but not less in any event than one thousand six hundred fifty dollars, and not more in any event than three thousand seven hundred fifty dollars.

(*c*) If no amount is payable under paragraph (*a*) or (*b*) of this section and the employee leaves any parent, child or children, grandparent or grandchild, who at the time of injury were dependent upon the earnings of the employee, then such proportion of a sum equal to four times the average annual earnings of the employee as such dependency bears to total dependency, but not less in any event than one thousand six hundred fifty dollars and not more in any event than three thousand seven hundred fifty dollars. Any compensation payments other than necessary medical, surgical or hospital fees or services shall be deducted in ascertaining the amounts payable on death.

(*d*) If no amount is payable under paragraphs (*a*), (*b*) or (*c*) of this section and the employee leaves collateral heirs dependent at the time of the injury to the employee upon his earnings, such a percentage of the sum provided in paragraph (*a*) of this section as the average annual contributions which the deceased made to the support of such dependent collateral heirs during the two years preceding the injury bears to his average annual earnings during such two years.

(*e*) If no amount is payable under paragraphs (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) or (*d*) of this section, a sum not to exceed one hundred and fifty dollars for burial expenses to be paid by the employer to the undertaker or to the person or persons incurring the expense of burial.

(*f*) All compensation, except for burial expenses provided in this section to be paid in case injury results in death, shall be paid in installments equal to the percentage of the average earnings as provided for in section 8 of this Act, at the same intervals at which the wages or earnings of the employees were paid; or if this shall not be feasible, then the installments shall be paid weekly: Provided, such compensation may be paid in a lump sum upon the petition as provided in section 9 of this act.

(*g*) The compensation to be paid for injury which results in death,

as provided in this section, shall be paid to the persons who form the basis for determining the amount of compensation to be paid by the employer, the respective shares to be in the proportion of their respective dependency at the time of the injury on the earnings of the deceased: Provided, that the industrial commission or an arbitrator thereof may, in its or his discretion order or award the payment to the parent or grandparent of a child for the latter's support the amount of compensation which but for such order or award would have been paid to such child as its share of the compensation payable, which order or award may be modified from time to time by the commission in its discretion with respect to the persons to whom shall be paid the amount of said order or award remaining unpaid at the time of said modification.

The payments of compensation by the employer in accordance with the order or award of the industrial commission shall discharge such employer from all further obligation as to such compensation.

In a case where any of the persons who would be entitled to compensation is living at any place outside of the United States, then payment shall be made to the personal representative of the deceased employee. The distribution by such personal representative to the persons entitled shall be made to such persons and in such manner as the commission shall order.

(*h*) 1. Whenever in paragraph (*a*) of this section a minimum of one thousand six hundred fifty dollars is provided, such minimum shall be increased in the following cases to the following amounts:

One thousand seven hundred fifty dollars in case of a widow and one child under the age of 16 years at the time of the death of the employee.

One thousand eight hundred fifty dollars in case of a widow and two or more children under the age of 16 years at the time of the death of the employee.

2. Wherever in paragraph (*a*) of this section a maximum of three thousand seven hundred fifty dollars is provided such maximum shall be increased in the following cases to the following amounts:

Four thousand dollars in case of a widow and one child under the age of 16 years at the time of the death of the employee.

Four thousand two hundred fifty dollars in case of a widow and two or more children under the age of 16 years at the time of the death of the employee.

145. *Amount of compensation for injury—Non-fatal cases.*] § 8. The amount of compensation which shall be paid to the employee for an injury not resulting in death shall be:

(*a*) The employer shall provide the necessary first aid medical and surgical services; all necessary hospital services during the period for which compensation may be payable; also all necessary medical and surgical services for a period not longer than eight weeks, not to exceed, however, an amount of two hundred dollars, and in addition such medical or surgical services in excess of such limits as may be necessary during the time such hospital services are furnished. All the foregoing services shall be limited to those which are reasonably required to cure and relieve from the effects of the injury. The employee may elect to secure his own physician, surgeon or hospital services at his own expense.

(*b*) If the period of temporary total incapacity for work lasts for more than six working days, compensation equal to fifty percentum of the earnings, but not less than $7.50 nor more than $14.00 per week, beginning on the eighth day of such temporary total incapacity, and continuing as long as the temporary total incapacity lasts, but not after the amount of compensation paid equals the amount which would have been payable as a death benefit under paragraph (*a*), section 7, if the employee had died as a result of the injury at the time thereof, leaving heirs surviving as provided in said paragraph (*a*), section 7: Provided, that in the case where temporary total incapacity for work continues for a period of four weeks from the day of the injury, then compensation shall commence on the day after the injury.

(*c*) For any serious and permanent disfigurement to the hand, head or face, the employee shall be entitled to compensation for such disfigurement, the amount fixed by agreement or by arbitration in accordance with the provisions of this Act, which amount shall not exceed one-quarter of the amount of the compensation which would have been payable as a death benefit under paragraph (*a*), section 7, if the employee had died as a result of the injury at the time thereof, leaving heirs surviving, as provided in said paragraph (*a*), section 7: Provided, that no compensation shall be payable under this paragraph where compensation is payable under paragraph (*d*), (*e*) or (*f*) of this section. And, provided, further, that when the disfigurement is to the hand, head or face as a result of any injury, for which injury compensation is not payable under paragraph (*d*), (*e*) or (*f*) of this

section, compensation for such disfigurement may be had under this paragraph.

(*d*) If, after the injury has been sustained, the employee as a result thereof becomes partially incapacitated for pursuing his usual and customary line of employment, he shall, except in the cases covered by the specific schedule set forth in paragraph (*e*) of this section, receive compensation subject to the limitation as to time and maximum amounts fixed in paragraphs (*b*) and (*h*) of this section, equal to fifty percentum of the difference between the average amount which he earned before the accident, and the average amount which he is earning or is able to earn in some suitable employment or business after the accident.

(*e*) For injuries in the following schedule, the employee shall receive in addition to compensation during the period of temporary total incapacity for work resulting from such injury, in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs (*a*) and (*b*) of this section, compensation, for a further period, subject to the limitations as to time and amounts fixed in paragraphs (*b*) and (*h*) of this section, for the specific loss herein mentioned, as follows, but shall not receive any compensation for such injuries under any other provision of this Act.

1. For the loss of a thumb or the permanent and complete loss of its use, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during sixty weeks;

2. For the loss of a first finger, commonly called the index finger, or the permanent and complete loss of its use, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during thirty-five weeks;

3. For the loss of a second finger, or the permanent and complete loss of its use, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during thirty weeks;

4. For the loss of a third finger, or the permanent and complete loss of its use, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during twenty weeks;

5. For the loss of a fourth finger, commonly called the little finger, or the permanent and complete loss of its use, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during fifteen weeks;

6. The loss of the first phalange of the thumb, or of any finger shall be considered to be equal to the loss of one-half of such thumb or finger and compensation shall be one-half of the amounts above specified.

7. The loss of more than one phalange shall be considered as the loss of the entire finger or thumb: Provided, however, that in no case

shall the amount received for more than one finger exceed the amount provided in this schedule for the loss of a hand.

8. For the loss of a great toe, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during thirty weeks.

9. For the loss of one toe other than the great toe, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during ten weeks, and for the additional loss of one or more toes other than the great toe, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during an additional ten weeks.

10. The loss of the first phalange of any toe shall be considered to be the equal to the loss of one-half of such toe, and compensation shall be one-half of the amount above specified.

11. The loss of more than one phalange shall be considered as the loss of the entire toe.

12. For the loss of a hand, or the permanent and complete loss of its use, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during one hundred and fifty weeks;

13. For the loss of an arm or the permanent and complete loss of its use, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during two hundred weeks;

14. For the loss of a foot, or the permanent and complete loss of its use, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during one hundred and twenty-five weeks;

15. For the loss of a leg, or the permanent and complete loss of its use, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during one hundred and seventy-five weeks;

16. For the loss of the sight of an eye or for the permanent and complete loss of its use, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during one hundred weeks;

17. For the permanent partial loss of use of a member or sight of an eye, fifty percentum of the average weekly wage during that portion of the number of weeks in the foregoing schedule provided for the loss of such member or sight of an eye which the partial loss of use thereof bears to the total loss of use of such member or sight of eye.

18. The loss of both hands, or both arms, or both feet, or both legs, or both eyes, or of any two thereof, or the permanent and complete loss of use thereof, shall constitute total and permanent disability, to be compensated according to the compensation fixed by paragraph (*f*) of this section: Provided, that these specific cases of total and permanent disability shall not be construed as excluding other cases.

(*f*) In case of complete disability, which renders the employee wholly and permanently incapable of work, compensation equal to fifty percentum of his earnings, but not less than $7.50 nor more than $14.00 per week, commencing on the day after the injury, and continuing until the amount paid equals the amount which would have been payable as a death benefit under paragraph (*a*), section 7, if the employee had died as a result of the injury at the time thereof, leaving heirs surviving as provided in said paragraph (*a*), section 7, and thereafter a pension during life annually equal to 8 per cent of the amount which would have been payable as a death benefit under paragraph (*a*), section 7, if the employee had died as a result of the injury at the time thereof, leaving heirs surviving, as provided in said paragraph (*a*), section 7. Such pension shall not be less than $10.00 per month and shall be payable monthly. Provided, any employee who receives an award under this paragraph and afterwards returns to work, or is able to do so, and who earns or is able to earn as much as before the injury, payments under such award shall cease; if such employee returns to work, or is able to do so and earns or is able to earn part but not as much as before the injury, such award shall be modified so as to conform to an award under paragraph (*h*) of this section: Provided, further, that disability as enumerated in subdivision 18, paragraph (*e*) of this section shall be considered complete disability.

(*g*) In case death occurs as a result of the injury before the total of the payments made equals the amount payable as a death benefit, then in case the employee leaves any widow, child or children, parents, grandparents or other lineal heirs, entitled to compensation under section 7, the difference between the compensation for death and the sum of the payments made to the employee, shall be paid to the beneficiaries of the deceased employee, and distributed, as provided in paragraph (*f*) of section 7, but in no case shall the amount payable under this paragraph be less than $500.00.

(*h*) In no event shall the compensation to be paid exceed fifty percentum of the average weekly wage or exceed $14.00 per week in amount; nor, except in case of complete disability, as defined above, shall any payments extend over a period of more than eight years from the date of the accident. In case an injured employee shall be incompetent at the time when any right or privilege accrues to him under the provisions of this act a conservator or guardian may be appointed, pursuant to law, and may, on behalf of such incompetent, claim and exercise any such right or privilege with the same force and

effect as if the employee himself had been competent and had claimed or exercised said right or privilege; and no limitations of time by this act provided shall run so long as said incompetent employee is without a conservator or a guardian.

(*i*) All compensation provided for in paragraphs (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), (*e*), and (*f*) of this section, other than cases of pension for life, shall be paid in installments at the same intervals at which the wages or earnings of the employee were paid at the time of the injury, or if this shall not be feasible, then the installments shall be paid weekly.

(*j*) 1. Wherever in this section there is a provision for fifty per-centum, such percentum shall be increased five percentum for each child of the employee under 16 years of age at the time of the injury to the employee until such percentum shall reach a maximum of sixty-five percentum.

2. Wherever in this section a weekly minimum of $7.50 is provided, such minimum shall be increased in the following cases to the following amounts:

$8.50 in a case of an employee having one child under the age of 16 years at the time of injury to the employee;

$9.50 in a case of an employee having two children under the age of 16 years at the time of the injury to the employee;

$10.50 in a case of an employee having three or more children under the age of 16 years at the time of the injury to the employee.

3. Wherever in this section a weekly maximum of $14.00 is provided, such maximum shall be increased in the following cases to the following amounts:

$15.00 in case of an employee with one child under the age of 16 years at the time of the injury to the employee.

$16.00 in case of an employee with two children under the age of 16 years at the time of injury to the employee.

$17.00 in case of an employee with three or more children under the age of 16 years at the time of injury to the employee.

146. *Payment in lump sum.*] § 9. Any employer or employee or beneficiary who shall desire to have such compensation, or any unpaid part thereof, paid in a lump sum, may petition the Industrial Board, asking that such compensation be so paid, and if, upon proper notice to the interested parties and a proper showing made before such board, it appears to the best interest of the parties that such compensation be so paid, the board may order the commutation of the compensation to an equivalent lump sum, which commutation

shall be an amount which will equal the total sum of the probable future payments capitalized at their present value upon the basis of interest calculated at three per centum per annum, with annual rests: Provided, that in cases indicating complete disability no petition for a commutation to a lump sum basis shall be entertained by the Industrial Board until after the expiration of six months from the date of the injury, and where necessary, upon proper application being made, a guardian, conservator or administrator, as the case may be, may be appointed for any person under disability who may be entitled to any such compensation, and an employer bound by the terms of this act, and liable to pay such compensation, may petition for the appointment of the public administrator, or a conservator, or guardian, where no legal representative has been appointed or is acting for such party or parties so under disability. Either party may reject an award of a lump sum payment of compensation, except an award for compensation under section 7 or paragraph (*e*) of section 8 or for the injuries defined in the last paragraph of paragraph (*e*) of section 8 as constituting total and permanent disability, by filing his written rejection thereof with the said board within ten days after notice to him of the award, in which event compensation shall be payable in installments as herein provided. . . . .

148. *Employer's responsibility for injury or death of employee.*] § 11. The compensation herein provided, together with the provisions of this act shall be the measure of the responsibility of any employer engaged in any of the enterprises or businesses enumerated in section three (3) of this act, or of any employer who is not engaged in any such enterprises or businesses, but who has elected to provide and pay compensation for accidental injuries sustained by any employee arising out of and in the course of the employment according to the provisions of this act, and whose election to continue under this act, has not been nullified by any action of his employees as provided for in this act.

### 29. Labanoski v. Hoyt Metal Company (1920)[1]

The first Workmen's Compensation act in this State was passed in 1911. Its object, as expressed by its title, was to provide "compensation for accidental injuries or death suffered in the course of the employment," and that has been the purpose of the act, expressed in the title, in all the subsequent acts or revisions on that subject. The

[1] 292 Illinois Reports, 220–22.

title of the Occupational Disease act is, "An act to promote the public health by protecting certain employees in this State from the dangers of occupational diseases, and providing for the enforcement thereof." That act and the Workmen's Compensation act of 1911 were passed at the same session of the legislature and were clearly intended to apply to different conditions and situations. An accident or accidental injury was defined in *Matthiessen & Hegeler Zinc Co.* v. *Industrial Board*, 284 Ill. 378, and it was said the provision requiring notice within thirty days after the accident shows the accident must be traceable to a definite time, place and cause. The words "accidental injury or death" are used and are to be understood in their popular sense. An occupational disease, such as lead poisoning, does not occur suddenly but is a matter of slow development, and the Occupational Disease act was passed for the protection of employees from such diseases. Whether the Workmen's Compensation act of the State of Michigan, the title of which is very similar to ours, applied to occupational diseases was thoroughly considered by the Supreme Court of Michigan in *Adams* v. *Acme White Lead and Color Works*, 182 Mich. 157. It was held not to apply to such diseases but to injuries arising from accidents alone. The same ruling was made in *Miller* v. *American Steel and Wire Co.*, 90 Conn. 349, and *Industrial Com.* v. *Brown*, 92 Ohio 309. One objection made to the award in the *Matthiessen & Hegeler case*, *supra*, was that the employee died from an occupational disease and not as the result of an accident; and on this question the court said, in substance, that any occupational disease was not an accident; that there is a statute for the prevention of such diseases by requiring the employer to use certain precautions, and that an action may be maintained against him for failure to comply with the act; that "for such failure the injured employee is not confined to the compensation provided by the Workmen's Compensation act nor limited by the amount provided by the act." We sustained a judgment in an action based on the Occupational Disease act in *Wilcox* v. *International Harvester Co.*, 278 Ill. 465, but it was not contended there, as it is here, that the two acts were inconsistent. The two acts cover entirely different subjects and situations and are in nowise conflicting. They were passed, as we have said, by the same legislature at the same session. The employee is not, as appellant contends, given an election of remedies. If he is injured in health as the result of the willful failure of the employer to comply with the Occupational Disease act his remedy is under that act; if he is injured accidentally

his remedy is under the Workmen's Compensation act. And this sufficiently disposes of the objection that section 15 violates the fourteenth amendment of the constitution, in that it denies the equal protection of the law.

### 30. Compensation for Occupational Disease[1]

An act to amend section 15 of "An Act to promote the public health by protecting certain employees in this State from the dangers of occupational diseases, and providing for the enforcement thereof," approved May 26, 1911, in force July 1, 1911, as amended.

Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly:

SECTION 1. Section 15 of "An Act to promote the public health by protecting certain employees in this State from the dangers of occupational diseases, and providing for the enforcement thereof," approved May 26, 1911, in force July 1, 1911, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

§ 15. (*a*) For any injury to the health of any employee proximately caused by any wilful violation of section 1 of this Act, or wilful failure to comply with any of the provisions of section 1 of this Act, a right of action shall accrue to the party whose health has been so injured, for any direct damages sustained thereby; and in case of the loss of life by reason of such wilful violation or wilful failure as aforesaid, a right of action shall accrue to the widow of such deceased person, his lineal heirs or adopted children, or to any other person or persons who were, before such loss of life, dependent for support upon such deceased person, for a like recovery of damages for the injury sustained by reason of such loss of life not to exceed the sum of ten thousand dollars: Provided, that every such action for damages in case of death shall be commenced within one year after the death of such employee.

(*b*) 1. If an employee is disabled or dies, and his disability or death is caused by an occupational disease arising out of and in the course of his employment in one or more of the occupations referred to in section 2 of this Act, he or his dependents, as the case may be, shall be entitled to compensation, in the same manner and subject to the same terms, conditions and limitations as are now or may hereafter be provided by the Workmen's Compensation Act for accidental injuries sustained by employees arising out of and in the

[1] *Laws of Illinois*, 1923, "Employment," pp. 351–53.

course of their employment; and for this purpose the disablement of an employee by reason of an occupational disease, arising out of and in the course of his employment in one or more of the occupations referred to in section 2 of this Act, shall be treated as the happening of an accidental injury.

2. As used in this subdivision (*b*) of this section, the word "disability" means the state of being disabled from earning full wages at the work at which the employee was last employed by the employer from whom he claims compensation; the words "occupational disease" mean a disease peculiar to and due to the nature of an employment in one or more of the occupations referred to in section 2 of this Act; and the word "occupations" means and includes each and every process, manufacture, employment, and process of manufacture or labor referred to in section 2 of this Act.

3. The industrial commission shall have jurisdiction over the operation and administration of this subdivision (*b*) of this section; and it shall have, exercise, perform and discharge the same rights, powers and duties with reference to the subdivision (*b*) of this section as it shall have, exercise, perform and discharge with reference to the Workmen's Compensation Act, or any amendments thereto or modifications thereof. Notice of the disablement shall be given to the employer, and claim for compensation shall be made, in the same manner and within the same periods of time, respectively, as are now or may hereafter be provided in the Workmen's Compensation Act concerning accidental injuries sustained by employees arising out of and in the course of their employment. Proceedings for compensation hereunder shall be had and maintained in the same manner as is now or may hereafter be provided by the Workmen's Compensation Act with reference to proceedings for compensation for accidental injuries. The procedure and practice provided in the Workmen's Compensation Act, and all amendments thereto and modifications thereof, shall apply to all proceedings hereunder.

4. This subdivision (*b*) of this section shall apply automatically and without election to all employees and employers engaged in the occupations referred to in section 2 of this Act. No common law or statutory right to recover damages for injury or death sustained by any employee by reason of an occupational disease arising out of and in the course of his employment in one or more of the occupations referred to in section 2 of this Act, other than the compensation herein provided, shall be available to any employee who is covered by the

provisions of this subdivision (*b*) of this section to any one wholly or partially dependent upon him, the legal representatives of his estate, or any one otherwise entitled to recover damages for such injury. The compensation herein provided, together with the provisions of this subdivision (*b*) of this section, shall be the full, complete and only measure of responsibility of any employer engaged in any of the occupations referred to in section 2 of this Act.

5. Any common law or statutory right of action to recover damages for injury to the health or death sustained by an employee in this State from an occupational disease prior to the taking effect hereof shall not be affected by this Act and every such existing right of action is continued and nothing in this Act shall be construed as limiting the right of such action so accrued before the taking effect of this Act.

Approved June 21, 1923.

## SECTION VII

## THE TRANSPORTATION AGREEMENT: THE MODERN SUBSTITUTE IN THE PRACTICE OF SOCIAL CASE TREATMENT FOR THE DEPORTATION PROCESSES OF THE POOR LAW

### 31. The Transportation Agreement under the Auspices of National Conference of Social Work[1]

A. The word "transportation," as used in the following paragraphs, includes all transportation paid for or issued upon recommendation of charitable societies or public relief officials.

B. The word "he" means he, she, or they as the context in any case will suggest, and the word "applicant" includes the family group for whom transportation is desired.

C. "Charity," as used in these rules, includes any general charitable organization, public or private, upon which the applicant in question has no claim through membership, blood relationship, or through the society's definite promise to aid him.

D. In some of the following paragraphs "shall" is used, in others "should" or "may." The former word is mandatory, and the phrases in which it is used are to be accepted as binding upon all signers of these Rules. Where "should" or "may" is used, the paragraph is only a suggestion which signers may observe or not, at their discretion.

1. Before any charitable transportation shall be granted the organization or official having the matter under consideration must be satisfied by adequate and reliable evidence—

*First.* That the applicant is unable to pay the regular fare.

*Second.* That the applicant's condition and prospects will be substantially improved by sending him to the place in question.

*Third.* That the applicant will have such resources for maintenance at the point of destination as will save him from becoming dependent on charity; or,

*Fourth.* That the applicant has a legal residence in the place to which he is to be sent, or is a proper charge upon the charity of that community.

[1] Taken from pamphlet *Passing On, as a Method of Charitable Relief* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1911), pp. 23–28.

2. An applicant's statements must in every case be substantiated by other definite, reliable evidence. When this is lacking, the applicant should be taken care of, if necessary, until the needful testimony is secured.

3. In all cases an appropriate charitable organization or official, if such exists, at the point of destination should be promptly advised that the applicant's transportation to that place is under consideration, or has already been determined upon.

When a signer of these Rules is listed as being located at the proposed point of destination, it shall not be legitimate to send the applicant thither unless notification is sent to the signer before the transportation is furnished or upon the day when it is provided.

In exceptional cases where the signer has reasons for desiring that no record be kept by the charitable agency at the point of destination, the matter may be explained to the latter, who shall then preserve no record unless the case is known through sources independent of the sender.

4. It is strongly recommended that a report be secured from an appropriate charitable organization or official in the city to which transportation is desired, before any applicant is sent thither. This is especially urged when a signer of these Rules is listed as being located at the point of destination.

All signers have definitely announced themselves as willing to co-operate with other signers by making reasonable efforts to secure needful information, and to determine whether transportation ought to be provided in any given case. Other charitable agencies, also, are usually glad to make any legitimate inquiries and reports which fall within the range of their customary activities.

5. All charitable transportation provided shall, in every instance, be *adequate;* that is, the initial or original sender shall provide for the applicant through to his ultimate destination. When charity rates are obtainable at intermediate points, and not obtainable at point of departure, the initial sender may enlist the services of some charitable agency at the intermediate point in obtaining such rates upon arrival of the applicant, all expenses to be borne by the initial sender.

6. If an applicant has been aided to reach a place intermediate to the point of his proper destination, without means having been provided for forwarding him to the latter, then no further transportation shall be granted without inquiry of the charitable organization or individual who sent the applicant thither. This correspondent

shall be requested to remit the amount necessary either to forward the applicant to his destination or to return him to the starting point. If a satisfactory response is not promptly made, the applicant should be returned to the place where his charitable transportation originated. In no case shall he be "passed along" to another community which has no adequate responsibility for him.

7. If an applicant who has been provided with charitable transportation without the approval of an appropriate charitable agency at the point of destination, shall there become dependent on charity within nine months after his arrival, then the charitable organization or individual who sent him thither should be notified and requested to provide for the applicant's necessities or to remit the money necessary to return him to the place from which his transportation was provided.

8. If an applicant has been forwarded in violation of any of these rules, the charitable agency which provided him with transportation should be requested to bear the reasonable, necessary expense of providing for him temporarily, pending investigation and the proper disposal of the case.

9. The society or official through whom charitable transportation is procured shall in each case preserve a full record of all the essential facts upon which the granting of transportation has been based.

A copy or summary of such record should be furnished promptly on request to any charitable organization or official interested in the case. When such request for a digest of the record comes from a signer of these rules, it shall be considered mandatory upon any other signer.

10. In case of persons asking charitable transportation on the ground of being able to secure employment in the place to which transportation is desired, definite, reliable assurances of employment must be obtained as part of the necessary evidence. A general report that conditions of employment are better, or that the applicant should be "better off" in the place specified, shall not be considered sufficient grounds for the granting of transportation.

11. Organizations and individuals who agree to these rules thereby pledge themselves to keep a copy of the Rules and the Telegraphic Code conveniently at hand, and to use all due diligence in making reasonable inquiries requested by other signers of the rules and in replying to communications regarding transportation cases.

12. Persons forwarded by charitable agencies or officials from places where any contagious or infectious disease is known to be epidemic, must be provided with proper health certificates.

13. When disagreement, as to facts or decisions, arises in regard to any transportation case, one or both the parties concerned may appeal to the Committee on Transportation of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, sending the appeal through the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, Room 613, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York.

14. Poor law officials may return any person who becomes a public charge to his place of *proven* legal residence without the consent of that community.

### 32. Transportation Rules. Agreement of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service (Adopted 1910, Amended 1914, and Revised 1916)[1]

1. (*a*) A transient shall mean any person (including his family) who shall apply for aid or become a charge upon the charities of the city where he may be within one year of the time of his arrival in that city, unless he shall become dependent through unavoidable accident, in which shall be included illness developing from causes not existing at time of residence in former home.

(*b*) Within the meaning of the Transportation Rules all suburban localities which for practical purposes are parts of the metropolitan community and which have no Jewish organized charities of their own are to be considered part of that city.

2. A telegraphic code shall be used for the prompt and economical exchange of information regarding transportation between the constituent associations and each association agrees and binds itself to reply to all inquiries submitted to it as soon as the necessary investigations can be made. Any city failing to respond with reasonable promptness to inquiries from other cities may be held liable for expenses incurred through delay.

3. (*a*) No applicant for transportation shall be forwarded from one city to another; nor shall half-rate tickets paid for by applicants be furnished; nor shall transportation in whole or in part be requested on behalf of applicant from railroads or other organizations; nor shall cash relief be granted to enable applicant to purchase transportation at charity rate or full fare, without the advice and consent of the city of destination.

(*b*) Any transient within the means as above defined may be returned to the city of his last legal residence, the cost of transporta-

[1] In force August 15, 1922. *Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago Gray Book.*

tion to be borne by returning city, excepting in the event that transportation to that city shall have been furnished by the city of origin, in which case he shall be returned at the expense of the city of origin.

(*c*) Persons who have become dependent or have applied for aid within one year of the time of their arrival may be returned to the city of origin at any time thereafter at the expense of returning city, whose consent to receive the family is not a waiver of the right to return.

(*d*) Persons who have become dependent or have applied for aid before legal residence has been established may be returned to the city of origin at any time thereafter, at the expense of returning city, whose consent to receive family is not a waiver of the right to return.

(*e*) Whenever transportation is furnished, even if paid for by the applicant, notice shall be sent to the city of destination.

4. The initial city shall in all cases furnish transportation through to the city of destination. In the event of any violation of this rule, the receiving city shall, at its own option, after investigation, transport the applicant to his destination or to the city from which he came at the cost of the initial city.

5. Any woman wishing to seek or desiring to join her husband shall not be assisted with transportation without the consent of the city where it is claimed her husband resides.

6. Any violations, disputes or misunderstandings between constituent associations under these rules shall be referred to the Transportation Committee of the National Conference of Jewish Charities,who shall investigate the same and whose decision shall be final and binding. It shall also be possible for organizations to submit to this Committee the facts in doubtful cases for advice before action is taken.

### RULES ADOPTED 1914

1. A deserter cannot acquire residence away from his family, even though the family be cognizant of his whereabouts.

(A deserter within the meaning of the Transportation Rules shall be any person who leaves his home city and in his absence wilfully fails to provide for his wife and children.)

2. Persons sent by the Industrial Removal Office to any city shall acquire residence in the meaning of the Transportation Rules from the moment of their arrival at destination.

A Committee of revision appointed in 1914 further suggested the following:

1. That the Transportation Rules finally adopted by the 1916 Conference, together with a digest of all decisions rendered, be pub-

lished and placed in the hands of all members of the Conference.

2. That a digest of all transportation decisions of each year be published once every year by the Conference.

3. That, through the office of the Field Secretary or in some other way, the Conference enlist the membership of the Organized Jewish Charities in non-member communities in order that it may be possible to secure widespread observation of the letter and the spirit of the Transportation Rules.

4. That, if possible, through the Field Secretary, national registration of transient persons and families be effected, this to include special work with Jewish Shelter Houses throughout the country.

## 33. Selected Decisions under Jewish Transportation Rules

### A. M. VERSUS A.

### UNAUTHORIZED SENDING OF FAMILY TO HUSBAND[1]

In February, 1915, Mr. H. and family arrived in A., after having spent some time in K.W. and M. Within a few days after arrival, the man disappeared and was next heard from in C., where he had gone, presumably to look for work, but not meeting with success, returned to his family in A., who during his absence received assistance from the Charities in A. He secured work in A. for several days, and then proceeded to M. where he was assisted by the Charities of that place in establishing a small tailoring shop. When the Charities of A. learned that the man was in M., fearing that he would desert his family, without asking permission of M., the Charities of A. forwarded the family to the former city, where they became dependents. M. asked A. to reimburse them to the extent of $58, the amount with which they had assisted the family; but A. offered a compromise of $5 a week for four weeks, or a settlement for $25. M. refused to consider any settlement, other than the entire amount expended by them, and referred the matter to the Transportation Committee of the National Conference of Jewish Charities, which rendered the following decision.

#### DECISION

It is perfectly plain that A. has violated the Transportation Rules in sending the H. family to M., and should, therefore, reimburse M. for its expenses. No evidence, however, is submitted that the amount claimed ($58) is the proper amount, although an itemized statement has been repeatedly called for.

[1] From *Jewish Charities*, VIII (June, 1917), 68.

When the Secretary has assured himself that $58 is the proper amount, judgment should be rendered accordingly.

We cannot, for the present, consider the counter-claim advanced by A. in the letter of February 5, 1917. If A. has at any time suffered from the action of M. it must duly present its claim on M., and if not reimbursed, has the privilege of submitting the cases to the Transportation Committee.

Transportation Committee.

Max Senior
Julian W. Mack
Max Herzberg

### B. L.A. VERSUS L.R.[1]

#### MEMBERSHIP IN THE CONFERENCE CARRIES WITH IT ACCEPTANCE OF THE TRANSPORTATION RULES

M.H. and father had legal residence in N.Y., where they have lived for five and a half years. The girl became sick, was treated at a hospital in N.Y. and pronounced hopeless. Her father then took her to Hot Springs, Arkansas, in the hope that she might become well there. At the end of five months their funds were exhausted and the father came to L.R., in search of work. The organization of L.R. took up the case.

Although L.R. offered the girl best of hospital care, and expended a good deal in helping the family, she insisted that she felt she could be cured in L.A. and wished to be sent there. The organization of L.R. thereupon provided the father and the girl with transportation to L.A., armed with a letter to Rabbi H. of the latter city, asking his aid in helping the family. The case thus came to the attention of the organization at L.A. to which it was referred.

L.A. immediately admitted the girl to the local hospital, but, on June 19, because of her insistence that she could be cured at the Murrieta Hot Springs, L.A., sent her there. She remained there for three weeks, and then returned to L.A., stating that the treatment had done her no good and that she was willing to be sent back to N.Y. L.A. returned the family to N.Y., the city of residence.

In view of the fact that L.R. had been responsible for the passing on to L.A. of this dependent family, L.A. made claim upon that organization for reimbursement. The representative of L.R. has refused to honor this claim on the grounds that this organization has never signed or been a party to the Transportation Agreement and

[1] *Jewish Charities*, IX (March, 1919), 240–41.

that, moreover, the dictates of humanity make it only right that L.A. should share the expense of this case with L.R., which has already expended as much as the L.A. organization did on the case; the return of the family to N.Y. was, the L.R. organization claims, unwarranted and inhumane.

In response to a communication from the Field Bureau, the secretary of the L.R. organization states that his organization is outside of the jurisdiction of the Transportation Rules, and that, while there has been a technical violation of them, it was justified on moral grounds. He states: "I never signed it [the Transportation Agreement] in behalf of our society, and I know of no one else who has."

DECISION

This is a flagrant violation of the Transportation Agreement and L.R. must reimburse L.A. for all expenses. Membership in the Conference carries with it an acceptance of the Transportation Agreement.

MAX SENIOR

I concur.

MAX HERZBERG

I concur. The violation of the rules is justified on grounds of humanity. The difficulty about the justification is that L.R. preferred practicing it at the joint expense of L.R. and L.A. without L.A.'s knowledge or consent. If contrary to the rules, L.R. as a matter of humanity, thought it best to send a dying girl to L.A., it should be willing to pay the entire expense incurred. If L.R. desired to avoid having L.A. send the girl back to her residence in N.Y., it should have offered to continue to pay the expense of her maintenance in L.A. and should itself have endeavored to secure N.Y.'s consent to the acceptance of this financial burden. No community has a right to impose its conceptions of humane treatment involving violations of the rules, upon another community and especially at the latter's expense, without its express consent thereto.

JULIAN W. MACK

## C. C VERSUS O.

CASE STATED AND SUBMITTED BY THE CITY OF C.[1]

B.A., thirty years old, came to this country twelve years ago. His home was in A., where he has several sisters. Two and one-half years ago he left A. for S., where he supported himself by peddling. Last fall, Mr. A. became sick with influenza. He was treated in the hospital and later developed rheumatism, and was crippled to such a degree that

[1] *Jewish Social Service*, X (December, 1919), 126.

he was unable to do any work. When he found that he would be unable to care for himself, he expressed a desire to return to his relatives in A., and a collection was made and sufficient money raised to send him as far as O. In addition to the money, he was given a letter of introduction to the organization in O., telling them that Mr. A. was on his way to A. and would they take care of him. The secretary of the Jewish Welfare Federation of O. then furnished him with transportation to C. and gave him a similar letter to the organization in this city, asking that it be made possible for Mr. A. to continue his journey to A. C. telegraphed to O., asking whether Mr. A.'s residence in A. had been verified and permission obtained, if they wished to send him at their expense. O. telegraphed back stating that Mr. A. was not their case and that their responsibility in the matter was ended. C. wrote again, quoting the Transportation Rules, and was answered that Mr. A. does not belong to O., and that they have done their part in assisting him.

C. then telegraphed to the Charities in A. asking permission to send Mr. A. to his sisters, but so far, their request has not been granted. Mr. A. is living for the present at the Hebrew Sheltering Home in C., but if A. is unwilling to receive him, he will have to be placed with some family at the expense of the organization in C. and supported until he is well enough to go to work.

DECISION

It seems to me that there can be no question as to the decision. This is exactly the kind of case which the Transportation Rules were designed to suppress.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that partial transportation is not true charity.

MAX SENIOR

Needs no discussion. I concur.

MAX HERZBERG

I concur.

JULIAN W. MACK

September 5, 1919

TRANSPORTATION RULES INVOLVED

ARTICLE 3, SECTION *a*

3. (*a*) No applicant for transportation shall be forwarded from one city to another; nor shall half-rate tickets paid for by applicants be furnished; nor shall transportation in whole or in part be requested

on behalf of applicant from railroads or other organizations; nor shall cash relief be granted to enable applicant to purchase transportation at charity rate or full fare, without the advice and consent of the city of destination.

ARTICLE 3, SECTION *e*

3. (*e*) Whenever transportation is furnished, even if paid for by the applicant, notice shall be sent to the city of destination.

ARTICLE 4

4. The initial city shall in all cases furnish transportation through to the city of destination. In the event of any violation of this rule, the receiving city shall, at its own option, after investigation, transport the applicant to his destination or to the city from which he came at the cost of the initial city.

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